Journey of Reconciliation

June 13, 1947

Miss Helena Robinson
Gay Street
West Chester, Pa.

Dear Friend:

I thought that you would be interested to see the report of the trip which our department organized. I would especially call your attention to pages 8-11 as the conditions we found were most encouraging. If you have any questions, suggestions or criticisms, we would be most appreciative of them.

Sincerely,

BR:vr

Bayard Rustin

similar letters have been sent to the following:

Mr. Floyd Hart
c/o West Chester High School
West Chester, Pa.

Dr. L. P. Hill
Cheney State Teachers College
Cheney, Pa.

Mr. J. R. Fuggets, Principal
Gat Street School, West Chester, Pa.

Rev. & Mrs. Gullins
Bethel A. M. E. Church
East Minor St. West Chester, Pa.

Rev. M. C. Spanns, West Chester

Harold Denney, East Union St., West Chester

Miss Catharine Waddleton
East Minor St., West Chester

Miss Marie Brock, East Minor St. West Cheste

Henry Coleman, West Chester, Pa.

B. Reed Henderson
West Chester High School, West Chester

Hilliard Perry, State Teachers College,
Music Dept. West Chester, Pa.

Miss Helena Robinson
Gay St., West Chester, Pa.

Dr. Swope, President
State Teachers College, West Chester

Journey of Recon

June 13, 1947

Mr. C. L. Williams
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Enclosed you will find the report of a series of test cases made by our organization in collaboration with the Congress of Racial Equality, for the purpose of finding the degree to which bus companies, policemen, Negroes, and southern white people were abiding by the Irene Morgan decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S., in which Negroes were given the right to sit according to their choice in interstate commerce. Any criticism, or suggestions, which you have will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

BR:vr

Bayard Rustin

similar letters have been sent to the following:

David Yates, Episcopal Church, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Henry Ruark, The Methodist Church, Chapel Hill
Bob Nelson, Wesley Foundation, U. of N. C., Chapel Hill
Bertram Cooper, Canterbury Club, " " " "
Elizabeth Vosburgh, 2319 Englewood Ave., Durham, N. C.
Alma Metcalfe, Browning Home, Camden, S. C.

8 December 1947

Ruben A. Tanquist
Sturgis, South Dakota

Dear Ruben Tanquist:

We note that in your newsletter of December 1 you state that after talking with ministers in North Carolina you are convinced that the Journey of Reconciliation did not reconcile the community. Further, you state that you wish some other approach could have been made. We wonder if you would not admit that it is impossible to make a clear judgment of what happened by examining one situation as against a careful study of what occurred in the twenty-four cases.

For example, on the Sunday morning that Jesus, contrary to law, healed the hand of a crippled man, it goes without saying that he did not reconcile the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It would also be possible to put one's fingers on the isolated situation in which Jesus went into the city and preached and was rejected. He told his followers to stamp their feet, to knock the dust of the city from them in protest. At that moment he recognized that in that situation he had not reconciled the people to him in that city.

It does not, however, in our opinion, follow that the life of Jesus was a non-reconciling force in history. If there were times when Jesus tried and failed at reconciliation, certainly we, who have not yet begun to possess any portion of Jesus' vast power, will fail too. And, for this reason, we must try more and more to live better lives.

We urge you, therefore, to read the enclosed copy of "We Challenged Jim Crow," which we are sending you. We trust that having read it, you will offer your readers a more balanced picture of what occurred in the Journey if you believe there is more to say.

Needless to say, sir, there were many instances in which the situations could have been improved; and, we would ourselves, be the first to admit, as we have in the report, that such improvements could have taken place. But, it is our sincere opinion, the Chapel Hill incident notwithstanding, that the over-all effect was good.

It might interest you to know that the FOR ministers in Chapel Hill have written in saying that they felt the Journey generally was a success. In fact, Charles Jones, in whose home we took refuge when the mob gathered, came to New York to the National Council meeting before last to urge the Fellowship to continue the general type of action.

We hope that it will be possible for us to hear from you in this matter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

George Houser

December 18, 1947

Ruben A. Tanquist
1211 Cedar Street
Sturgis, S.D.

Dear Ruben Tanquist:

I am enclosing herewith the correspondence relative to the newsletter put out over your name "December 1, AB 3". I have marked in red the passages which called forth the letter we wrote you December 8. It is quite possible that this newsletter was published without your knowledge and you may be able to correct the impression which it gives relative to the Journey of Reconciliation.

Will you please return the material to us when you have finished with it.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/pc

Durham Morning Herald

FINAL EDITION DURHAM, N. C., THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1948 TWO SECTIONS—22 PAGES

Four Sentenced In Bus Hearing

Ex-U. N. C. Student Among Men Charged

By GEORGE E. LOUGEE JR.
Herald Staff Writer

Superior Court Judge Chester Morris yesterday in Hillsboro sentenced four alleged members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Congress of Racial Equality, to 30 days in the workhouse for violating the State bus seating statute.

The defendants, who served notice of appeal to the State Supreme Court were: Igal Roodenko of New York and Joseph A. Felmont of Asheville, white; and Bayard Rustin of New York and Andrew S. Johnson, Negroes.

All but Johnson were conscientious objectors during the recent war and were committed by the Attorney General of the United States to Federal penal institutions.

Felmont was a student at the University of North Carolina in the class of 1942.

Roodenko served time at Sandstone, Minn., Felmont at Ashland, Ky., and Rustin at Lewisburg, Pa., according to court records.

Roodenko, who gave his age as 31, testified that while confined as a prisoner he went on a hunger strike to show his disapproval of certain regulations.

The only defendant to testify, Roodenko, when questioned by private prosecution, L. J. Phipps of Chapel Hill, who assisted Solicitor W. H. Murdock, denied that the group's motive was to test the segregation statute in North Carolina.

"My purpose on this trip is to see what I can do in my own small personal way to promote better understanding among various groups of people," he said.

The quartet was arrested in Chapel Hill last April 13 at the bus terminal in that town after Ned Leonard, driver for the Carolina Coach Company, was unable to persuade them to sit in the vehicle according to rules of the company and the State statute.

Leonard told the court that Johnson was sitting next to Felmont on the third seat from the front of the bus although there were vacant seats in the vehicle. At the time Roodenko and Rustin were seated near the rear, he added.

"I asked Johnson to take a seat in the rear and quoted him the rules, but he refused to move. He said that he was under the impression that by virtue of some interstate law he could sit where he wanted to. I called a police officer then I told Felmont to move so that Johnson could get out, but Felmont said that he would not move unless he was placed under arrest.

"Officer D. B. Roberts asked me if I would sign warrants against them and I did. When I returned to the bus I noticed Rustin and Roodenko had moved to the seats which had been vacated by Felmont and Johnson. I asked them to move but they refused. I asked Roodenko where he was going and he said, 'Danville.' I told him that he was on the wrong bus. Then he said, 'Greensboro.' Ruskin would not tell where he was going," Leonard stated.

On cross examination by defense counsel, C. J. Gates and E. R. Avant of Durham, and an attorney by the name of Taylor of Raleigh (all Negroes), Leonard was asked why he did not request other colored passengers to move to the extreme rear. The driver answered he did not get to the rear of the bus because of the incident in the front of the carrier. The driver also admitted that it is possible to go to Danville by way of Greensboro.

When asked if he knew that the defendants held tickets to Knoxville, Tenn., and Danville, Leonard said that he didn't know.

Roodenko on query admitted that he had attended a dinner at Chapel Hill the night of April 12, and a meeting at Greensboro the following night.

Judge Morris then asked Roodenko why he had changed his seat after the first two men were arrested and he answered, "I thought they had been unjustly treated."

Roodenko also admitted attending a meeting in Asheville on April 17.

The prosecution threw a surprise into the defense when photostatic copies concerning the "Journey of Reconciliation" and memorandums tabbed "confidential, not to be used for publicity purposes," were introduced as evidence. Roodenko identified the sheets. Stating that he owned an interest in a printing shop at New Jersey, the witness admitted that he had been in the pay of the "Fellowship" organization with headquarters in New York City.

The defense strongly objected to the presentation of these papers but after lengthy harrangue Judge Morris permitted their entry.

Excerps from the copies, signed by a "George M. Houser" and Bayard Rustin, are: "The Journey of Reconciliation is being sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality. Its purpose is generally to present to various groups in the upper South the importance of the methods and techniques of non-violence in challenging race discrimination. More specifically, the purpose of the Journey will be to challenge Jim Crow in interstate travel. Whenever necessary the members of the group, (both white and Negro) will divide up to fill a number of engagements simultaneously in the cities where they are stopping. Some of the topics on which members will be prepared to speak are: 1. Non-violence versus Jim Crow; 2. The meaning of the Irene Morgan decision; 3. Brotherhood knows no color line; and 4. We challenged Jim Crow on buses.

"The basic idea of the project is to have a carefully planned trip through several States in the upper South by a small, interracial, disciplined group in order to test Jim Crow proctices on buses and trains involved in interstate travel.

"The trip has a three-fold purpose: 1. to gather data in a planned and scientific fashion on what is happening when Negroes and whites travel together without heed to patterns of segregation in States where Jim Crow laws prevail; 2. to develope techniques for dealing creatively with the possible conflict situations that will arise when segregation patterns are ignored on buses and trains; and 3. to do an educational job by passing on the experiences and data obtained on the trip.

"Both men and women can be used in test groups, but there should be no mixing in the sexes in any one group. The test groups should be made up, primarily of Southerners, though some persons have indicated that this is not of primary importance.

"In this first test trip, points in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky will be touched. The deep South may be touched later, depending what comes out of this first experiment.

"Witnesses, who will not be a part of the project will be on hand at all times to observe carefully what transpires.

"Project participants must have enough money on their persons to cover bail in case of arrest. It has been suggested that each person ought to have at least $250 in travelers' checks.

"There is no plan for issuing any kind of letter-head with the names of prominent individuals attached as a special committee. However it will be important for the group participating in the project to have the support of various groups and individuals in order that they might not be isolated in case of arrest or of some other unfortunate incident," the copies ended.

The jury deliberated for only 15 minutes before returning the verdict of guilty.

Motions for dismissal and of nonsuit were not allowed.

Four Handed 30-Day Terms For Bus Seating Violation

HILLSBORO—Four alleged members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Congress of Racial Equality, were sentenced by Judge Chester A. Morris in Orange County Superior Court here yesterday to 30 days in the workhouse for violation of the North Carolina bus seating statute.

The jury was out only 15 minutes before returning a verdict of guilty in the case.

The four defendants served notice of appeal to the State Supreme Court. Motions for dismissal and nonsuit were denied.

The defendants were Igal Roodenko of New York and Joseph A. Felmont of Asheville, both white; and Bayard Rustin of New York and Andrew S. Johnson, Negroes.

They were arrested in Chapel Hill last April 13 at the bus station there after Ned Leonard, driver for the Carolina Coach Company, was unable to persuade them to sit in the vehicle according to rules of the company and the State statute.

The prosecution, under the direction of Solicitor W. H. Murdock of Durham, threw a bombshell into the defense ranks with the introduction of photostatic copies of alleged planned tests of the so-called Jim Crow regulations.

Excerpts from papers relating to a "Journey of Reconciliation" contained detailed plans and instructions to small groups making "test trips" through several states in the "upper South."

Despite this evidence, Roodenko—the only defendant to testify—denied under questioning by private prosecutor L. J. Phipps of Chapel Hill that the group's motive was to test the State's segregation statute. Phipps assisted Solicitor Murdock in the prosecution.

Roodenko declared that his purpose on the trip was "to see what I can do in my own small personal way to promote better understanding among various groups of people."

All of the defendants except Johnson were committed by the government as conscientious objectors during the recent war.

Felmont was a student at the University of North Carolina in the class of 1942.

Roodenko, whose age was given as 31, said that while he was detained as a conscientious objector he went on a hunger strike in protest against certain regulations of which he disapproved.

Leonard, driver of the bus on which the four were riding at the time of their arrest, told the court that Johnson, one of the Negroes, was sitting next to Felmont in the third seat from the front of the bus, despite the fact there were vacant seats toward the back. Roodenko was sitting with Rustin, the other Negro, in a seat toward the rear, Leonard said.

The bus driver told the court that "I asked Johnson to take a seat in the rear, and quoted him the rules, but he refused to move. He said that he was under the impression that by virtue of some interstate law he could sit where he wanted to."

Leonard said that he then called a police officer and told Felmont to move so that Johnson could get out. He said that Felmont replied that he would not move unless he was placed under arrest.

Leonard testified that the officer, [illegible], asked him if he would sign warrants against the men. Leonard said that he did so.

"When I returned to the bus I noticed Rustin and Roodenko had moved to the seats which had been vacated by Felton and Johnson. I asked them to move but they refused. I asked Roodenko where he was going and he said 'Danville.' I told him that he was on the wrong bus. Then he said 'Greensboro.' Rustin would not tell where he was going," Leonard testified.

Under cross-examination by defense counsel, including C. J. Gates and E. R. Avant of Durham, and a Raleigh attorney (all Negroes), Leonard was asked why he did not request other Negro passengers to move to the extreme rear of the bus.

Leonard replied that he did not get to the rear section of the bus because of the incident in the front. He also admitted that it is possible

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"The trip has a three-fold purpose: 1, to gather data in a planned and scientific fashion on what is happening when Negroes and whites travel together without heed to patterns of segregation in states where Jim Crow laws prevail; 2, to develop techniques for dealing creatively with the possible conflict situations that will arise when segregation patterns are ignored on busses and trains; and 3, to do an educational job by passing on the experiences and data obtained on the trip.

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Leonard said under cross-examination that he did not know that the defendants held tickets to Knoxville, Tenn., and Danville.

Under questioning, Roodenko admitted that he had attended a dinner at Chapel Hill the night of April 12 and a meeting at Greensboro the following night. He also admitted attending a meeting in Asheville on April 17.

In reply to a question by Judge Morris as to why he had changed his seat after Johnson and Felmont were arrested, Roodenko said that "I thought they had been unjustly treated."

The photostatic copies concerning "Journey of Reconciliation" and notices marked "confidential, not to be used for publicity purposes," were identified by Roodenko.

The latter said that he owned an interest in a printing shop in New Jersey, and admitted that he had been in the employ of the "Fellowship" organization, with headquarters in New York City.

Despite protests of defense counsel, Judge Morris permitted introduction of the papers.

Excerpts from the copies, signed by a "George M. Houser" and Bayard Rustin, follow:

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An English statute of 1236 has been interpreted to fix Feb. 28, in the years when February has no extra day, as the proper date to celebrate birthdays of those born Feb. 29.

Around Capitol Square—

Failure To Up Leaf Quotas, Sales Hit

By LYNN NISBET

TOBACCO—There is marked regret, reaching proportions of resentment in some quarters, over failure of the Federal Department of Agriculture to revise tobacco acreage allotments upward. There has also been a good deal of talk about the sale announced last week of 80,000,000 pounds of bright leaf tobacco stocks by Tobacco Associates, Inc., a farmer organization which has operated for the past two years as a principal buying agent for the Commodity Credit Corporation in taking over at 90 per cent of parity leaf tobacco which did not find other buyers.

RELATED—Suggestion has been made that there is some relation, perhaps not entirely on the up-and-up, between this sale and the attitude of Tobacco Associates leaders in opposing larger acreage this year than has been allotted. This feeling was enhanced by the shroud of secrecy imposed on the deal. Investigation at Raleigh and Washington indicates that if there is or has been any relation at all it is very distant and indirect.

Nisbet

FACTS—Apparent facts in the case, as discovered through several semiofficial channels, seem to be about these: Although announced at one time last week, there were numerous separate sales dating from months back going into the 80 million pounds total. The mark-up price on the 1946 poundage included transportation and redrying costs, insurance and interest, added to parity. For the 1947 crop the selling price included the same handling costs, but the base figures were fixed at slightly less than parity for each grade.

"DEAL"—Officials of CCC insist there were no "deals" of any kind involved other than straight business practices. It has been the policy of the corporation not to reveal the names of buyers, because in the highly competitive business of tobacco the buyers do not want their transactions (such as what grades of tobacco they bought) published. This is the same policy of secrecy which many government agencies have adopted and which many taxpaying citizens resent.

PUBLIC—North Carolina law requires publicity for sales and purchases of property belonging to the State. Tobacco held by the Commodity Credit Corporation is essentially Government property, and general feeling hereabouts is its handling should be done in the open and taxpayers informed of profits or losses incurred in the transactions.

WORRIED—One Washington contact reports that it is "evident the tobacco folks up here are worried about the reaction in North Carolina over the sales." Meantime some people in the State are worried about possible influence of the whole tobacco acreage and reserve stocks matter on the current political campaign. If unrest and dissatisfaction grows as fast during the next two months as it has for the past two, there may be a much larger "protest" vote than had been expected. Trouble political analysts are having is to determine what the voters will most likely protest against. Developments during the next few weeks in the tobacco situation may have substantial bearing on the primary vote, but few prophets will venture to predict what it will be.

A.B.C.—Reports from Granville County indicate considerable interest, but as yet no heat, in the election scheduled for Saturday of next week on the question of A.B.C. stores. Most of the reports also indicate little chance for approval of legal liquor selling by the Granville County voters. The vote may not be relatively as large as that cast in recent A.B.C. elections in Rowan, Mecklenburg, Hickory and Asheville, but scouts predict it will be heavier than the normal A.B.C. votes up to a couple of years ago.

COCKY—Tarheel Republicans are showing signs of cockiness. For the first time since 1928 they have large confidence their party will win the national election, and are hopeful that the tide will carry along a good many local officers. Reports from party leaders indicate the Republicans will have a candidate for Congress in each of the 12 districts, although there isn't remote possibility of victory in more than three, little probability of success anywhere. There will also be Republican candidates for local offices in many counties which usually do not bother to put out tickets.

STRATEGY—Republican strategy is obvious and also wise, according to some Democratic leaders. None of the top leaders in either party will admit they think the Southern revolt against the Democratic national policies will be as serious in North Carolina as in some other states. But the only way Republicans can capitalize on it, if it does develop to important extent by next November, is to get candidates filed by March 20. Decision as to where and how vigorously to press the campaign will be made after the State primary and the national conventions have determined nominees from President down. If the current flurry of resentment is dissipated the Republicans are not expected to put much effort back of candidates in hopeless territory. If, on the other hand, protest becomes more violent, the opposition party may push their ticket all over the State.

Government Won't Buy Eggs This Year

RALEIGH (U.P.)—C. W. Sheffield of the State Department of Agriculture said yesterday that no eggs would be bought by the Federal government in North Carolina this year to support prices.

Sheffield said he received the decision from Roy W. Leonardson, head of the poultry division of the Production and Marketing Administration in Washington.

The agriculture official gave no details.

Dial F-115 for Newspaper Service.

Currier, Bob

JgR

X1

March 24, 1948
212 Cornwallis Rd.
Durham, N.C.

Hi Bayard,

Enclosed is an article that greeted us the day we arrived here after spending a wonderful week camping on the beach in Florida. There was a similar, but shorter article on the front page (top left) of the Durham "Morning Herald".

You have by now probably received a rather quaintly worded plaque which I swiped from a bus in New Orleans and sent to you. Hope you didn't think one of your enemies had sent it as a hint. Thought you might like either to nail it above the toilet as a joke or burn it in the fireplace as a symbolic gesture and ceremony.

We have left N.O. probably for good as I did not sign up for next year with the symphony. Would like to stay in N.Y. next year if I can get a job there in music. Do you have any connections with Broadway musicals etc? Practically impossible to get work in NY without pull, I understand.

On April 1, I begin touring this state from end to end with the N.C. Symphony. Don't suppose there's any particular service I could perform while enroute (we travel by chartered bus) but if there is, let me know.

We still plan to come to N.Y. right after the season is over here on May 20. Don't break your neck to be out by then as we can always stay with my parents in Croton for awhile.

Be seeing you,

Bob Currier

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

2929 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK • UNIVERSITY 4-2670

RACIAL - INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT

GEORGE HOUSER
BAYARD RUSTIN } CO-SECRETARIES

A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY
HOWARD THURMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN

November 20, 1948

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Percy Bartlett
38 Gordon Square
London, W. C. 1
England

Dear Bayard:

Katie and I are hoping that you will find time to drop us a note before you get too far away. Last night Mary Forman, whom you may know and who has just returned from two years with the AFSC in Vienna, was at our home for dinner. Her brother, whom you may also know, Charles Forman, is teaching at a small seminary in India. It occurred to me that you might want to get in touch with him. Chuck is an FOR member, and graduated from Union about two or three years ago. He is a very good guy. His address is A.P. Mission, Saharanpur, U.P., India.

Just a few news items that I think of off-hand. These items will seem rather distant from you, I am sure, but you will be interested in them.

The case against Peck and Banks in Asheville was dropped by the state. This seems to have happened some time ago but I just heard about it. I think we will follow up on it and sue the bus company if we can.

I guess you saw the note I sent out to the fellows on developments in Durham. I think everything is under control now. The committee, with Scarborough and Boulware giving it a good deal of punch, will take responsiblity for those cases from now on. I am still afraid you will have to do your thirty days down there in North Carolina, but we'll build it up so that you and the other fellows can be martyrs.

Sandy Katz got a year and a day last Thursday, the 18th. The judge wanted to give him five years' probation, but the DA

NATIONAL SECRETARIAL STAFF

A. J. MUSTE	Secretary
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE	International Secretary
JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.	Associate
H. F. HANCOX	Associate, Membership and Finance
ALFRED HASSLER	Literature
GEORGE M. HOUSER BAYARD RUSTIN	Racial-Industrial

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
G. EVELYN LEWIS
E. A. SCHAAL
ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR.
SHELBY ROOKS
PRENTICE THOMAS
THEODORE D. WALSER
DEWITTE WYCKOFF

said that Sandy would just be picked up again for violating the Selective Service Act unless he would agree to register and fill out his questionnaire. The only safe place for a non-registrant or non-cooperator is in prison, therefore, since there is no detached service or CPS. If a person wishes to avoid registration, etc., he will just have to go to prison.

Newt Garver will be sentenced on Monday, the 22nd. I am going down to Philadelphia for the sentencing and then I am going to speak at some meetings at Swarthmore. Bob Peters, interestingly enough, was let off because he was a veteran. I don't know whether this will stand indefinitely, but at least his case has been thrown out of court for the moment.

I am keeping busy with being out of town on various kinds of trips, and setting up some student conferences and interracial Workshops. I am doing more straight pacifist work than was true last year. This will probably continue as things get worse. I attended the OCED conference in Columbus earlier this month. Their attendance was not so good, but I think they made some progress toward a sound organization.

I guess this is all for the moment. Let us have your address in India so we can keep you informed on developments. Drop a longer note when you can.

Sincerely yours,

George R

George M. Houser

GMH/cr
oeiu 153

Dear Bayard:

People all over the place are asking about you. It will be nice to have you back, though things seem to be crazy enough even without you. Sally Sullivan is here typing CORElator stencils, and says Hello. You really ought to know her better; she's a grand person, and I don't think you could corrupt her too much. On that three weeks' journey from England to India you should have plenty of time to write to us, so don't forget to do it.

Lots of love,

Kitty

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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RACIAL - INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT

GEORGE HOUSER
BAYARD RUSTIN } **CO-SECRETARIES**

A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY
HOWARD THURMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN

November 13, 1948

Dear fellows:

Since I know that all of you are interested in developments in any of the cases that arose during our Journey in 1947, I am sending this note to all who participated, and not just to those who are immediately concerned. As you know, Rustin, Felmet, Roodenko, and Johnson lost their cases in the Superior Court of Orange County last March, and were sentenced to thirty days each. The cases were then appealed to the state Supreme Court. Then we started to have some difficulties with our attorneys, C. Jerry Gates and Herman Taylor. They had received $350.00 last spring in payment for their services and for expenses. Another bill for $860.00 was sent to us in April. This would mean that they were receiving a total of $1210.00. This seemed pretty high to us here in the office. We tried to work the matter out by mail, with no success. Things remained rather dormant during the summer months, but this fall we received a letter from Herman Taylor after Bayard had left for Europe, saying that he and Gates could not proceed with the cases unless they knew the money would be forthcoming. In order to straighten this matter out I took a trip to Durham November 8th, 9th, and 10th. As a result of this trip I believe everything is now set up as it should be.

I had a meeting on Tuesday, November 9th, with about fifteen of the leading citizens of the Negro community in Durham. They were rather burned up about the size of the bill we had received from the attorneys and were anxious to see the cases go on up to the state Supreme Court without further complication. Therefore I got their complete cooperation in setting up a special committee that will take responsibility for these cases from here on out. The persons serving on the committee are C. E. Boulware, G. W. Logan, J. C. Scarborough, J. S. Stewart, James T. Taylor, and Mrs. Joseph H. Taylor. This committee will ~~assume responsibility for raising the necessary money, for~~

assume responsibility for raising the necessary money; for negotiating with the attorneys on the size of the fee, etc.; for deciding whether the cases should be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court if we lose in the state Supreme Court. Their mood was to appeal all the way up if necessary. I will be keeping in touch with this committee from now on and will help to raise a little money nationally if they can't do everything locally.

They seemed to be convinced that there is a chance of winning in the state Supreme Court. Both the attorneys seemed to think there is a chance, too.

If any of you have any suggestions or comments please let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Houser

George M. Houser

ociu 153

April 15, 1949

Mrs. Carrie Slater
513 Pine Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Slater;

I have for the last few weeks been at Camp #508 in Roxboro where I met your husband, Sylvester Slater. I have now been released and I am back in New York City where I work. It had been my intention to stop to see you to let you know that Sylvester is well and to let you know that he wanted you to send to him his pipe which he left in the dresser drawer. I was unable to see you because of urgent business during my stay in Durham and this letter therefore is to inform you that he is well and to ask you to send him his pipe.

May I add that life at the camp is much easier when one hears very often from his family and friends. I therefore trust that you will keep in touch with Sylvester often.

Sincerely yours,

BR/e

Bayard Rustin

April 15, 1949

Sylvester Slater
Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Sylvester:

I am sorry not to have been able to have seen your wife when I was in Durham but I was kept busy the entire day and I had in the evening to take a night train for New York. I have written your wife a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, and I trust that she will send the pipe to you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/e

Enclosures: copy of letter to your wife
3 stamped envelopes

April 15, 1949

Mr. John Scarborough, Jr.
Scarborough Undertaking Establishment
Durham, North Caroline

Dear Mr. Scarborough:

I have recently been released from Camp 508 at Roxboro and while there I had the pleasure to know your friend Michael Harris. I was greatly impressed with him and assured him that on my release I would have a chance to talk with you about business matters which he hopes you will be kind enough to transact for him. On my release, however, I was extremely busy in Chapel Hill and Durham laying the ground work for what I hope will be some fundamental changes in the administration of the camps and consequently was unable to see you. So I will take up by note the business which Michael wanted me to discuss with you.

It seems that he has been working to get parole and that the Parole Board in Raleigh has indicated to his lawyer that there is some considerable possiblity of his being released in June of July. Apparently, also, his wife received some information from the lawyer which she passed on to Michael in a letter-- but the copy of the lawyer's letter has been withheld from him. I know from personal experience that mail often is held up at the camp, because some mail which had been received by me over the three week period was not given to me until the day that I was released. Naturally Michael is greatly distressed with the uncertainly and the situation and requested that you do the following:

1. Go to see his lawyer, an attorney by the name of Sigmund Myers, and have a discussion with him on the parole situation and get as much information as you can.

2. Write Michael as much information as you are able to get from the attorney about the parole situation.

It is my suggestion, not Michael's, that it would be much better if you had the opportunity to go by Roxboro on the first or third Sunday of the month, between 1 and 4 p.m. and to deliver the information in person since there is no assurance that a letter concerning parole would get to Michael.

Life at the prison camp leaves much to be desired and I hope therefore that you will do all within your power to help Michael to secure release as early as possible and to ease his mind by getting to him the information which he wishes so greatly.

I do not believe that we have met by I have had the opportunity of getting to know your father and if you have any questions about me you may talk with him.

Sincerely yours,

BR/e

Bayard Rustin

April 15, 1949

Mr. John Searborough, Jr.
Searborough Undertaking Establishement
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Searborough:

I have recently been released from Camp 506 at Roxboro and while there I had the pleasure to know your friend Michael Harris. I was greatly impressed with him and assured him that on my release I would have a chance to talk with you about business matters which he hoped you will be kind enought to take car

April 15, 1949

Michael Harris

Camp 508

Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Michael Harris;

Due to the heavy pressure of business I was unable to see John Scarborough, Jr. But I have written him fully from New York and I am sure that I have made the situation clear and that you may expect to hear from him in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Enclosures:

3 stamped envelopes

1 sheet of paper

April 15, 1949

Willy Johnson
Camp 308
Roxboro, N. C.

Dear "Blue":

I am writing this note hastily since I am very busy. But I do want you to know that I did not get a chance to see your sister and therefore I have written her a note--a copy of which is enclosed. You will hear from me more fully in the near future when I have had a chance to clear up some of the business which has accumulated.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/e
Enclosed: copy of letter to your sister
3 stamped envelopes

April 15, 1949

Mrs. Rosalie Jackson
114 East Proctor
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

As you will note, my name is Rustin and I have recently been released from the road gang where your brother, willy Johnson is. As you probably know, his address is Camp #508 Roxboro, North Carolina. He requested that I visit you when I passed through Durham. It was my intention to do so but time did not permit. He had asked me to come to see you because he is to be released in May and wants you to send him some clothes by May 5th. I cannot tell you how important it is for a person to leave prison with some money in his pocket and a decent suit of clothes on his back. Therefore I sincerely trust that you will see to it that his clothes and money are sent to him.

Sincerely youre,

BR/e

Bayard Rustin

Roxboro
Jn.

April 15, 1949

James Newman
P. O. Box 662
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear James Newman:

I want you to know that I have been thinking of you and the other fellows at the camp since leaving and that I intended writing you from Durham but was unable to get the time. However, I am writing you therefore at your home address as I remember you were to be released on Easter Monday and you should get this note to welcome you home.

I was very unhappy at the walking boss's insisting upon your working in cold running water without boots. I shall never forget seeing you working in that ditch with the water running over the tops of your shoes. And I want you to know how really courageous it was of you to hold your temper so well when he discussed the fact that you would have to work under those conditions whether you liked it or not. Somehow I felt as though I should have spoken up at that point but perhaps it is better the way it turned out. At any rate I want you to know that I was thinking of you and trust that things will go well with you. And for God's sake try to control your temper for as I see it, that is the only thing that will get you into trouble. In the meantime I will do the best to control mine too.

Let me hear from you sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR:e

RI

April 15, 1949

Odell Arnett
Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Odell;

I want to say that I am very sorry not to have been able to see Annie Ruth when I went through Durham but as I explained in the letter which I have written her, a copy of which is enclosed, I was so busy that time did not permit. I did want you to know that I have written her. I am very busy here in New York but will write you more fully in the next few days or so.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Enclosure; copy of letter to Annie Magnum
3 stamped envelopes

April 15, 1949

AIR MAIL **SPECIAL DELIVERY**

Miss Annie Ruth Mangum
1610 Vale Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Miss Mangum:

Within the last week I had an opportunity to talk with Odell Arnett at Camp #508 Roxboro, North Carolina. Odell seemed quite upset and wanted me to have a chance to talk with you when I passed through Durham on my way back to New York. I am sorry that I was unable to see you. Therefore I am taking up by letter the business Odell had asked me to discuss with you. First of all he had asmed to request that you come to see him on Easter Sunday--April 17. I hope that it will be possible for you to go to see him. Secondly, he wanted me to say that the letter which you received recently in which he was supposed to have said some unkind things to you was actually not written by him but by another inmate who signed his name. I am convinced by the look of sincerity on his face at the time he was telling me this that he was telling the truth.

He also asked me to request you to write him by Saturday to let him know whether you are able to come to see him on Sunday. This, of course, you will not be able to do.

Third, he wanted to know if, you would be kind enough to bring the baby Gloria when you came.

Sincerely yours,

BR/e

Bayard Rustin

P.S. Visiting hours are between 1 and 4 p.m.

April 15, 1949

Mr. Joseph Whitfield
Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Joe:

I had hope to be able to write you from Durham but I was so busy that I did not get to it. In the meantime I did have contact with a friend of mine in Chapel Hill who requested an opportunity to send in some things to the fellows at camp. I have today mailed to her you name and address and the material which she will send will come to you and I know that I can depend on you to it that the fellows get it. I shall be sending within a few days some material myself. I am sorry that I have not been able to get at it earlier. Give my regards to all at the camp. I trust that things are going well.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures

Bayard Rustin

3 stamped envelopes
1 sheet of paper

Roxboro Inmat

April 15, 1949

John Thomas Hopkins

Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear friend:

I was so flustered at the last moment when leaving camp that I did not keep my promise to pay your friend for the tablet which I had bought from you. Therefore, I hope that you will accept the stamps enclosed as payment for the tablet. I am aware that you did not expect payment for the tablet, but I know also how precious any bit of material is at camp and therefore urge you to accept these stamps.

Since being released I have been quite busy and will continue to be so for the next week after which I shall be flying out to California for a couple of weeks. If I do not get a chance to drop you a note before I leave for California, I shall certainly write you from Los Angeles or San Francisco.

Give my regards to all the chaps and particularly to my friend Skip who will be interested to know that my lectures at the University of North Carolina were well received.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Enclosure: 10 3¢ stamps

$10 -
fund

April 21 - 49
Rofbara N C
Box. 662

hela There
my frend gust a ward to say how glad i was to here from you and to no that you was looking out for me and the other Boys for you no we had a hard time no food fix to Eat you and me can talk now we are free men But i wish that it was something that you could do for my Boy Robert morris so he could get out for you no how his fase was when you was out there and now the word Let him have anything to go on it if you can help the Boys help them Rustin i just got out of the Road as you no and i cant get no work to do

i am in a little Tight spart if yo can plese let me have Ten dollar Tell i can get on foot i will send it Back to yo i dont have no shose to go on my foot and my mother dont have shose to go on her foot and That hurt me so Bad i would ask yo But i dont have a Job as yet plese do That for me at once and soon as i get gone i will send it Back answ soon from

James newman
Box 662
Rabara N C

Calif - like 2 write longer letter but
$10 from fund becuz of need
sooner he repay. sooner
Joss. 2 helps someone else.
i trust things go well
hope 2 hear from him

April 26, 1949

James Newman
Box 662
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Jimmy:

I was very glad to hear from you. I am enclosing $10 to help you out now, I am on my way to California to speak at some colleges out there, and that is the reason that this letter is so short. I trust things are going well with you and hope to hear from you again soon.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/m
enc.

P. S. It would be good if you were able to repay the $10 soon, because the sooner you repay it, the sooner it will be possible to help someone else.

Bayard

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

2929 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK • UNIVERSITY 4-2670

Racial-Industrial Department

GEORGE HOUSER
BAYARD RUSTIN } **EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES**
CATHARINE RAYMOND, OFFICE SECRETARY

CHARLES W. IGLEHART, CHAIRMAN
HOWARD THURMAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN
A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY

April 22, 1949

Buddy Dixon
c/o Daisy Dixon
407 Coleman Avenue
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Buddy:

I am very sorry that I didn't get a chance to see you when I was in Durham. I was very busy at the Universityand talked with a number of students about what could be done to improve conditions on the campus. I believe a great deal of progress was made. I have been writing up a report on the activities in the camp and will see that you get a copy as soon as it is mimeographed. I want to thank you very much for all you did to help me and particularly for delivering the material.

I wrote several of the men in camp, but all of the letters were returned, unopened. I am trying to get some money, material and word into them through my secretary, whose name, Margot Dukler, they will not recognize. Well, if you see any of the fellows, give them my regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin

BR/m

Pittsburgh Courier

POST OFFICE BOX 1828
PITTSBURGH 30, PA.
MAyflower 1401

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Fl
Rox. Inv.

APR 28 1949

April 26, 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
Executive Secretary,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of April 21st, we wish to advise that although it is not customary that we grant free subscriptions, we will make an exception in the case of the unfortunates whom you mentioned in your letter, and send a copy of The Courier to them.

If you will give us the necessary information as to just how to go about getting the paper into the camp, we will place the name on our mailing list and start sending it immediately.

We feel sure that this copy of The Courier will be greatly appreciated by the many men whom you mentioned in your letter.

Very truly yours,

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUBLISHING CO.

Arthur I. Morris

Arthur I. Morris,
Circulation Manager.

AIM/dg

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

THE Pittsburgh Courier

POST OFFICE BOX 1828
PITTSBURGH 30, PA.
MAyflower 1401

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

May 23, 1949

Miss Margot Dukler,
c/o Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Miss Dukler:

We wish to advise that the copy of The Courier that you requested for the men at Roxboro has been taken care of, and the first copy went forward beginning with our issue of May 21st.

As requested, it was addressed to Luther Singleton, Camp 508, Roxboro, N. C.

We are very happy to be able to contribute this copy to these unfortunate individuals.

Very truly yours,

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUBLISHING CO.

Arthur I. Morris

Arthur I. Morris,
Circulation Manager.

AIM/dg

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

April 28, 1949

Arthur I. Morris, Circulation Manager
PITTSBURGH COURIER
Post Office Box 1828
Pittsburgh 30, Penna.

Dear Mr. Morris:

We were gratified to receive your letter with your pledge of a gift subscription for the men at Roxboro. Before he left for a speaking tour of the West Coast, Bayard Rustin left me instructions as to how to go about getting the COURIER into the camp. Since the camp has no library, any magazines or papers that were sent directly to it would never reach the men. Therefore, it will be necessary to send the gift subscription to one man in the camp, who will see to it that the paper is passed around to everyone. Please send your subscription to:

Luther Singleton
Camp 308
Roxboro, North Carolina

Again, let me thank you; your gift will be greatly appreciated by the men at Roxboro.

Sincerely yours,

Margot Dukler
Secretary to Bayard Rustin

Look 511 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

S. O. Shapiro, Vice President
MUrray Hill 2-8730

April 27, 1949
LOOK - 17,439,000 readers

APR 28 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

In reply to your letter will you please send me information as to how to send a subscription to LOOK to the camp you mentioned. We have no fund for an arrangement of this kind but I personally will be glad to send a gift subscription.

Best wishes.

Sincerely

April 28, 1949

S. O. Shapiro, Vice President
Look Magazine
511 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

We were gratified to receive your letter with your pledge of a personal gift subscription for the men at Roxboro. Before he left for a speaking tour of the West Coast, Bayard Rustin left me instructions as to how to go about getting LOOK Magazine into the camp. Since the camp has no library, any magazines or papers that were sent directly to it would never reach the men. Therefore, it will be necessary to send the gift subscription to one man in the camp, who will see to it that the magazine is passed around to everyone. Please send your subscription to:

Joseph Whitfield
Camp 506
Roxboro, North Carolina.

Again, let me thank you; your gift will be greatly appreciated by the men at Roxboro.

Sincerely yours,

Margot Dukler
Secretary to Bayard Rustin

April 21, 1949

Mr. A. L. Hinton
Magaging Editor
NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Sir:

I have just returned from North Carolina where I served 22 days of a 30 day sentence on a chaing gang for violation of that state's Jim Crow segregation laws in bus travel in April 1947.

At the camp where I served my time there are one hundred Negro men who are without any newspaper, magazine or books, except for an occasional comic book or old newspaper that gets in. It would be a real act of charity on the part of the NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE to contribute a year's subscription to the men in this camp.

If you find that you can do this, I will be glad to give you the information as to how to get the paper into the camp.

Sincerely yours,

B

Bayard Rustin

same letter to:
Lucias C. Harper: CHICAGO DEFENDER
Mr. John H. Johnson NEGRO DIGEST AND EBONY
LOOK MAGAZINE 511 5th Ave.
LIFE MAGAZINE 14 ". 49th

April 21, 1949

Mr. William G. Nunn
Managing Editor
PITTSBURGH COURIER
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Dear Sir:

I have just returned from North Carolina where I served 22 days on a chain gang for violation of that state's segregation laws in bus travel in April 1947. At the camp where I served my time there are one hundred Negro men without any newspaper, magazine or books. It would be a real act of charity on the part of the PITTSBURGH COURIER if a year's subscription could be contributed to the men in this camp. If you find that you can do so, please get in touch with me so that I can give you the necessary information on how to get the paper into the camp.

Sincerely yours,

/e

Bayard Rustin

May 9, 1949

Mr. Charles Browning
CHICAGO DEFENDER
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Browning:

We were gratified to receive today a letter from Mr. Louis E. Martin, Editor, in which he said your paper would do all it could to send a subscription to the inmates of the prison at Roxboro, North Carolina. Before he left for a speaking tour of the West Coast, Bayard Rustin left me instructions as to how to go about getting the DEFENDER into the camp. Since the camp has no library, any magazines or papers that were sent directly to it would never reach the men. Therefore, it will be necessary to send the gift subscription to one man in the camp, who will see to it that the paper is passed around to everyone. Please send your subscription to:

Odell Arnett
Camp 908
Roxboro, North Carolina

Again, let me thank you; your gift will be greatly appreciated by the men at Roxboro.

Sincerely yours,

Margot Dukler
Secretary to Bayard Rustin

May 9, 1949

Louis E. Martin, Editor
CHICAGO DEFENDER
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Martin:

We were gratified to receive your letter with your pledge of a gift subscription for the men at Roxboro. Before he left for a speaking tour of the West Coast, Bayard Rustin left me instructions as to how to go about getting the DEFENDER into the camp. Since the camp has no library, any magazines or papers that were sent directly to it would never reach the men. Therefore, it will be necessary to send the gift subscription to one man in the camp, who will see to it that the paper is passed around to everyone. Please send your subscription to:

Odell Arnett
Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Again, let me thank you; your gift will be greatly appreciated by the men at Roxboro.

Sincerely yours,

Margot Dukler
Secretary to Bayard Rustin

3435 INDIANA AVENUE
ESTABLISHED MAY 5, 1905
CALUMET 5-5656

THE CHICAGO Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE ROBERT S. ABBOTT PUBLISHING CO.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 5, 1949

MAY 9 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Your letter to Mr. Lucius Harper has been referred to my office. We shall do all we can to fulfill your request.

Will you please drop a line to Mr. Charles Browning, our circulation manager and let him know who is to get the paper in the camp.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Martin
Editor-in-Chief

LEM:ap

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 2, 1949

Back copies

MAY 2 1949
MAY 3 1949

MAY 3 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We certainly would like to follow the suggestion that you make in your letter of April 21st but I think you will realize that if we made an exception in the case of the camp of which you speak it would only be fair then to grant similar requests from other penal institutions, hospitals, homes for the aged etc. I can assure you that the number of these requests that come in is pretty staggering.

Sincerely,

Francis DeW Pratt

Francis DeW. Pratt
Circulation Director.

FDP:GR

Background Statement on the North Carolina Case

Introductory Statement

On March 21st four men (Joseph Felmet, Andrew Johnson, Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin), convicted of violating the state jim crow statute, will begin to serve thirty-day sentences on the road gang of North Carolina. The case was appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court and on January 7th that court upheld the decision of the lower courts.

Background of the Journey of Reconciliation

On June 3rd, 1946, the United States Supreme Court in its now famous Morgan decision stated that it was an undue burden on interstate commerce to segregate passengers by race if they were traveling across state lines. Under the sponsorship of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress Of Racial Equality sixteen men took a trip through four states in the Upper South to find out whether the Supreme Court decision was being adhered to and to address meetings in many different communities, acquainting people with the Morgan decision and with ways of implementing it. The Journey of Reconciliation, as the trip was called, took place between April 9th and April 22nd, 1947. There were twenty-six different tests of bus and train policy during these two weeks. On only six occasions did arrests occur. Five of these cases subsequently were won, three of them in Virginia, a fourth in Asheville, North Carolina, and a fifth in Durham, North Carolina. The Durham case never went to court since charges were dropped against the men in the police station a half-hour after the arrest. These cases were won on the basis of the Morgan decision. The sixth arrest, which took place in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, has been lost up through the courts. The four arrested on that occasion were found guilty in the Recorder's Court of Orange County. This decision was upheld by the Superior Court of Orange County and then by the state Supreme Court. The issue involved has been over an interpretation of what interstate commerce is. The men arrested in Chapel Hill, although having tickets which gave their destination as Virginia and Tennessee, had stop-overs at other points in North Carolina. (The complete story of the Journey can be found in the pamphlet which Bayard Rustin and George Houser wrote, entitled "We Challenged Jim Crow". 10 cents.)

Why Not Appeal to the United States Supreme Court?

After lengthy consultation and many discussions with attorneys of the NAACP and others, it has been decided not to appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. A primary reason for the decision not to appeal is that quite recently a new case involving the same principle has developed in Virginia (Norvell Lee vs. Commonwealth of Virginia). This case, according to the attorneys, has a better chance of winning before the United States Supreme Court. Therefore, it has been decided not to jeopardize the winning of this case by an adverse decision in the Chapel Hill case.

Fellowship of Reconciliation and Congress Of Racial Equality
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
phone: University 4 - 2670

oeiu 153 - AFL

i ~~u are well. etc.~~

Dr Joe

~~it has bn a long time.~~

i hope tht u r well + tht everything is going okay w. u. I am enc. 3 bucks so that u can get the gloves wich i from. u. i wrote u but u didnt ans. so I supp tht u are mad w. me or didnt get the letter,

Inc.

$3.00

~~add rom. touch~~

I miss you a lot and wish you could have come w me to NY. I hope you miss me too. honey

Love, Mary Lou
Jenkins

u from Calif. i am sending Geech some not, + razor blades: but i thot u wood be able to buy things u wanted yourself. i am also sending Odell + other fell. art gifts,

JL

Luther Singleton — Large bottle
JERGENS LOTION
NOXEMA
RAZOR BLADES

Dear Geech

i trust that things r going well w u + that u r not staying up reading all nite + thereby being unable 2 work hard. "Quit cryin' + Keep that Man something on yr time"! Under sep. cover I am sending u a small pkg. includ-

---

Mr. Boulware

there were a no. uv men in camp tht i prom. 2 do bus. 4. i wrote 5 or 6 fellows there telling them about the things wich i had done + the letters were all ret which is an indication that they do not intend tht i should have contact w the men. ~~this~~ The men 2 whom I wrote were: -

If it were at all pos. on some 1st or 3rd Sun. 4 u or someone else 2 visit the camp i hope tht u will let me kno + I cood then forward 2 u the info wich i wood want taken there.

I am instr. Morgan 2 send certain pack. now + will ask her 2 send u a report of what is sent + to do same 4 the Boulevard.

TO ROXBORO:

CAMP ~~D~~ 508
ROXBORO, N.C.

~~Dr.~~ Odell Arnett $2.00 Money order or postal note

i am leaving 4 Calif. Sat. morn + will nt have opp. 2 get the gloves wich i prom 2 try 2 get 4 u. I am ∴ enc. $2 in or that u may get them yrself. The money is 2 be used 4 gloves if u no what i mean. i trust tht everything is going well w. u + tht your spirits are hi. Expect 2 hr from u sometime.

Send // mi home address plain handwritten

JOSEPH WHITFIELD ~~$5~~ 3.00

1 Life Mag. - 1 Look

KH

Dear Jo -

i had hoped 2 b able 2 do some shopping around 4 things bef going 2 Calif. but i have been so busy time has nt permitted me 2 do so. ~~bc~~ ∴ I hope you will use money enc. 4 getting gloves, comb + other things wich you may need. i will write

Telephone
or
Business

①
write George McDonald
for Ernest P.O.B # 241
Dunn N.C.

Tell Brother how
to work on Parole

---

① Visit

* Rosalie Jackson [for Willie Johnson
114 E. Proctor St, Durham, (Blue) sister
Bring or send clothes by May 5.
Home about 6 o'clock

② Carrie Slater (Sylvester Slater)
513 Pine
Pipes out of dresser drawer
home about 4^{30}

③ Annie Ruth Mangum (for Odell)
1610 Vale St. Durham

1. Come out Sunday
2. Did not write letter
3. Write before Sat.
4. Bring Gloria with her Home 8 am - 2^{30} Pm

④ Johnny Scarboro, Jr.
[Michael Harris]

1. See Lawyer Sigmund Meyers
2. Write information about parole

Write

Ⓕ

+ 1. Willie Johnson
camp #508
Roxboro N.C.

2. Odel Arnette + +
3. Joseph Whitfield - +
4. Alton Wadell
5. James Powe

6. Luther Singleton (Heath)
7. William White (dad)
8. James Newman
P.O.B 662 Roxboro, N.C

9. John Thomas Hopkins
camp #508
or 215 Haywood Street
Durham

To Do

Telephone

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

[redacted]

May 9, 1956

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Reverend King:

I hope that by now you have received the copies of LIBERATION. Reprints of your article will soon be available and I shall mail them directly to you. I have discovered one young man who may fit the bill in regard to the writing project and trust that there will be some opportunity for you to meet him on the 17th.

Regarding the $5,000 which I left with you, I have been in touch with the person who lent it and under the circumstances, that there are no imminent arrests, he would like to have it returned. I suppose the simplest way to do this is to send the check to me direct at the above address.

In the event that considerable money is needed for bail in the future, it would be a simple matter for us to raise a tidy sum with ease.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/ms

Civil Rights

Room 825
#5 Beekman St.
N.Y.C.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Enclosed you will find a very interesting letter from Rev. King which I should like to share with you!

Bayard Rustin

P.S. I am going South for a few days. Will be in Memphis. I shall give you a report on my return.

B.R.

SEP 27 REC'D

The Montgomery Improvement Association, Inc.
530-C South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

September 20, 1956

Dear Bayard,

It was a real pleasure talking with you this morning. I must apologize for being somewhat tardy in my reply to your letter. Absence from the city plus the accumulation of a flood of mail account for the delay.

I will seek to answer your questions to the best of my ability. We may go about it by answering them one by one.

1. What is the immediate financial situation?
At present our finances are holding up fairly well. However, in the last three or four months our out-of-town contributions have dropped down tremendously. This is understandable in the light of the fact that the publicity on the Montgomery situation has lessened over the last few months. There is still need for all of the financial aid that we can get.

2. How much are you spending weekly?
We are spending at present approximately five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) weekly. Most of this money is used for the transportation system and the running of the office.

3. What does the financial picture look like for the future?
As I said above, we are still in need of financial aid. If we can continue to get a reasonable sum of money from outside sources I believe we will be able to raise enough in the local community to keep us going indefinitely. We seek at every point to cut down on expenses wherever we can, but the real problem is that as time goes on the wear and tear on the automobiles increases which leaves a tremendous repair bill.

4. What is the attitude of the people in the Negro community?
The people are just as enthusiastic now as they were in the beginning of the protest. They are determined never to return to jim crow buses. The mass meetings are still jammed and packed and above all the buses are still empty. Every now and then we will hear some complaint, but the vast majority of the people are dedicated to sacrificing and sticking out to the finish. I think also there is a growing commitment to the philosophy of non-violence on the part of the Negro community. Even those who were willing to get their guns in the beginning are gradually coming to see the futility of such an approach.

5. What are the major problems you are up against?
We are still confronting pressure from reaction forces. For instance there is still the attempt to block our transportation system. The policies have been cancelled on more than half of our station wagons, and we have confronted insuperable difficulties trying to get them reinsured. You can see what it means to our transportation system to have about ten station wagons out of

more

operation. We have had these station wagons out of operation for more than a week simply because they are not insured. This seems to be the major problem confronting us at this time.

6. What is the effect of the White Citizens Council and Ku Klux Klan intimidation and action?
The actions of these two organizations in Alabama have given our people more determination to press on for the goal of integration. There is a general feeling that these organizations will destroy themselves through internal decay. There is good evidence for this view because these organizations are putting as much pressure on white people as they are on Negroes. (The white persons who don't agree with their point of view.)

7. What is the legal situation at present and what strategic plans have you for carrying on the struggle?.
At present we are awaiting a decision of the Supreme Court. As you know the Federal District Court, in a decision back in May, declared segregation unconstitutional in public transportation. In order to delay the situation the city and state appealed the decision to the United States Supreme Court. The court will reconvene in October. Our lawyers feel that the Supreme Court will render its decision before Christmas or by January at the latest. This case is a priority case since an injunction is involved, so it will be one of the first cases on the docket when the court reconvenes. We will continue to refuse to ride the buses until this decision has been rendered. While waiting for the decision we will use our mass meetings to put greater emphasis on non-violence as a way of life and as a technique and also seek to prepare the people to go back to integrated buses with a sense of dignity and discipline. We are also hoping to instill within the minds of the people the great implications of the bus protest. We are seeking to show that it is much larger than a bus situation, but that it is just one aspect of the total question of integration in the south.

The legal situation in which I am involved will probably continue this fall. It is probable that my case will come up in November in the state case appeal. The briefs have already been filed. They are so large that the cost to file the briefs was more than one thousand dollars ($1,000.00).

In order to carry on our legal battle we will continually need money. It seems to be the strategy of the White Citizens Council to keep us bogged down in litigation as much as possible. As one pro-segregationist said recently: "We are prepared for a century of litigation."

I hope this will in some way help you answer these pressing questions. I only regret that other pressing demands make it impossible for me to give more time to these questions. Feel free to contact me concerning any other questions. We are still deeply grateful to you for your encouraging words and your profound interest in our struggle. Whenever you feel the need to give some words of advice please feel free to do that.

With warm personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,
signed M. L. King, Jr.,President

MLK:mlb

Sept. 26, 1956

Dear Rev. King,

For some time I have been deeply disturbed with the manner in which Christian publications in this country have concentrated on the political aspects of racial change, and have tended to respond in their thinking for Christians as citizens rather than addressing themselves to the moral issues beneath the struggle.

It has occurred to me that perhaps you and Rev. Graetz might challenge a more profound approach. For what it is worth I enclose a memorandum for your study and consideration. If you and Rev. Graetz could jointly sign something similar to this and submit it to Dr. Harold Fey of the Christian Century (he is the editor, as you doubtless know), several things might occur:

. The readers of Christian Century would undoubtedly begin a correspondence with the magazine; Montgomery protest and its Christian significance would be under debate and the real issue from the Christian viewpoint would be under discussion.

There, of course, may be reasons why this would not be a sound thing for you to do. I should, however, appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

A Message to American Christians

Discussion of relations between the races has tended in recent weeks to concentrate on such aspects as the Supreme Court decision relating to integration in the public schools, and the maintenance of law and order against mob rule in certain communities. The discussion is predominantly political and involves all Americans, whether north or south, as citizens.

We do not wish to minimize these issues. They have an important bearing upon peace in our land, the enrichment of our democratic society, and the good name of our nation throughout the world, especially among the so-called uncomitted peoples.

The basic issue, however, is not political. It is moral and spiritual. For Christians it has to do with the scriptural teaching that all men, whatever their race or color, are children of one Father, created by him for an eternal destiny, and therefore of infinite worth. For Christians all are brothers one of another in the one family under the providence of the one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It has to do with the Gospel commandment that even as God in Christ loved us, so shall we love one another. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen. If, therefore, a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar and the truth is not in him.

Thus Christian people and the Christian Church throughout our land stand under a solemn judgment. At the same time we have before us a glorious opportunity.

The Christian Church, proclaiming the Word of God, has much to do with the increasing sensitiveness on the issue of race relations and the fairly substantial advances which have been made in recent years. The Church itself, however, has in its own life woefully fallen short of practising what it has preached. It has not lived up to the spirit of Lord Christ whose name it bears. A segregated Church, a Church which bars Christians on grounds of race from the very table of our Lord, is in that respect not a Church of Christ. In such a crisis as we experience in our land today, it daily crucifies its Lord anew.

The Christian man and woman, the members of a Christian family, apart from their responsibilities as citizens, have a personal and a family responsibility to their fellow Christians in their own community, in their own neighborhood and in their own street. It is the responsibility to treat them as brothers and sisters in Christ, members in full fellowship of the Holy Spirit—not as objects of condescension or charity, nor even of earthly justice and fair dealing, but of love.

So long as local churches throughout the land and individual Christians and Christian families fail, out of ignorance, insensitiveness or fear to display such love within the Church and in all daily relationships, they are not only in the world but of it. They have become salt which has lost its savor, and in the Master's stern words, are "fit only to be trodden under foot of men." Since they have failed to bring to the situation that unique saving element which as members of Christ it was their duty and privilege by the mercy of God to bring, they contribute

more

to the confusion, the hesitation, the hysteria, the bitterness and the violence which exist in many places. In so far as physical or mental or spiritual harm is done to individual human beings in these situations, they are guilty before God of offending these little ones for whom Christ died.

We are convinced that the national political situation and the situation in the states and local communities might substantially change for the better, if the Christian Church and Christian people placed first things first; prayerfully examined their responsibility in the light of God's word; repented of their sins and shortcomings, and having opened their hearts to the Holy Spirit, each day sought to practice true love toward their brothers and sisters by the power and under the guidance of that spirit.

Secure in the faith that God will sustain his children in the face of all adversity, Christians, if our Church is to survive, must begin to take action now by:

1. Welcoming into our Churches all worshippers, regardless of race, who seek the saving light of Christ.
2. Opening all church community services including Sunday schools to all individuals on the basis of need and desire.
3. Dropping all restrictions and quotas from church supported schools, colleges, hospitals, recreation centers, childrens homes and other institutions.
4. Supporting all those who from Christian conviction are pioneering in the area of race relations.
5. Making it possible for all families to live in the community of their choice, rather than condoning the ghetto overcrowding which produces disease, delinquency and crime.
6. Acting to uphold the Christian principles of non-violence and brotherhood in situations of tension and danger such as have occurred in certain communities this fall in connection with school integration.

Deeply conscious of our own guilt and inadequacy, we call upon Christian leaders, clergy and lay throughout the nation and upon all Christian people to ponder these things; to meet together in supplication for divine guidance; to speak the Word of God boldly and clearly, having noe fear of what men may say or do; to carry out daily in all its implications the Gospel commandment of love.

Yours in the spirit of Christ,

____

____

December 23, 1956.

Dear Martin:

Here are three separate but related papers which Stanley Levison and I felt you could use for the purpose we discussed by telephone.

We shall write you more fully soon on the Africa-India deal and shall send the kind of prospectus we feel would be excellent for the Southern Leadership Conference on Transportation that we feel should be called.

Sincerely,

P.S. I shall let you know more fully on the Conference either in Baltimore on Saturday or New York next Sunday.

[redacted]

THE NEGROES STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

1. Introduction:

While American history has tended to present the Negro as a simple child-like creature contented with his lot, the facts of history reveal in the Negro an unending series of techniques and methods ultimately designed to win his freedom. Occasionally, economic and social forces, psychological protective coloration and the use of terror by the dominant group caused the Negro to appear contented and servile; however a close examination of the Negroe's history will reveal two things:

   a) an enlightened element, a remnant, dedicated to total freedom always existed.

   b) even the servility was calculated ultimately to achieve those things he felt he must have to achieve freedom.

2. The Major Emphases the Negro hastried:

   a) Violent revolt - on slave ships, in the colonies...this failed by superior force and divide and rule - separation of black field hand and mulatto house servants.

   b) The Underground Railway prior to 1860

      Harriet Tubman

      Frederick Douglass

   could not solve problem, but established the will to freedom.

   c) Political Responsibility -

      1865-1876

   During this period Negro and poor white people achieved, contrary to written history, great advances. An example is free education bill in North Carolina. This bill is still on books.
   This period was destroyed by compromise of 1876 - that brought on removal of Union Army and rise of Ku Klux Klan.

   d) 1879-1890 - The Period of Education.

   America was swept with an interest in education as the cure-all for every problem. The Negro was caught up in this. By his own effort and with the help of white people from the North (Horace Mann, Rosenwald) - churches, state and private schools for Negroes were set up. They tended to emphasize the Classics - but thousands learned to read and write. The Negro preacher - often himself not educated - led this great campaign. It was a campaign for education - in order that freedom would come.

e) The Period 1885-1910 was marked by Vocal Protest. Great orators, like Roscoe Simmons, traveled the nation, like Isaiah, protesting the condition of his people. The Negro newspapers came into existence and began to educate the people.

f) Economic Stability

During this same period and as a result of the period of education, men all over the world were beginning to read Marx and Engels. The emphasis shifted to their concern for economic problems. Booker T. Washington was reared in this atmosphere, and his attention basically went in this direction. His thesis was "get an economic hold" then struggle for social and political rights. He was not an Uncle Tom but suggested a form of education-manual and industrial, that was directed toward economic stability as a first step to social and political freedom.

g) The First Mass Responses

Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa.

The Development of the N.A.A.C.P.

Just prior to the First World War these two movements blossomed about the same time. They reflected basic unrest in the masses of Negroes and could be called The Great Awakening.

The Garvey movement failed for two reasons:

a) it was dishonest

b) Negroes did not want really to return to Africa.

However, the Garvey movement rallied the Negroes in industrial centers and restored some self-respect in them and started them to examine their past history.

h) The Courts

The N.A.A.C.P. founded in 1909 began the campaign that has lasted to this day. Its ~~purpu~~ purpose was to make the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments work. It sought to create freedom under law. It has campaigned since 1909 to establish that Negroes were in principle free and that decisions in courts should in principle establish that freedom under law. The first U.S. Supreme Court major decision in education was so important because it was the first such principled dicision since the reconstruction period.

i) In the 1930's, while the N.A.A.C.P. struggled on, the great depression came. This created a new atmosphere. A new trade union movement developed - the C.I.O. This movement accepted workers on an industrial basis and Negroes moved into it in masses in the industrial areas. This was a time when violence was directed toward all workers - but the Negro played a major part and did much to lift his economic and social status. Out of this groundswell grew, through the work of A. Philip Randolph and others, the first Fair Employment Practices Commission ten years later.

Note: All these movements were preparing the economic independence, the education, the experiences, and the sense of self-respect that made the next stage possible.

j) Montgomery - and its place in the struggle.
It seems to me in this context it has this importance:

1. The first mass protest that was completely Negro and completely non-violent.
2. It touches the entire basis of southern life, for the one-party system, the terror, the absence of voting, etc. have been built/on the economic and *social* and *psychological* position of the Negro in the South. When he stands up and says

   > "This I cannot do. I shall no longer
   > accept this status"

   he has in reality set a challenge to the whole basis of southern life. When he no longer will keep his position the entire system must crumble.
   And as it crumbles America will be able to move toward the full democracy proclaimed in 1776.

MEMO

A. Montgomery possessed three features which are not found in other movements or efforts: as foundations

1. It was organized; used existing institution~~s~~ so that all social strata of the community were involved. It thus had the strength of unity which the school integration efforts have lacked, thereby leaving the fight to heroic but isolated individuals. Montgomery could plan tactics, seek advice and support, develop finacial resources and encompass a whole community in a crusade dominating all other issues. The reason there were those who did not want to give up the boycott is due in part to the consciousness that this welding of a comprehensive, unified group had a quality not to be lost. The fellowship, the ideals, the joy of sacrifice for others and other varied features of the movement have given people something to belong to which had the inspiring power of the Minute Men, the Sons of Liberty, and other organized forms which were products of an earlier American era of fundamental change.

2. The actions of the people won the respect of their enemy. The achievement of unity, the intelligence in planning, the creation of a competent, complex system of transportation, the high level of moral and ethical motivation, all combined togive the closed mind of the white southerner an airing it has never before had. It is not only the Negroe's self-respect which was won - but the respect of white people, who though they retain basic prejudice, have lost something in the course of this year that begins their long struggle to genuine understanding. In short, Montgomery hascontributed to the mental health and growth of the white man's mind, and thus to the entire nation.

3, Montgomery was unique in that it relied upon the active participation of people who had a daily task of action and dedication. The movement did not rely exclusively on a handful of leaders to carry through such fundamental change.

B. The more advanced white people must be encouraged to develop more open relations through various agencies so that a beginning toward Negro-White relationships can be organized. Special recognition, in the form of honoring in speeches, or if possible, formal events, must be accorded such figures as Rev. Turner of Clinton, Attorney Lee Grant, the superintendent of schools in Louisville. It must be pointed out that their devotion to the principles of morality, respect for law, the decent-minded human response to their fellow men, express the truest and finest traditions of our nation.

C. Similarly, the new southern Negro leaders must recognize that they built upon the work of those men who for decades fought a more lonely fight...The Randolphs, Wilkins, Bunches.

D. The movement must now widen to political areas. ~~Rep~~ Representation in all levels of political life from the exercise of the ballot to the holding of office and participation in administrative agencies, is a next most vital step. (Here consultation with men who led great national movements, such as Reuther, Randolph, Potofsky, Quill, should be set up. Note that all have a special social outlook and all except Reuther represented minorities in trade union and social life).

E. Regional groups of leaders should be brought together and encouraged to develop forms of local organization leading to an alliance of groups capable of creating a Congress oforganizations. Such a Congress would create both the alert leadership capable of reacting promptly and effectively to situations and possessing ties to masses of people so that their action projects are backed by broad participation of people who gain experience and knowledge in the course of the struggles. We will be sending a prospectus on this ~~letter~~ later. The final stage may be the ~~confidence~~ conference of leaders on transportation but its broader perspectives must be implicit in the deliberations.

F. The next stage must see the development of a strategy group of national leaders who will be able to guide spontaneous manifestations into organized channels. They will be able to analyze where concentration of effort will be fruitful and while not discouraging any effort, be mobile enough to ~~through~~ throw reserves and support to areas where a breakthrough is achievable. The assessment of urban centers as areas of concentration should be studied against rural centers to determine possibilities of setting up practical goals so that the whole movement can balance successes with setbacks.

G. The fight of the Negro for integration and equality is a vital component in the fight of the common man, Negro and white, to realize higher living standards, higher education, and culture,and a deeper commitment to moral and ethical principles. It is contributing to themovement of America to achieve a nation capable of utilizing its vastly impressive industrial might for the benefit of al

MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, INC.
530-C South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama
January 7, 1957

X

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Bus Protesters call Southern Negro Leaders Conference on transportation and non-violent integration ....

KING, STEELE AND SHUTTLESWORTH ISSUE URGENT PLEA ...

In an effort to coordinate and spur the campaign for integrated transportation in the South, a conference has been called for January 10th and 11th in Atlanta, Georgia.

The emergency conference call was issued by Rev. M. King, Jr. of Montgomery, Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee and Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham. Negro leaders from troubled areas all over the South are expected to attend to share thinking, to discuss common problems, to devise a unified strategy and to plan mutual economic assistance.

A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and International President of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will deliver one of the opening addresses. Mr. Randolph of New York, Dean of Negro leaders, will attend the conference as a fraternal representative from the North.

Rev. King will open the conference by presenting eight working papers. These will include such subjects as:

(1) Dealing with violence directed toward the Negro communities.
(2) The role of law in the struggle.
(3) A unified strategy in the campaign for integrated buses.
(4) Economic sharing.
(5) Dedication to non-violence.
(6) The relation of registration and voting to all efforts for justice.

In their call, the Negro leaders said:

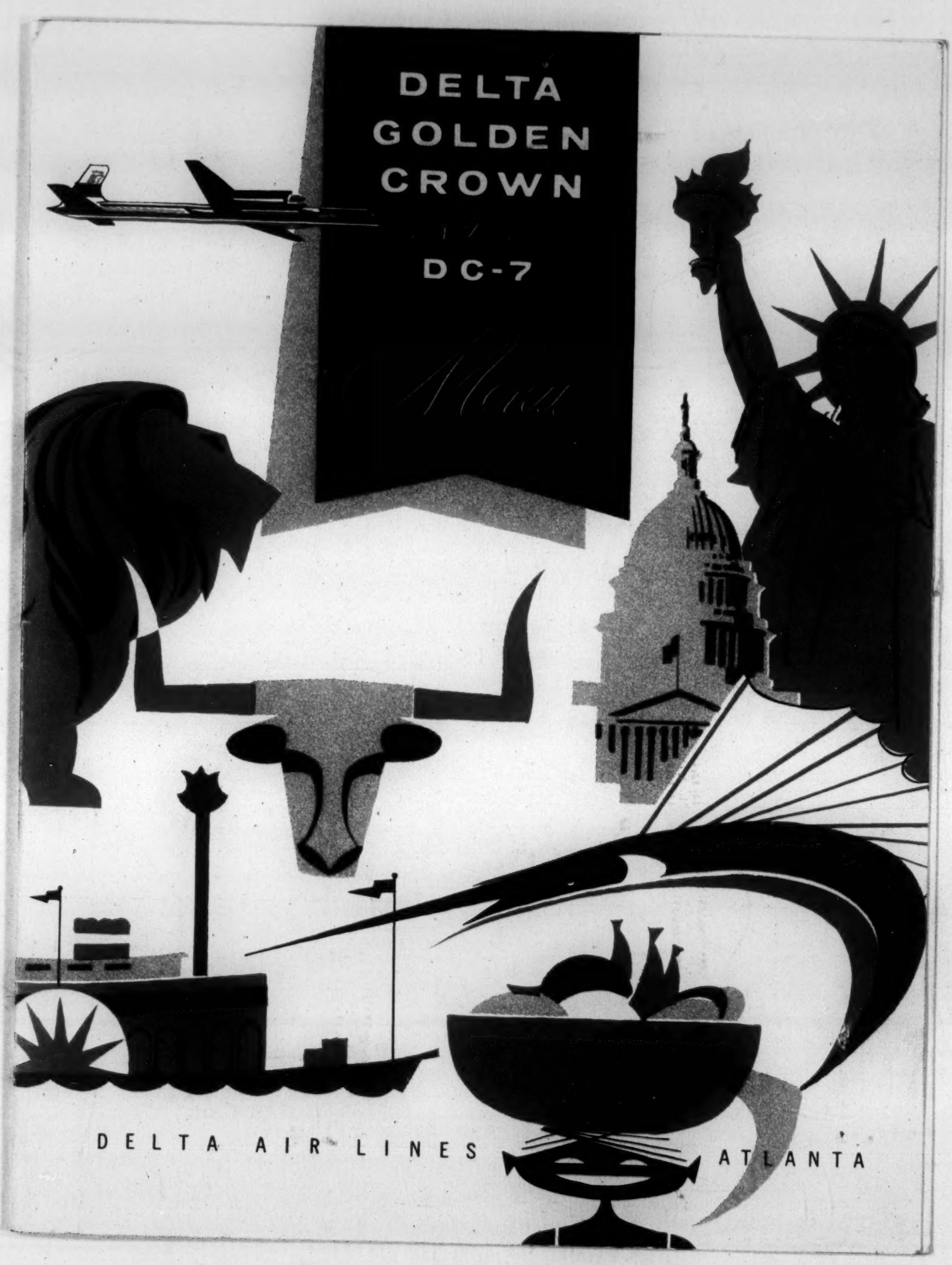
"We are convinced that most white southerners are prepared to accept integration as the law of the land. On the other hand, a small but willful minority, dedicated to violence is resorting to threats, shootings, cross burning and bombings.

"In this manner, they seek to intimidate Negroes and to frustrate our highest laws. They believe we will retreat from the realization of democracy for all.

"This conference is called because we have no moral choice, before God, but to delve deeper into the struggle - and to do so with greater reliance on non-violence and with greater unity, coordination, sharing and Christian understanding."

The leaders announced that the conference will convene at 2 P.M. at The Ebenezer Baptist Church, 407 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. The two-day working session will be closed to the public. However, following the consultations, a public statement to the nation will be issued. A press conference will be held at the end of the last session, Friday evening, January 11th.

-30---30---



DELTA GOLDEN CROWN

DC-7

Menu

DELTA AIR LINES ATLANTA

DELTA AIR LINES

DC-7

Golden Crown Service

If ever there was a time and place for pleasant relaxation this is it. Far above the cares and troubles of the work-a-day world, you're on an island of luxury that's 4 miles up and traveling at 6 miles a minute.

Yet all the comforts and quiet elegance of an exclusive club surround you. Golden drapes, walnut panelling, plush carpeting—with the personal interest of capable stewardesses, whose hospitality comes from the heart. As they set your table and serve your meal, you may be interested to know that the cuisine on a Delta **Golden Crown DC-7** is unique. Developed through years of dinner-aloft experience, Golden Crown meals are prepared only by the nation's top caterers to the exacting standards set by Delta.

Now, as you relax in pleasant anticipation, let us thank you again for choosing Delta. We are honored indeed to have you dine aloft with us as our guest.

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BROILED TENDERLOIN STEAK

Butter Sauce

Stuffed Baked Potato — Cheddar

Green Beans

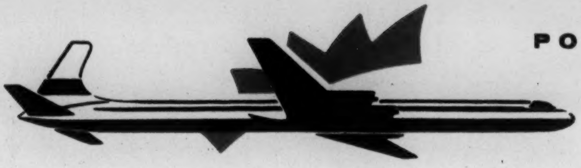
TOSSED VEGETABLE SALAD

French Dressing

DINNER ROLLS BUTTER

INDIVIDUAL PIE

COFFEE TEA MILK



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agusta 25571

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Cl ~~Griffith~~ (Charleston)

[redacted] → Flemming
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X Dr. Presi. H.D. Montieth (H.) (22483)

Victory Savings, Col, S.C.

Mrs. Simpkins

Rev ~~[illegible]~~ Mc Collum ~~65426~~
trinity methodist church
Orangeburg, S.C
Jefferson
H6055

****
****

DEXTER AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH

Dexter Avenue and Decatur Street

Montgomery, Alabama

****

Martin L. King, Jr., Pastor

J. T. Brooks, Choir Director

Ralph Simpson, Acting Organist

****

Whosoever thou art that worshipest in this church, enter it not without the spirit of reverence, and leave it not without a prayer to God for thyself, for those who minister and for those who worship here.

****

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6, 1957

****

VISITORS ARE ALWAYS WELCOME

****
****

....about 30 visitors...

THE MORNING WORSHIP
Eleven O'clock

Organ Prelude: "I Call to Thee, Lord Jesus" Bach
*Processional Hymn: "How Sweet the Name" No.455
Call to Worship
Invocation
The Responsive Reading: No.509
*Gloria Patri
Anthem: "How Long Wilt Thou Forget Me" Pfleugger
The Morning Lesson
Prayer
Choral Response
Announcements
The Worship of God in Offering
*Offertory: All things come of Thee, O Lord; and of Thine own have we given Thee. Amen
Meditation Hymn: "O God, Our Help ....." No.435
Sermon: "Great Expectations" The Pastor
*Hymn of Invitation: "Pass Me Not" No.230
*Recessional Hymn: "I Love to Tell the Story" No.371
The Benediction
Choral Amen
Postlude: "Taccata in d minor" Bach

NOTE: *Congregation will stand

THE LORD'S SUPPER

Organ Prelude	
Call to Worship	
Hymn: "The Solid Rock"	No. 96
Prayer	
Responsive Reading:	No.544
Hymn: "The Old Rugged Cross"	No. 71
Offering	
Hymn: "Rock of Ages"	No.171
Communion Meditation	
Invitational Hymn: "Jesus Calls"	No.159
Right Hand of Fellowship	
Reading of the Covenant	
The Serving of the Bread and Wine	
Closing Hymn: "What a Fellowship"	No.276

- - RECEIPTS FOR DECEMBER - -

Pledges	$1,401.74
Public Collection	57.21
Anniversary	172.00
January Club	106.19
February Club	38.00
June Club	20.85
July Club	39.00
December Club	165.90
Renovation Fund	402.85
Crusaders	50.00
Donation for Bus Protest	796.25
Other Sources	186.85
Total	$3,436.84

- - - CHURCH NOTES - - -

The Baptist Training Union will meet at 5 P.M. instead of the usual hour.

CHURCH NOTES CONT'D.

The Crusaders will meet this afternoon at the church at 4 P.M. Rev. T. Y. Rogers, Jr. will be the guest contributor.

- - - - - - - - - -

Unit #3 of the Missionary Society will meet with Mrs. Ophelia Sippial, 1402 South Hall Street, Tuesday evening at 7 P.M.

- - - - - - - - - -

On next Sunday, January 13 at 6 P.M. the Dexter Avenue Baptist Choir will present the "Vesper Musicale". Mr. Robert E. Williams, who possesses a great tenor voice, will be the guest artist. Plan now to be present for a great evening.

- - - - - - - - - -

REMEMBER THE SICK IN YOUR PRAYERS

Mrs. Lula Blair	1423	Tuttle Avenue
Mrs. Lillian Bibb	2063	Luverne Street
Mr. A. G. Carlton	1563	St. John Street
Mrs. Mattie Capleton	1619	So. Hall Street
Mrs. Clarissa Chambliss		St. Jude Hospital
Mr. J. C. Cox	1101	Hutchinson Street
Mrs. Eva M. Neely	512	La Pine Street
Mrs. Ludie Randall	484	So. Jackson Street
Mr. S. D. Turner		Fraternal Hospital
Mrs. Mamie Thompson	723	E. Grove Street
Mr. D. D. Williams	1000	So. Union Street

IMPORTANT

FLORIDA AND ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. RECONFIRMATION

Your Reservation Will Be Canceled Unless You Reconfirm

YOU MUST RECONFIRM: At each city in Florida and Atlantic City, N.J., where you hold a reservation on a flight scheduled to leave more than 12 hours after your planned arrival in that city. This applies whether you are arriving by air or other means.

To reconfirm, simply inform the airline at the city in Florida or at Atlantic City, N.J., where you are boarding your flight of your intention to use your reservation. Do this on arrival or at your earliest convenience but at least 6 hours before scheduled departure.

RECONFIRMATION ELSEWHERE. Other airlines may apply this rule in accordance with their own policy. It is recommended that you always contact the airline on which you will depart at the city where you hold continuing or return reservations.

FOUR EASY STEPS THAT WILL MAKE YOUR TRIP MORE PLEASANT—

1. **Make your reservations well in advance to secure the space *you* want.**
2. **Purchase your tickets early—at city ticket offices when possible—this saves *you* time at the airport.**
3. **Please call us if you have a planned stop-over in your itinerary—to enable us to call *you* if necessary.**
4. **Cancel your reservation early if your plans change—so as to make *your* reservations available for someone else.**

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

EASTERN AIR LINES

Sold Subject to Tariff Regulations

Leaders Table

Montgomery — (King) — Coretta King
(alternating)
Seay ②

Tallahassee — Rev. Steel and one other ②

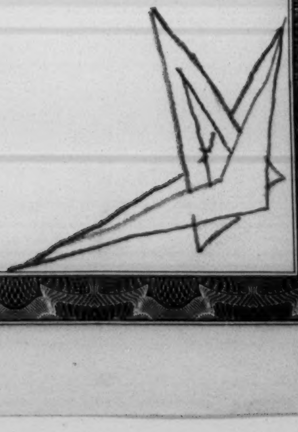
Baton Rouge — Jamison ①

Tuscaloosa — Shelley ①

Birmingham — {Shuttlesworth
Ware} ②

Atlanta — {Rev King
W. H. Borders} ②

Seaty — Rustin 1



Front

The table

IMPORTANT — RECONFIRMATION OF RESERVATIONS — SEE REVERSE

EASTERN AIR LINES

TO:	VOID IF MORE THAN ONE CITY NUMBER CIRCLED
[✓ 1]	ATLANTA
2	BIRMINGHAM
3	BOSTON
4	CHARLOTTE
5	CHICAGO
6	CLEVELAND
7	DETROIT
8	GREENSBORO-HIGH PT.
9	HOUSTON
10	INDIANAPOLIS
11	JACKSONVILLE
12	LOUISVILLE
13	MIAMI
14	NASHVILLE
15	NEW ORLEANS
16	NEW YORK/NEWARK
17	PHILADELPHIA
18	PITTSBURGH
19	RALEIGH - DURHAM
20	RICHMOND
21	SAN ANTONIO
22	SAN JUAN
23	ST. LOUIS
24	TAMPA
25	WASHINGTON
26	

FROM: ORIGIN:

EASTERN AIR LINES
JAN 9 57
FIELD TICKET OFFICE
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

CJ

FLIGHT	DATE	TIME
514	1/9	9 11/n

FARE 11 60

TAX 1 16

TOTAL 12 76

GOING

T

TN

P

FARE BASIS

E

VALID UNTIL

FORM OF PAYMENT

EXCHANGED FOR

OW 001 C808895

SOLD SUBJECT TO TARIFF REGULATIONS

NAME: Baker

VERIFICATION

PASSENGER'S RECEIPT
NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

Rand McNally & Co., Chicago and N. Y. Printed in U.S.A.

CHESTER BOWLES
ESSEX, CONNECTICUT

131 Sunder Nagar
New Delhi, India

January 28, 1959

Rev. Martin Luther King
530 South Union
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. King:

For some time a number of us have been urging you to go to India for a visit to see the achievements of Mahatma Gandhi and to talk with Gandhi's former associates. I only hope that the sad news of further trouble in Montgomery does not necessitate a delay in your visit here. For Indians in all walks of life to whom I have talked about the constructive non-violent efforts of your Montgomery Improvement Associate are eager to greet you.

In India Gandhi's methods made it possible for India to become free without losing the friendship of the British, but they transformed the~~y~~ old relationship into one of mutual respect. Just so in America you are developing techniques which will not only establish American Negroes as first class citizens, but you will do this in a way that earns the respect of all Americans, North and South, white and Negro. The Gandhian method achieves this object not by hurting anyone but by making everyone better.

Prime Minister Nehru told me of his interest in seeing you. Devdas Gandhi, Gandhi's son and publisher of one of India's great newspapers, extends a warm welcome to you, and Dr. Sushila Nayar, Gandhi's doctor, and her brother, Pyarelal, Gandhi's biographer and former right hand man, wish to invite you to stay with them in Delhi. Gandhi's village and constructive center at Sevagram also extend an invitation to you.

Nothing would spread more goodwill for America than a visit here by someone who has tried to apply Gandhi's principles in the United States. The stories I have told here of your peaceful boycott and the approach you have adopted in Montgomery have fortified people's faith in the democratic method.

As you know, there is nothing that hurts our relations with Asians more, or undermines America's prestige more than our lingering racial discriminations. That is why the progress we make in ending segregation peacefully counts so much for better American relations with Asia, and indeed with Africa and the whole colored majority of the human race.

I just wanted you to know that from the perspective of India a visit by you here can be most important.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Chester Bowles

54

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Chester Bowles
131 Sunder Nagar
New Delhi, India

AIR MAIL

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Room 825
5 Beekman St.
New York City, USA

Dear Mr Rustin, we have sent the original of this letter to Dr King in Montgomery but are sending you this copy as you might be more directly concerned with the actual planning of the tour.

P.O.Box 7282
Karachi 3, Pakistan

February 7,1957

Dear Dr.and Mrs.King,

We have just heard from our friend Harris Wofford (who spent a few days with us on his way with Chester Bowles from India to Afghanistan) that you may be coming out to India in the near future. Of course, we don't know what your exact travel plans are, but usually most planes to India go via Karachi. If you do come out this way, it would give us very great pleasure either to meet you at the airport, if you are only on the ground for a short time, or to have you stay with us if you are planning to stay in Karachi more than a few hours. It is of course difficult to say what Karachi might offer to you, because much of the thinking and feeling of people here seems to be influenced by so many factors that differ a good deal from any Gandhian thinking and action that one might find in India. This became clear to us especially during the recent tour of Chester Bowles and his wife, who asked many questions about Gandhi and his relationship with Muslims. Still, there is profound resentment of the United States racial policies and prejudices, which renders many American actions suspect in the eyes of people, although the general feeling is that America is Pakistan's friend, especially vis-a-vis India. It would be a great privilege for us to be able to meet you and talk to you, since the action of your people in Montgomery is perhaps the beginning of a solution for a problem whose very existence is wrong and shameful. This part of the world is of course full of analogous, and equally wrong, prejudices, some based on color, and others based on occupation. Our own delight in acquiring a tan is a continual source of amazement to our Pakistani friends to whom a light complexion means beauty, and a dark one often interferes with an otherwise pretty girl's chances for marriage. We are sending a copy of this letter also to Bayard Rustin, to make sure that it reaches you. If there is anything we can do here for you, either to arrange for a group to meet with you, or merely to make your transit stay comfortable, please do let us know. We can arrange to have three people stay with us, if we have a little bit of advance notice, (and I guess even if we don't!) so do let us know.
With warmest regards. Sincerely,

Hanna Papanek
Gus and Hanna Papanek

First fold here

To open cut here

Feb. 8, 1957

Dear Bill,

When Martin King was considering going to both the Gold Coast and India, I expected to go with him. The situation in Montgomery is such that it is likely that he will go only to the Gold Coast for the independence celebration. I shall not be coming with him. The invitation arrived here and has been sent to Montgomery. However, the invitation mentioned only Rev. King. According to your earlier letter, I am assured that this invitation includes both Rev. and Mrs. King.

The agent which is taking care of the King trip is very anxious to have information on where they will be staying while on the Gold Coast. It is imperative also that they have an address there for Montgomery. I would therefore like you to write Rev. King, care of this address, giving as much information on where they will stay, what they ought to know prior to coming and any hints that you have that will be helpful. It would be good to hear from you immediately.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

January 24th, 1957.

Dear Bayard--

It's good news to hear that you're coming; bring your mandolin so we can do some singing. Maida Springer intimated that you were wangling something re a trip here.

Gbedemah tells me he has straightened out the business of changing the sponsoring organization to the M. I.A. and has got Mrs. King included in the invitation. I am afraid I can't do anything about an official invitation for you on Maida because the situation is very tight with conventional bigwigs as invitees.... or friends of long standing.

Now--follow-through here is very slack so if you have not received King's invitation by February 1st, please let me know immediately. With Robinson and Sawyer in on the scene they may decide to send it somewhere else so check with Robinson.

Baby girl was born last Monday--having myself sterilized next week!

Please ask Ralph if he knows what has happened to my portion of the family goldware--I need to pawn it for cash. I may be asking you to bring me some clothes because I'm completely bare-assed. If you are going to attend functions you'll need a summer formal as will King.

Yours,

Bill

Bill

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME
AIR LETTER

27 JAN
1957
GOLD COAST

SAVE IN
POST OF
SAVINGS B

GOLD COAST
COCOA FARMER
6d

BAYARD RUSTIN
RM. 825. 5 BEEKMAN ST.
NEW YORK, N.Y.
U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

To open cut here

Sender's name and address: SUTHERLAND
C/O MINISTRY OF FINANCE
ACCRA

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGE OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here

Cherry
7772b

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
DEXTER AVENUE AT DECATUR STREET
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
PHONE 3-3970

MARTIN L. KING, JR., *Minister*
309 South Jackson Street

February 23,1957

Mr. Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

I am enclosing our travel schedule. Hope to see you soon.

Yours very truly,

MARTIN

MLK:mlb

COPY FROM

Sarah Marquis Travel Service

TELEPHONE:
CHelsea 3-1331

156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

CABLES:
MARQUISARA NEW YORK

February 13, 1957

SUGGESTED ITINERARY - DR. AND MRS. MARTIN L. KING

Saturday	March	2 -	2:30 PM	Leave New York (Idlewild)	PAA #152	
Sunday	March	3 -		En route via Lisbon, Dakar and Monrovia		
Monday	March	4 -	3:35 AM	Arrive Accra, Gold Coast		
Tuesday	March	5)				
through		)-		In the Gold Coast		
Monday	March	11)				
Tuesday	March	12 -	9:45 AM	Leave Accra	BOAC #271	
			12:15 Noon	Arrive Lagos, Nigeria and change		
			4:00 PM	Leave Lagos	BOAC #272	
			6:35 PM	Arrive Kano		AIRPORT HOTEL
Wednesday	March	13 -	5:50 PM	Leave Kano	BOAC #256	
Thursday	March	14 -	4:15 AM	Arrive Rome		HOTEL CONTINENTAL
Friday	March	15)				
Saturday	March	16)-		In Rome		
Sunday	March	17 -	3:45 PM	Leave Rome	TWA #819	
			6:05 PM	Arrive Geneva		HOTEL BEAU RIVAGE
Monday	March	18 -	6:35 PM	Leave Geneva	TWA #819	
			7:55 PM	Arrive Paris		GRAND HOTEL
Tuesday	March	19)				
Wednesday	March	20)-		In Paris		
Thursday	March	21 -	12:00 Noon	Leave Paris (Orly South)	Air France #566	
			12:15 Noon	Arrive London (Time change)		BROWN'S HOTEL
Friday	March	22)				
Saturday	March	23)-		In London		
Sunday	March	24 -	11:00 PM	Leave London	BOAC #509	
Monday	March	25 -	7:15 AM	Arrive New York (Idlewild)		

* * * *

Baggage allowance: 66 pounds each

February 19, 1957

Rev. Martin Luther King
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Martin:

I have a letter from Harris Wofford asking me to write him indicating your plans for India as he and Chester Bowles are anxious to learn your plans. Should you yourself wish to write them, within the next few days they can be reached c/o U.S. Embassy, Moscow. Harris says,"we talked King up and down India." Everyone is eager to meet him."

I would like to take up some items with you:

1) I indicated to you before that Lady Cripps, Sir Stafford's mother, and Hallam Tennyson, Lord Alfred's grandson, are extremely anxious to meet you in England, the latter hoping that you will be prepared to be interviewed on an important B.B.C. program. He is waiting to hear from me when you will get to England, where you will be staying, etc. I have already indicated to him as you earlier instructed, your willingness to do the B.B.C. program. Should you wish to reach Tennyson, his address is: Gurnesys, Holwell, Nr. Hitchin, Herts. England.

2) I enclose a letter from Mr. D.S. Turner, social and accomodations officer to Prime Minister Nkrumah. He needs to know immediately, as you can see, the circumstances of your arrival. I would also suggest that you let Bill Sutherland know of the time of your arrival. Bill is an American, a good friend of mine, who now is an assistant to Mr. Gbedemah the Finance Minister. In answer to some questions I raised with Bill, he wrote the following:

> " 1. I cannot say definitely where they will be staying, but probably it will be the New Ambassador Hotel. As far as a mailing address is concerned, they can receive all their mail at this office c/o The Minister of Finance who suggested their names.
>
> 2. Hints;
>
> a) dress; An official notice has come around that the Duchess of Kent desires as simple clothing as possible in the afternoons and evenings(!) at afternoon affairs men can wear lounge suits of tropical material if they prefer; women do not have to wear hats or gloves--if they wear gloves they do not have to be white, short afternoon party dresses are in order. In the evenings, either summer formal (white coat and black tie) or full dress, lady's summer evening dresses are in order.

b) climate: this will probably be the hottest time of the year---and the driest.

c) health: the most effective drug on the market seems to be Arylen (or something like that) an American antimalarial drug to be taken once or twice a week. It is difficult to get out here so have the Kings bring a good supply. (any they have left over they can leave with me.)

d) gifts: it might not be a bad idea to bring token gifts to their hosts, the Gbedemahs, say a nylon shirt (size 16 for him--sport or formal) and some flimsy thing for her (she's short and stout). Also something from the Negroes of America to be presented to the Prime Minister say, a replica of Savage's "Lift Every Voice and Sing" or a similar work of art.

3. Please let me know when Rev. King is coming, so I can be on hand to meet him......"

3) I enclose my carbon to Hugh H. Brock, editor of Peace News, who wrote asking me to urge you to speak for them. This carbon will take you off the hook for the present.

4) I forgot to get your new telephone number. Pleaseask Mrs. Ballou to send that,

5) I need to know as soon as possible when you plan to leave the States and when you plan to return and when you can do so, I ought to have a copy of your itinerary.

Regards to Coretta.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

SARAH MARQUIS TRAVEL SERVICE 156 Fifth Avenue, NY 10 NY CHelsea 3-1331

Itinerary for Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King February 28, 1957

Saturday	March 2 -	2:30 PM -	Leave New York (Idlewild) - PAA #152
		(1:00 PM -	Check in with PAA at Airlines Terminal, 37th St and First Av)
	or	(1:30 PM -	Check in with PAA at Idlewild)
Sunday	March 3 -		En route via Lisbon, Dakar & Monrovia
Monday	March 4 -	3:35 AM -	Arrive Accra, Gold Coast
Tuesday through Monday	March 5) }- March 11)		In the Gold Coast
Tuesday	March 12 -	9:45 AM -	Leave Accra - BOAC #271
		12:15 Noon-	Arrive Lagos, Nigeria and change
		4:00 PM -	Leave Lagos - BOAC #272
		6:35 PM -	Arrive Kano AIRPORT HOTEL
Wednesday	March 13 -	6:50 PM -	Leave Kano - BOAC #256
Thursday	March 14 -	5:15 AM -	Arrive Rome HOTEL CONTINENTAL
Friday	March 15 -		In Rome
Saturday	March 16 -	5:15 PM -	Leave Rome - TWA #905
		6:55 PM -	Arrive Geneva HOTEL BEAU RIVAGE
Sunday	March 17 -	6:35 PM -	Leave Geneva - TWA #819
		7:55 PM -	Arrive Paris GRAND HOTEL
Monday Tuesday Wednesday	March 18) March 19 }- March 20)		In Paris
Thursday	March 21 -	12:00 Noon-	Leave Paris (Orly South)- Air France #566
		12:15 Noon-	Arrive London (time change) BROWN'S HOTEL
Friday Saturday	March 22) March 23)-		In London
Sunday	March 24 -	11:00 PM -	Leave London - BOAC #509
Monday	March 25 -	7:15 AM -	Arrive New York (Idlewild)

* * * * *

Baggage Allowance: 66 Pounds each

SARAH MARQUIS TRAVEL SERVICE 156 Fifth Avenue, NY 10 NY CHelsea 3-1331

Itinerary for Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King February 26, 1957

Saturday	March	2 -	2:30 PM -	Leave New York (Idlewild) - PAA #152
			(1:00 PM -	Check in with PAA at Airlines Terminal, 37th St and First Av)
			or (1:30 PM -	Check in with PAA at Idlewild)
Sunday	March	3 -		En route via Lisbon, Dakar & Monrovia
Monday	March	4 -	3:35 AM -	Arrive Accra, Gold Coast
Tuesday through Monday	March March	5) }- 11)		In the Gold Coast
Tuesday	March	12 -	9:45 AM -	Leave Accra - BOAC #271
			12:15 Noon-	Arrive Lagos, Nigeria and change
			4:00 PM -	Leave Lagos - BOAC #272
			6:35 PM -	Arrive Kano AIRPORT HOTEL
Wednesday	March	13 -	6:50 PM -	Leave Kano - BOAC #256
Thursday	March	14 -	5:15 AM -	Arrive Rome HOTEL CONTINENTAL
Friday	March	15 -		In Rome
Saturday	March	16 -	5:15 PM -	Leave Rome - TWA #205
			6:55 PM -	Arrive Geneva HOTEL BEAU RIVAGE
Sunday	March	17 -	6:35 PM -	Leave Geneva - TWA #810
			7:55 PM -	Arrive Paris GRAND HOTEL
Monday Tuesday Wednesday	March March March	18) 19)- 20)		In Paris
Thursday	March	21 -	12:00 Noon-	Leave Paris (Orly South)- Air France #566
			12:15 Noon-	Arrive London (time change) BROWN'S HOTEL
Friday Saturday	March March	22) 23)-		In London
Sunday	March	24 -	11:00 PM -	Leave London - BOAC #509
Monday	March	25 -	7:15 AM -	Arrive New York (Idlewild)

* * * * *

Baggage Allowance: 66 Pounds each

SARAH MARQUIS TRAVEL SERVICE 156 Fifth Avenue, NY 10 NY CHelsea 3-1331

Itinerary for Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King February 26, 1957

Saturday	March	2 -	2:30 PM -	Leave New York (Idlewild) - PAA #152
			(1:00 PM -	Check in with PAA at Airlines Terminal, 37th St and First Av)
		or	(1:30 PM -	Check in with PAA at Idlewild)
Sunday	March	3 -		En route via Lisbon, Dakar & Monrovia
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	-	)-		In the Gold Coast
Monday	March	11)		
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			12:15 Noon-	Arrive Lagos, Nigeria and change
			4:00 PM -	Leave Lagos - BOAC #272
			6:35 PM -	Arrive Kano AIRPORT HOTEL
Wednesday	March	13 -	6:50 PM -	Leave Kano - BOAC #256
Thursday	March	14 -	8:15 AM -	Arrive Rome HOTEL CONTINENTAL
Friday	March	15 -		In Rome
Saturday	March	16 -	5:15 PM -	Leave Rome - TWA #805
			6:55 PM -	Arrive Geneva HOTEL BEAU RIVAGE
Sunday	March	17 -	6:35 PM -	Leave Geneva - TWA #819
			7:55 PM -	Arrive Paris GRAND HOTEL
Monday	March	18)		
Tuesday	March	19)-		In Paris
Wednesday	March	20)		
Thursday	March	21 -	12:00 Noon-	Leave Paris (Orly South)- Air France #566
			12:15 Noon-	Arrive London (time change) BROWN'S HOTEL
Friday	March	22)		
Saturday	March	23)-		In London
Sunday	March	24 -	11:00 PM -	Leave London - BOAC #509
Monday	March	25 -	7:15 AM -	Arrive New York (Idlewild)

* * * * *

Baggage Allowance: 66 Pounds each

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

PA105 RA034 SSA015 (29).

R LLA005 PD=RICHMOND VIR 28 1158PME=

1957 MAR 1 AM 3 11

BAYARD RUSTIN, PHONE ~~MONUMENT 66975=~~

DLR AM IN:203 WEST 107 ST APT 8C NYK=

:WILL ARRIVE VIA EASTERN AIRLINE FLIGHT 68 AT 510PM LA GUARDIA=

MARTIN=

$ NO. TO Mr A Brown

S B 93 34 TO D W

E

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1. Name agencies [illegible] [illegible] agents

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., *Publishers* 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

October 1, 1957

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Here is the gist of our telephone conversation of this morning, which you requested me to send to you. As you know, it is second-hand, being my recollection of what Mr. Alexandre asked me to pass along to you (at Dr. King's request) of his talk with Dr. King regarding the usefulness of an agent in our negotiations.

1) In the case of an unknown writer, an agent might be useful in presenting him, but since Dr. King is well known and two or three people are pursuing him for a book, an agent would not be able to improve this situation.

2) Dr. King had wondered if an agent would be helpful in the tax set-up. However, no one could be more experienced than we are at this. We have a clause, which can be included in the contract if the author so desires, limiting the income received from a book within each year to a certain amount, specified by the author. This "limitation clause" is an excellent arrangement used by many of our authors.

3) In regard to the sale of foreign rights, Doubleday has offices in both Paris and London and connections in most other parts of the world. We have already contacted an English publishing firm who are definitely interested in Dr. King's book.

4) Special rights, serial rights, etc. We have a full-time staff at Doubleday working only and efficiently on these sales, and can therefore offer excellent service in this respect.

5) In the matter of the advance which Dr. King would like to receive, of course all these factors are taken into consideration in our estimates. Since Dr. King has cancelled his speaking engagements and taken an apartment especially so that he can work on this book, he naturally wants as generous an advance as possible. If we, as his publishers, hold all rights (first serial rights, foreign rights, etc.), we can more confidently estimate the advance which we are able to offer him.

Our staff will, naturally, be glad to give Dr. King assistance in every aspect of the negotiation, and in reaching a mutually agreeable and beneficial arrangement.

Thank you again for arranging for Mr. Alexandre to meet with Dr. King. He was most appreciative of your help.

Yours sincerely,
Ann Beneduce
Ann Beneduce

June 13, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR CONFERENCE WITH VICE PRESIDENT NIXON
and SECRETARY OF LABOR MITCHELL

For REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING and REV. RALPH ABERNATHY

1. Outline crisis condtions which exist in the nation for 11 million Southern Negro citizens; bombing of homes and churches, economic boycotts, intimidation by private citizens, police brutality, deprivation of voting rights, break down and corruption of the legal system, perversion of trial by jury.

2. Convey to Vice President and through him to the present Administration and Exedutive Branch of Government the heart and spirit of the Negro people; their unshakable and united determination to achieve first class citizenship.

3. Express the determination, growing out of much sacrifice and a long struggle, to achieve their constitutional rights by spiritual means, by non-violence.

4. Convey the idea that neither political party has done enough nor sufficiently employed the moral and political tools available to them to help achieve civil rights in America.

5. Make clear that the South cannot solve the problem of civil rights alone; that the Federal Government must take positive action; that all recent progress in education, in travel, etc. has basically sprung from decisions made by the Judicial Branch of Government. The need now is for positive action on the part of the Executive Branch.

6. ~~Express~~ Impress upon the Vice President and Secretary Mitchell that the great majority of Southerners are prepared for change. When the Federal Government gives an indication that it is prepared to speak out it will give courage to these people so that they will no longer feel the threat of ostracism and economic boycott. Then they can assert their basic good will.

7. Ask Vice President Nixon to convey to President Eisenhower our belief that he should take the civil rights issues to the nation as he did his struggle for his foreign aid bill.

8. Call upon Vice President Nixon to do the following:

   a) To come South, to speak out in moral terms for civil rights in general and the right to vote in particular *

   b) To urge Southerners, Negro and white, to obey the law and to uphold the United States Constitution

   c) To call together all Republican Representatives and Senators to impress upon them the importance of passing the civil rights bill now before Congress, not only because failing to do so will create social disunity at home and confusion about American democracy abroad, but primarily because the achievement of civil rights is a moral imperative. Our nation cannot exist half slave and half free.

9. Indicate to Vice President Nixon and Secretary Mitchell that something beyond logic and mind is needed at this point. The heart of America is needed.

- Rev. King made it clear that the interview with Nixon could not possibly be considered a substitute for a conference with the President.

*Suggest that the Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, Senator Thomas J. Hennings, Jr., go along with Nixon.

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22
MURRAY HILL 8-5300

November 1, 1957

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I hate to keep worrying you about this, but if you have any news on Martin Luther King I'd be glad to hear from you, particularly if there is anything I can do.

Yours sincerely,

Clement

Clement Alexandre

CA/ab

P.S. Earlier today I saw a man named Sachin Chaudhuri, editor of a Bombay paper he founded called the Economic Weekly. He is a friend of Mae Alexandre & also of Hallam Tennyson & the latter had suggested he try to get in touch with you.

November 18, 1957

Dr. Martin Luther King
Waluhaje Apartments
239 West Lake Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

Enclosed is the type letter I believe should be sent to persons being asked to serve on the National Advisory Committee. Also find names and addresses of persons that can be written. This list has not been gone over too carefully. None will hurt the Crusade; not sure all names will be of great help. You might think about this.

Have also enclosed a work sheet of instructions. Experience indicates that this is the best and in the long run most efficient way to get maximum returns.

Regarding over-all plans for 20 meetings for January 20th, I have started them and will get them to you in next day or so. Call me if anything comes up. By the way, when is the meeting of the committee to plan the January 20th meetings, etc.? If you need me on this I should know in time. Also, since Stan is away, I shall need transportation and expenses. At any rate, let me know.

Sincerely,

P.S. There are ten names without addresses and they will be sent directly to Mrs. Ballou when I get them.

P.P.S. Although Gamilion, Mrs. Bates and Vivian Carter Mason (who is a southerner from Virginia) are listed on the National Advisory Council, I feel they should have a more meaningful relationship. Perhaps they should be members of the S.C.L.C., with Gamilion and Bates on Executive Committee.

MARIE RODELL and JOAN DAVES, Inc.
LITERARY AGENTS
15 EAST 48 STREET — NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
PLaza 3-0042 Cable Address: JODABOOKS

December 13, 1957

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Would you be good enough to send the enclosed letter on to Dr. King if it meets with your approval. If you think it needs some editing, please return it to Mrs. Rodell right away. A copy is also going to Mr. Levison for his approval.

Sincerely yours,

Dolores Gentile
Dolores Gentile
Secretary

Enc.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
203 West 107th Street
New York, New York

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Date December 20, 1957

To: Max Heirich, Tartt Bell

From: Ray ~~Hartsough~~ R.H.

Subject: A Visit to Montgomery, Alabama and Americus, Georgia

Last year T.Y. Rogers, former assistant minister of Martin Luther King, participated in our Peace Caravan. Another contact in Montgomery is Ralph Abernathy, pastor of the First Baptist Church and Vice-President of the Montgomery Improvement Association, has been on two speaking tours in our region.

When Ralph Abernathy was here in November he invited me to visit Montgomery. Our Executive Committee encouraged me to accept the invitation for two reasons:

(1) To get better acquainted with the non-violent movement in the south.
(2) To recruit participants for the Peace Caravan the summer of 1958.

Plans have been made to visit Montgomery Dec. 27-29 with Ralph Abernathy arranging my schedule and both Abernathy and Rogers being on the look-out for possible Peace Caravan participants. From Montgomery I go to Melbourne, Florida to visit my mother a few days, and then have arranged with Conrad Brown to be at Koinonia the night of January 2nd and all day the 3rd.

Do you have the names of people I should try to see while in Montgomery or Americus? If so, will you please send them to me ℅ Rev. Ralph Abernathy, 1327 South Hall Street. I'll be getting there the evening of Dec. 27th.

RH/sw

cc: George Mohlenhoff
Earle Edwards
Barbara Moffett
✓Norman Whitney
Lyle Tatum

I have none. It might be helpful to send this to Bayard. N. W.

Please send to Bayard
Ray H.

COPY

January 20, 1958

Dear Dr. King:

We have had several discussions with Stephen Becker and he has read the partial manuscript we had. After a certain amount of to-ing and fro-ing, here is what we have been able to compromise on:

Mr. Becker first thought he would have to ask 20% of your earnings for the job involved (that is to say the 2% of your 10% which I had told you I thought would be asked). He has now agreed that he can do the job for 15% (or 1½% as opposed to 2%) provided he can have three thousand dollars advanced instead of one thousand. This is all to your advantage, since the three thousand would, we all feel certain, be earned in any event, and Harper's is willing to advance some more cash to take care of it; and in the long run, with the lower percentage, you will be paying out less of your earnings.

This 15% would apply to all earnings of the book - American magazine and book rights, and foreign rights - except motion picture, dramatic, radio and television.

In practical terms, it would work out this way:

Harper's would advance an additional two thousand dollars. Mr. Becker would get at the beginning of February, when you start work together the $500 held from the first advance payment, plus another five hundred. On March first, a thousand dollars. On delivery of the completed manuscript, another thousand, of which half would come from the thousand due you on delivery from Harper's, and half from the further money advanced by Harper's.

If in the course of the first couple of weeks work with Mr. Becker, you should find that things are not going well, and you want to cancel the arrangement, then he would sign a waiver on any future participation, and would be entitled to only so much of the advance payment as he had actually earned: that is, figuring it at a thousand a month for three months, if he had worked for two weeks, he would get five hundred.

But assuming - as I believe and hope will be true - that all goes smoothly, what happens after that will be:

The book must sell approximately 15,000 copies, if it retails at $2.95, to pay off the total advance of $5000. If no money comes in from any sources other than the Harper's sale, Mr. Becker will not be due any further money until the book has sold approximately 36,000 copies. After that figure has been reached, out of a total royalty per copy of 45 cents, Mr. Becker would

COPY

get 6 3/4 cents per copy, you would get 33 3/4 cents per copy, and we would get as commission 4½ cents per copy.

If, however, as seems likely, money comes in in the meanwhile from other sources - a magazine sale, an advance on an English edition, something like that - than Mr. Becker's 15% of that would be credited against the advance paid him, and he would beging receiving his share of royalties on the Harper edition whenever the balance of his advance was paid off.

So that you can have as clear a picture of this as possible, here is how the royalty earnings stack up on the first copies sold (earnings credited against the advance payments):

On the first 7500 copies sold, the royalty is 10% - for/purposes of easy figuring, let us call this 30 cents a copy of a $2.95 book, Mr. Becker's 15% therefore would come to 4½ cents a copy; our commission to 3 cents a copy; your royalty to 22½ cents a copy. For the 7500 copies this means a total of $337.50 credited against Mr. Becker's advance payment; $1687.50 credited against yours; and $225.00 credited against our commission.

On the next 5000 sold, the royalty goes up to 12½%, or 37½ cents per copy. This means Mr. Becker's share would be slightly over 5½ cents ($.056 to be exact); yours would be just over 28 cents ($.2815) and the commission would be 3 3/4 cents per copy. On the five thousand copies, this means $281.00 credited to Mr. Becker; $1407.50 credited to you; and $187.50 credited to commission.

I know all of this must look terribly ~~consuing~~ CONFUSING, but I wanted to spell it out carefully so you could see just what is involved. On the basis of other arrangements we know of, this seems to us very reasonable. The larger advance should serve as an added incentive to Mr. Becker; and the lower percentage is a definite advantage to you.

Mr. Becker's percentage would mean that the annual income limitation we set up for you would in effect be reduced by 15%; but we can readjust this by a rider to the contract if you like, to bring it up to the former figure.

Stanley tells us he thinks he knows of an apartment where you could stay and work while you are in New York, instead of having to put up at a hotel. And Mr. Becker expects to find in the next week a small apartment in New York, which if Stanley's prospect falls through, you and he could share while you are here.

Please do let us know at your earliest convenience if this arrangement is agreeable to you; if it is, we will immediately draw up a letter of agreement between you and Mr. Becker. We are sending a carbon copy of this letter to Stanley, so that he will have all the information too if you want to discuss it with him.

We trust you have your nose firmly to the literary grindstone, and that copy is rolling out of your secretary's typewriter like a Niagzma Falls.

Sincerely yours,

Marie F. Rodell

MFR:dg
cc: Stanley D. Levison
Bayard Rustin

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

copy to Bayard Rustin

Sorry this is not very much inspired... I am just dead today.

jim robinson

May 22, 1958

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King:

I am wondering whether it will be possible for you to speak at the CORE Conference-Convention to be held from Sunday June 29 to Wednesday, July 2nd. Sunday, Monday or Tuesday evenings are open for the speech, to which outside people might be invited.

When I spoke with Mr. Rustin this morning (I hope that he will be able to be at the Conference also), we agreed that this Conference-Convention should be particularly important: it will be an interracial gathering at a Deep South location and should produce greater rapport between our northern and southern people.

I hope that you will also be able to be present during some of the daytime discussions: you would be able to give depth to the ideas expressed on the use of direct nonviolent action.

I am enclosing the preliminary announcement and material about Penn Center, Frogmore, S. C.

Do let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Executive Secretary

COPIES: Miss Ella Baker
Mr. Bayard Rustin

July 16, 1958

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 5-1763

MEMORANDUM

TO: REV. M. L. KING, JR.

FROM: ELLA J. BAKER

RE: S.C.L.C. MEETING IN NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 1-2, 1958

It seems most desirable to give some major emphasis to the philosophy and practice of non-violent resistance at the October meeting in Norfolk. While I have been unable to think the idea through in detail, may I hurriedly list some of the reasons that occur to me, (not necessarily in their order of importance):

1. It is not enough for S.C.L.C. to promote routine registration and voting clinics or workshops. Mass action demands spirit and discipline.

2. We are loosing the initiative in the Civil Rights struggle in the South mainly because of the absence of a dynamic philosophy, or spiritual force to inspire thouands of people to act with some of the dramatic force of the Montgomery "Walk for Freedom".

3. The Crusade for Citizenship was projected in this spirit and such leadership is, no doubt, expected of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

4. On the practical side, the Norfolk meeting, no doubt, will be attended by more people from Virginia than any other state. The state is very well organized on registration and voting; but it will face three (3) school integration tests this Fall. In the light of this and in view of Virginia's unique role in the South's resistance to integration, what could be more timely than to use the Norfolk meeting to revitalize and reemphasize the "non-violent - mass action" aspects of S.C.L.C.'s program. This would attract more state leaders, I think.

5. The details of the program for the two days have not been

thought through, therefore no suggestions are made here regarding discussion leaders or amount of time to be devoted to, non-violent techniques.

6. For the evening mass meeting, it would be good if a person from India or Ghana could be featured to speak on non-violent resistance as they have experienced it. Another possible attraction might be a workshop built around A. Philip Randolph's analysis of the revolutionary character of the Civil Rights struggle. This should be scheduled to provide for a good question and answer period and might possibly be an evening Forum so that professional and lay people of the city could come. Of course all this has to be thought out in relation to the two day program.

Crusade For Citizenship

TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH

SPONSORED BY

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ROOM 203 — TELEPHONE: JACKSON 5-1763

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July 16, 1958

Mr. Bayard Rustin
203 W. 107th Street
New York, New York

and

Mr. Stanley D. Levison
225 W. 106th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard and Stanley:

Particularly would I welcome a session with you two now. In thinking of the S.C.L.C. meeting to be held in Norfolk, Virginia on October 1-2, I have suggested that the program will give major and meaningful emphasis to the practical application of the philosophy of non-violent resistance. It is obvious that more spirit needs to be injected in the Civil Rights struggle in the South. It seems to me also obvious that the S.C.L.C. should not become so involved with routine procedures for promoting registration and voting that it fails to develop and use our major weapon--mass resistance. At the risk of being repetitious, it is likewise obvious that the leaders of the Montgomery Boycott are expected to provide leadership in non-violent resistance. The enclosed memorandum will give you the extent of the thinking that I have been able to give to this. But I would like to raise with you the following questions:

1. How can Bayard not be included in the leadership of discussions on non-violence? This bothers me in the light of the things we all know about.

2. If Bayard is not to be available, who then can be called upon? Is Glenn Smiley adequate?

3. Is there any one from India or Africa who could be featured at the conference, especially in the evening mass meeting.

As you know Martin is leaving this week for a vacation in

Mexico. He is expected to contact me today and I am giving him the enclosed memorandum to take with him, however, I have raised the suggestion with both him and Ralph and both were enthusiastic about the idea. Naturally that's as far as it has gone with them. I expect to be in New York by Friday, July 25, for several days and will arrange to talk this over with you then but wanted to submit it for your consideration. All goes as well here as can be expected. Rev. Tilley has been away attending the N.A.A.C.P. Convention in Cleveland and other matters in Baltimore. He will be back, however, on Monday. A meeting of the committee to write the first draft of the Constitution and By-Laws has been scheduled for August 5, but in talking with Martin this week, he said that he would contact the men to see if this meeting can be held on August 12 instead. This apparently is being done to provide for my being present since it is possible that I may be in Miami on August 5 attending the national meeting of Beauty Culturists. (You know I'll make a hit there, smile.)

Hope everything is well with both of you. Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Ella

Ella

EJB:ab

Enclosure

Room 825
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.
24 July 1958

Marie Rodel
15 East 48 St.
6th Floor
New York, New York

Dear Marie Rodel:

I am sorry to say that a combination of factors has made it impossible for me to do the kind of a job on this that needs to be done. This has been occasioned largely by the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East which has required my giving some attention for a change to the work of the peace society of which I am Executive Secretary. Beyond this the negro church offices are generally closed now and the newspaper people that I had wanted to see are on holiday. However, I have done the best I can under the circumstances and with the time allowed.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

L. In relation to book reviews and newspapers we feel that a letter should go from Dr. King requesting the following people to write for the following papers:

Langston Hughes	New York Herald Tribune
Ralph Bunche	New York Times
Eleanor Roosevelt	Louisville Courier Journal
Chester Bowles	Washington Post
Clarence Pickett	Philadelphia Bulletin or Inquirer
Lillian Smith	Los Angeles Times
George Meany	The Federationist
Harry Ashmore	Christian Science Monitor
Dahlberg (of the National Council)	St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Harry Emerson Fosdick	Christian Century
Father Lafarge	Chicago Tribune
Fanny Hurst	Birmingham News
Helen Gehagen Douglas	Oakland Tribune

The following people should be asked for any paper that they have influence with or for their column.

Senator Richard Newburger
Norman Thomas
Eleanor Roosevelt
Senator Douglas
Don Murray (Movie star)
Dwight MacDonald

2. Pacifist Organizations: These groups should be asked to send a brochure to their complete mailings and to stock the book for sale:

War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York 38, N.Y.
attn: Ralph di Gia

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12 St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa., attn: Norman Whitney

Catholic Worker, 223 Chrystie St., New York 2, N.Y.
attn: Dorothy Day

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut
St., Philadelphia 3, Pa., attn: George Willoughby

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y.,
attn: Alfred Hassler

Jewish Peace Fellowship, 132 Morningside Drive, New York 27,
N.Y., attn: Rabbi Isador Hoffman

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 2006
Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa., Mildred Ohmstead

3. Liberal organizations who should be asked to send out a brochure and a mailing list and to stock the book:

American Committee on Africa, 4 West 40 Street, New York
attn: George Houser

Committee on Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, NY
attn: James Robinson

Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, NY
attn: Oscar Tarcov

American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84 Street, New York, NY
attn: Joseph Robeson

National Association of Inter-group Relations Officials,
152 West 42 Street, New York 26, NY, attn: John BP Lassoe

National Council of Christians and Jews

4. Regarding distribution through the negro churches in the South, the following agencies all have book stores and in addition the likelihood is that if these 5 major negrow church agencies would make some arrangements with Harpers for carrying the book this may be the simplest way to get the widest distribution at the grass roots. Harpers therefore should be in touch with these church agencies and the names listed below are all individuals sincerely interested in Dr. King and could if they desired to do so help in working out such arrangements.

National Baptist Convention, Inc., 114 West 120 Street,
New York, NY, attn: Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr.

National Baptist Convention of America Publishing House,
Nashville, Tenn., attn: Rev. Henry Allen Boyd.

Central Methodist Episcopal Church, Williams Institutional
Church, 2100 7th Avenue, New York, NY, attn: Bishop W. I.
Bell

A.M.E. Zion Church, 4736 Southern Parkway, Chicago, Ill.
attn: Bishop Walls

A.M.E. Church, 336 Helen Road, Germantown, Philadelphia,
Pa., attn: Bishop George W. Baber

5. In regard to negro newspapers exploration indicates that Harpers will need to reach them directly and individually, reaching the publisher rather than the editor. A complete list of negro newspapers throughout the country can be obtained from Henry Lee Moon, NAACP, 20 West 40 St. While all these papers

are important the following will give a general distribution in the larger centers:

- The Afro-American
- The Pittsburgh Courier
- The Chicago Defender
- The Amsterdam News
- The Norfolk Journal and Guide

6. I have been completely unsuccessful in getting a listing of Martin's speaking engagements. He returns from Mexico in a few days and I would suggest that you write directly to him concerning that matter. You may be more successful than I.

7. Regarding the list of speaking engagements for the Southern Leaders Conference and regarding the list of the 150 men who make up the Conference with the addresses, this can be obtained from Ella Baker, Southern Leaders Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

8. The most important church conference to take place this year is that of the National Baptist Convention, Inc. It takes place in Chicago, Illinois, September 9-15 and if books can be available at that convention and arrangements made for the proper handling of it, nothing could be more important.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RIttenhouse 6-9372

cc: Martin Luther King
Stewart Meacham

December 31st, 1958.

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York.

Dear Bayard:

Since Stewart Meacham is out of the office until the 5th of January, I am writing you in his stead with copies for both Martin Luther King and for Stewart Meacham. The two matters that I want to discuss are the question of an invitation for the Kings to come to India and the reservations that we have obtained for their travel. Last week, Allen White received a telephone call from Ambassador Chagla in Washington in the course of which he said that he had received a letter from his government. The letter indicated that Martin Luther and Coretta King would be very welcome indeed in India. Also, Prime Minister Nehru had indicated that he had been sorry not to meet Dr. King when he was in this country and hoped to have the opportunity to meet him while he was in India. Ambassador Chagla also indicated that facilities and opportunities to meet the people that Dr. King wants to see while he is in India will be put at his disposal.

In addition to this telephone call to Allen White, there has been a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to Stewart Meacham, the burden of which is very similar. I enclose a copy for your information, and one will also go to Martin Luther King with his copy of this letter to you. I would say that this is very definitely the welcome that we were hoping for from government sources, but of course it does not constitute an invitation.

I shall try to enclose a copy of the itinerary for the Kings as confirmed by our travel agent before this letter goes out. At the present writing, the space is not definitely confirmed, but it was available a couple of days ago, and presumably there should be no difficulty in getting the reservations. I should say here that we will expect the Kings to leave on Tuesday, February 3rd for London, arriving there the fourth and leaving again on the seventh, giving them two full days there for rest, as requested by you. In view of the support from the Southern Leadership Conference of $500.00 for this trip, I believe that our budget can bear comfortably the expenses connected with this brief stopover in London for the Kings. I know this point was bothering you earlier, but I think that we need not be concerned about it in view of the additional funds you have obtained.

I am sure you will be hearing further from Stewart Meacham on the matter of an invitation. In the meantime may I send you my best wishes for the New Year.

Very sincerely,

Corinne

Corinne B. Johnson,
Foreign Service Section.

Enclosure

CBJ:bjm

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

2 Willingdon Crescent
New Delhi 4, India
December 18, 1958

Mr Stewart Meacham
American Friends Service Committee, Inc
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, USA

Dear Mr Meacham:

Thank you for your kind letter of the 9th instant, received three days ago.

Immediately on my return home I spoke to the Prime Minister about Dr Martin Luther King and his visit to India. The Prime Minister in reply to me said that of course he knew about Dr Martin Luther King and would be glad if he could come to India. As I told all of you personally it is not possible for the Prime Minister to invite an individual specifically as that might open the way for complications.

The Prime Minister wanted me however to say that we would welcome Dr King's coming to India and he himself would be happy to meet him and, when in India, we would endeavour to give him every facility. The Prime Minister is also sending a message to this effect to our Ambassador in Washington.

Please give a personal message to Dr Martin Luther King from me. Tell him how sorry I was to miss seeing him in Atlanta as also at the Church World Order Conference in Cleveland where I hoped he might be present. I shall be very happy to welcome him in Delhi when he comes and will introduce him to friends who will be able to tell him about Gandhiji and his ideals.

With very warm regards to you both - and Balwant Singh asks me to send you his greetings also - and the Season's Greetings and best wishes for the New Year,

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,

January 9, 1959

Rev. Martin Luther King
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King,

This is to extend a cordial invitation on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee to you and Mrs. King to join a few Friends and members of our staff at lunch in Philadelphia on Tuesday, February 3, 1959.

mon

Clarence Pickett and Dorothy Steere will be here then and both of them would be glad for the opportunity to renew old acquaintances. We would all feel that we had failed in our responsibility in preparing for your trip if you should leave the country without a visit here so that we all could share with each other our hopes for this venture.

This invitation includes Professor Reddick, if he is with you, and also our good friends Bayard Rustin and Stanley Levinson.

We should like as early a reply as possible as we shall want to be sure to clear the schedules of all who should be included.

Sincerely yours,

Stewart Meacham

SM:pl

cc Bayard Rustin ✓

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Executive Secretary
Lewis M. Hoskins

Executive Secretary Emeritus
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RIttenhouse 6-9372

cc: Stewart Meacham

January 13th, 1959.

Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York 8, New York.

Dear Bayard:

I am writing you, in Stewart Meacham's absence from the office for most of the rest of the week, on the subject of the financing of Reddich's travel in India. Jim Bristol is proceeding to make the reservations for Reddich along with the rest of the party, particularly in regard to air travel. As I think Stewart Meacham told you, the Kings will be traveling largely by air in India in order to complete a rather full itinerary in the limited time available. The cost of this air travel, Jim figures, comes to about $400.00 per person. He indicates that he will need to pick up the reservations and so forth about January 31st, and, of course, he will need the funds for Reddich's tickets at that time.

Would you therefore see that Jim Bristol has as a minimum $400.00 in his possession by January 31st, the cost of Reddich's transportation. In order to get this money there, if it is to be transmitted through a bank, it should be cabled at this time. If you are to send a private or other cheque directly to Jim through the mails, you probably should send it by registered mail, as we understand the mails in India are not totally reliable in this regard. Jim Bristol's address in India is Friends Centre, 24 Rajpur Road, Delhi 8, India. The bank, should you wish to transmit through banking channels, is as follows: Friends Service Council, Delhi Centre Account, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, Chandi Chowk, Delhi, India.

We will appreciate your taking care of this as soon as possible, and I think it will be well to do so since we are not clear how long the reservations can be held beyond January 31st for Reddich. We would also appreciate receiving a carbon of your covering letter to Jim, so that the financial picture is clear at this end also.

Thanks for your help on this.

Very sincerely,

Corinne

Corinne B. Johnson,
Foreign Service Section.

CBJ:bjm

January 20, 1959

Dr. Martin Luther King
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King,

Bayard Rustin has called to say that you and Mrs. King will join us for lunch here in Philadelphia on Monday, February 2, at 12:00 noon. We are delighted and are looking forward to greeting you and wishing you bon voyage.

Would it be possible for you to arrange to get here by 11:30 a.m.? There will be last minute details to go over and we will want to give you your travel funds, etc. If you come a half hour early, these things can be disposed of before lunch. We will plan to have lunch at noontime and you will be able to get away well before 2:00 p.m.

Please come to Stephen Cary's office, Room 601, 1201 Chestnut Street. He will be expecting you at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, February 2, 1959.

I regret that I shall not be able to be here that day. My schedule has me in Texas then. But I shall hope to see you when I return.

I am enclosing a memorandum which we have received via Jim Bristol in India. I believe you will find this to be a most interesting introduction to one phase of present-day Gandhian thinking in India.

Please give my regards to Mrs. King, and may your trip be filled with many good things, both for you and for the people among whom you will travel during the coming weeks.

Sincere regards,

Stewart Meacham

CC: ✓Bayard Rustin
Corinne Johnson
Stephen Cary

SM:erm

Enclosure will be forwarded under separate cover.

1959

January 20, 1959

Dr. Martin Luther King
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King,

I enclose a copy of your itinerary as it now stands.

One of your first appointments will be a reception for you and Mrs. King at Quaker House in Delhi on February 10. We have reason to believe, though this cannot be guaranteed, of course, that Prime Minister Nehru will attend.

I am going to be away from Philadelphia from Friday, January 24, until after you have left the States. Miss Corinne Johnson will be handling further details and you can take up any matters concerning your trip to India with her after the 24th.

Bayard Rustin has asked me to specify what is included in the budget so far as expenses are concerned. The budget covers all expenses, of course, including lodging, travel, meals, taxies, tips, etc., etc. In addition, we have earmarked $100 for out-of-pocket expenses of an incidental nature in India, over and above actual expenses. This will mean approximately Rs 500, which we believe you will find quite adequate.

Also in London you will have $100 to cover hotel and meals as well as taxies, tips, and incidentals. We estimate that this will leave you with about $30 over and above your basic London expenses. Both in India and London prices are considerably less than in the States.

We have not yet received the $500 allocated by the Southern Leadership Conference. Could the suggestion be made to them that this be sent to:

Miss Corinne Johnson
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.?

The check should be made out to American Friends Service Committee.

Sincerely yours,

SM:erm

Stewart Meacham

CC: Corinne Johnson
Bayard Rustin

FOR

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Nyack, New York • NYACK 7-4601 • *Direct New York City wire*: LOrraine 8-8200

BOSTON CHICAGO LOS ANGELES PHILADELPHIA

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
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TREASURER
Forest Ashbrook
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (ON LEAVE)
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A. J. Muste
NATIONAL FIELD SECRETARY
Glenn E. Smiley
NATIONAL YOUTH SECRETARY
Curtiss Moody
MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY
Eleanor B. Kelsey

January 21, 1959

Martin Luther King Jr.
309 S. Jackson Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Martin:

I am sending you herewith the check for the FOR's contribution of $500 to your visit to the Soviet Union, and with it our hearty best wishes for a very rewarding experience. I hope you will feel able to do an article for us about the trip for publication in FELLOWSHIP when you return.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH/lnt
encl.

a tel fr
Ethel Paine
to Speaker
of house
on Boy
Page

cc. Bayard Rustin
Stewart Meacham

January 29th, 1959.

Dr. Martin Luther King
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Attention: Mrs. Maude Ballou

Dear Dr. King:

Bayard Rustin telephoned me yesterday to ask whether we hadn't by now fuller details on the itinerary which we sent you earlier for your time in India. In this morning's mail, a letter arrived from Jim Bristol which included a more detailed schedule for Delhi. That is enclosed for your interest. Jim notes that where time is listed for an interview, this represents time free to see the President, Vice President, or other individual for serious conversation. This also may be done at lunch and dinner.

The meeting in the morning of February 9th, the day after you arrive in Delhi, with Ramachandranji, Jim Bristol, and Swami Vishwananda, is presumably a meeting at which you will all get acquainted and learn more details of your time in India. Ramachandranji is the Director of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, or the Gandhi Memorial Fund, which has been most helpful to Jim Bristol in setting up your itinerary. Swami Vishwananda is also on the staff of the Gandhi Fund and will be accompanying you in your travels in India. He has many contacts at the various places you will stop, and also should be most helpful in relation to the language problem. I think probably the rest of the items for the 9th should be self explanatory. On the 10th, there is a lunch with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. As you undoubtedly know, she is a member of the Indian Parliament, the Head of the International Red Cross, and the Ex-Minister of Health. She is close to Nehru, and she has been most helpful in assisting with some of the arrangements for your visit. That day also you will have dinner with the Kripalanis. Sucheta and Acharya Kripalani are leaders in the Praja Socialist Party and are leaders in the Indian Parliament. For the talk on the 11th, Jim Bristol indicates that he was forced to assign a topic for you to speak on. The topic he suggested was "The Struggle for Social Justice in Today's World". This, as Jim points out, is a "tent", and hopefully it will enable you to say what you choose. Apparently Jim is going to have to do this assigning of titles for talks on a considerable scale, and he promises to try to keep them as broad as possible. I am sure that if they are not satisfactory, adjustments can be made when you get to India. For the 12th, the Women's Meeting organised by the Y.W.C.A. is hoping to have some sort of talk from you, and also, I think, they would like it very much if Coretta King also could participate in the program.

Jim adds a note to say that you and Mrs. King will be staying at the Janpath Hotel while you are in Delhi.

Jim has also been working on schedules such as this for the other cities which you will visit. These are not yet in hand, but we should have them in time to give you copies on Monday.

As for other stops on your itinerary, I do not have details on them, but perhaps one or two notes will be useful in regard to some of them. The stop on the 13th of February and 14th at Gaya is to give you an opportunity to visit with Jayaprakash Narayan. Narayan is one of the opposition leaders in India, has been a supporter of the Bhoodan Movement, and is regarded by many, I believe, as a possible future political leader, possibly Prime Minister.

On the 15th, you will be at Shantiniketan. Shantiniketan was established by Rabindrinath Tagore, the poet, "inspired to try to interpret the East to the West and the West to the East, determined to set up his school and to draw into the neighborhood as teachers and inspirers of the youth, leading artists, writers, philosophers and men of spirit." The school has now become a college of university standing under the name of Visva Bharati University and has hundreds of students. Shantiniketan combines with Sriniketan to make up the University. Quoting from the prospectus of Sriniketan: "the object of Sriniketan is to bring back life in its completeness into the villages making them self reliant and self respectful, acquainted with the cultural tradition of their own country, and competent to make an efficient use of the modern resources for the improvement of their physical, intellectual, and economic condition."

The February 20th stop at Dindigal is simply a stop on route, I assume that nothing will be planned there. This is also true of Mathurai on February 22nd. I am sorry I cannot give you any information about Trivandrum, but perhaps I will be able to locate something on that before Monday. This is also true of Coimbatore. On the first of March, you will be in Sewagram. Sewagram is a study center headed by Ashadevi Aryanayakam. To quote from a report of one western visitor there: "Sewagram is not just one community but four. The one I was to be a part of was Nai Talimi Sangh (the new education association or basic education center.) Just across a fence to the south is Sewagram Ashram which was started by Gandhi. A quarter of a mile farther south is Sewagram Village, the original village which was here before Gandhi came. Up the road to the north is Kasturba Memorial Hospital and beyond that is the training center for village industries. ---(As a purpose in the foundation of Sewagram) Gandhi saw that if India were ever to solve her problems her people would have to be educated, not only to read and write but also to work, to earn a living, to be active intelligent citizens and to keep clean and healthy."

I believe the stop at the Tajmahal will be simply to give you an opportunity for a little sight-seeing.

This is all just a sketchy background for you, and, indeed most of it will probably not be new to you. I am sure that you will be able to count on Jim Bristol and Swami Vishwananda to brief you thoroughly on each stop before it occurs, both as to your activities and as to the background of the place involved. As I say, also, we will hope to have somewhat more extensive information for you on Monday.

With all best wishes to you and Mrs. King.

Very sincerely,

Corinne B. Johnson,
Foreign Service Section.

Enclosure

CBJ:bjm

Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Ella J. Baker, Assistant
Director

January 30,1959

FOR RELEASE NOT PRIOR TO MONDAY A.M. FEBRUARY 2ND.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. announced today that he will not visit the Soviet Union following his visit to India as had earlier been announced.

He said that although he has made excellent progress since he was stabbed the state of his health and the urgency of the racial conflict in the South indicate that the trip to the Soviet Union reluctantly must be postponed at this time.

Dr. King, [redacted] will arrive in New Delhi on February 7th at the invitation of the Gandhi Trust, accompanied by his wife and Dr. Lawrence Reddick of Alabama State College, he [redacted] will meet with such Indian leaders as Prime Minister Nehru and Vinoba Bhave. Dr. King had planned to spend several weeks consulting with Christian leaders in the Soviet Union following his stay in India.

Funds for the trip to Russia had been donated last December by the American Baptist Convention in keeping with a resolution passsed at the denomination's 1956 Annual meeting. The resolut9on called for the establishment of Christian fellowship across national boundaries as a step toward understanding and peace in our troubled world.

Mindful of the importance of the quest for peace, Dr. King ~~planned~~ plans to visit the Soviet Union at a future date when his health and conditions in the South permit his doing so.

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Call Don
WA46306

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

April 29, 1959

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Martin King:

While you have had a little time for re-orientation to American life, I imagine much of your heart and mind remains in India.

Meanwhile here in America you have untold numbers of admirers who are eager to hear your message. I hope more and more people will be hearing it. It needs telling.

Our large and important North Central region will be having its Annual Meeting September 25-26 in Minneapolis, during which reports on our world-wide program will be made to our constituency. Beyond that, however, we attempt to use such occasions to spur people to fresher, more imaginative views of our salient problems such as race relations and international peace.

We would appreciate your presence for the opening address on Friday evening, September 25. However, if Saturday the 26th would be preferable to you, we would be flexible in our programming. Not only would you draw a good audience, you would give all who hear you a great lift towards wider horizons.

As you know, the American Friends Service Committee is able to pay only a very modest honorarium. We would be able to offer you $100.00 in addition to your expenses.

Because Minneapolis is one of our strong centers of support we hope you can give a favorable response by telegraph collect to this very cordial invitation.

Sincerely,

Norman J. Whitney
National Secretary for Peace Education

NJW: sg
bcc: Stewart Meacham, Bayard Rustin, Mike Yarrow

Son! Spahr sends love - You know I do.
Please help us if and as you can with ML King.
We want him but we don't want to make a mistake
in our relations with him. Herman & I are still hoping for a
visit from you - maybe lunch here? When? the bishops

STANLEY D. LEVISON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
6 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 4-2932

Dear Bayard,

I received your London letter but delayed writing until I saw Phil. I had to wait until the latter part of last week because he preferred setting it that late. It developed, however, that this was no indication of lack of interest or committment. You will be happy to know he has both very fully. Indeed, the concern you expressed when you left that Phil showed no disturbance when you told him you had to go was a misreading of his inner feelings. You and I forgot that Phil is first a gentleman. So he wouldn't make you feel uncomfortable by showing his concern. The very first thing he said to me when I called him was, "Stanley, I was shocked when Bayard said he had to leave. Where are we now. Will this do us serious damage?" In short to me he could express his dismay. To say it to you would have been unkind to you.

His feelings remain high. Before meeting him to discuss matters I pondered what I could do or propose which would be concrete in moving things forward so that Phil would feel progress was taking place. I hit upon a fine idea. Recalling that we pulled together an informal committee of the real workers before the Youth March idea was even broached to anyone, I worked out a committee of the workers of past projects whose function would be that of planning, writing some materials, thinking through details of the State of the Race conference, fund raising etc. I suggested Maida, George Lawrence, Tom Kilgore, Dick Parrish, John Scott, Jack Murray & myself. The idea was that in your absence this team would function with me to move things along pending your return. Phil loved it. He suggested adding Callender & proposed that they meet in his office so that he could be in on it next Thursday. I sent out messages at once.

Phil raised the question whether we shouldn't see Ray now. I told him some of the considerations we discussed and felt it could wait your return. He acquiesced, not enthusiastically but not reluctantly. Then he proposed that we put the question to the group on Thursday. As we continued to talk of Ray, Phil made an obvious, and brilliant suggestion. We should have thought of it. He said we should have Martin King with us so that Ray would know by his presence that ~~we~~ he attaches importance to it, and thereby Ray would be hard put to turn it down, out of hand. When Phil & Martin bring something in personally, it has to be treated seriously & with respect. It happens that Martin is to be in New York next Thursday to address the Civil Service meeting where he & Ray speak & share the proceeds. I intend to try to set up a lunch that day. Under these conditions if Ray agrees to the meeting I can see doing it without you. If Ray gets out of it because he ~~seems~~ senses what its about and does avoid it we will be free to talk to many other leaders then because we shall have tried to talk to him first.

Martin has already written me asking me to keep Thursday free because he wants to discuss several very important questions.

I hope you agree with these conclusions. I feel like I used to during the war when I had a partner in my war plant, who was the technical man, and I had to prepare a bid on a big contract when he was out of town. There's nothing like a solid collaborator when a razor fine conclusion has to be reached. Needless to say, hurry home, soon. You were again given recognition at a meeting last week of a number of community people who were planning the testimonial meeting for Phil. ~~#~~ They were painfully miserable to learn that you are in Africa.

I am attaching the addresses you requested. Be sure to get these off and let me know when they go so I can follow up. Hope you're do well as always. Affectionately Stan

JUDGE HUBERT T. DELANY, 100 WILLIAMS ST N.Y.C.

JACKIE ROBINSON CHOCK FULL-O-NUTS, 425 Lexington Ave N.Y.C.

PAULI MURRAY, 575 MADISON AVE N.Y.C.

ELLA BAKER, S.C.L.C. 208 AUBURN AVE N.E. ATLANTA

DAISY BATES, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

DR GARDNER TAYLOR CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH
833 MARCY AVE BROOKLYN, N.Y.

HARRY BELEFONTE 300 or 400 WESTEND AVE N.Y.C.

MAIDA SPRINGER LOCAL 22 I.L.G.W.U. 151 W 40th ST.

NORMAN THOMAS

RHEINHOLD NEIBHUR UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
122nd ST. & BROADWAY N.Y.C.

RUSSELL LASLEY PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS UNION
CHICAGO, ILL.

Dear Bayard,

If you need money to get this number of letters typed & for airmail let me know.

S.

1959

HOW TO PREPARE A PRESS RELEASE

In writing a press release, the first thing to think about is this: what is there in the story I want the papers to print which will seem most interesting, exciting, newsworthy to their readers and editors? That aspect of your story should go in the opening paragraph, and the whole story should be written around it.

To you the important thing which you want to put across may be some development in the civil rights movement. But remember that most editors and the average reader are not crusaders for civil rights. They may be for it, but unless something is happening, has happened, or is about to happen which will be of immediate interest to their readers, your release is likely to be shoved out of their pages by something more sensational, like a murder or the divorce of some prominent person.

So the first thing to remember is to find a "peg" for your story. The peg may be the arrival of some prominent person in town; a statement issued by a prominent local or national figure, or a group of them, on the project you want publicized. Other pegs may be the kick-off of a specific campaign; a striking new development in the civil rights field on a national or local scale; the announcement of an important event which is just ahead.

The thing to remember is that editors don't want propaganda, they want news. And news means that something newsworthy, to the general public is happening or has happened, or that someone newsworthy to the general public has said or done something important.

Let's say you want your local paper to carry the story that your organization is launching a petition campaign; or that a group of local ministers have formed a committee to support the Youth March for Integrated Schools, or to raise money to support the Birmingham bus boycott. You could start out with a paragraph describing the petition, or the bus boycott itself and its objectives. But that would probably mean your release would end up in the wastpaper basket. The editor already knows about the boycott from the national papers, and the petition itself may interest him very little. But if your peg is the action of newsworthy people, he may want to print it.

Example.

A committee headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Jackie Robinson, A. Philip Randolph, and other important national leaders has announced a campaign to gather hundreds of thousands of signatures to a petition urging the President and Congress to take positive action to enforce the historic Supreme Court decision on integrated schools.

The Petition points out that "equal rights for all is the central moral issue of our time." It refers to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and points out that "Southern young people, seeking to obtain these rights have suffered indignities, humiliation and violence. It concludes by asking the President and Congress to "put into effect an executive and legislative program which will insure the orderly and speedy integration of schools throughout the United States."

STANLEY D. LEVISON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
6 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

Returned for additional postage of 30 [redacted]
Foreign Air Mail must be fully prepaid.
Weight of letter is 1 oz.,
Rate of postage is 25 cents per 1/2 [redacted]

Lh 6¢

ADDRESSEE NOT KNOWN

AIR MAIL

Mr Bayard Rustin
c/o SUTHERLAND
Unknown Box 1420 P.O. BOX ~~1420~~
Accra,
Ghana, Africa

AIR
MAIL
TRY MBO

The petition campaign grew out of the Youth March for Integrated Schools which brought ten thousand young people to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. last October 25. The committee circulating it plans to present it to the President and Congress as part of a vast meeting to be held in Washington on April 18 of this year.

The petition campaign has been endorsed by a (name of local town) committee headed by (names of prominent local people on committee). Local headquarters for the campaign will be (address) .

That is one way to write it up. You have your "peg" (names of the celebrities backing the petition campaign) in your first paragraph. You have the content of the petition, and the facts about its origin and the purpose of the campaign in the middle, and you have your local "pitch" (names of local leaders and the place people can go get the petitions) at the end.

Now, let us say that your local committee is made up of very prominent, newsworthy people in your community. (Top church, business, school, political, labor or other leaders) In that case, you can write it up so that the information in the last paragraph in the foregoing example runs right after the first one. If it is justified by the importance of the people mentioned in your local community, this is an even better set-up. For it guarantees that if the article is run at all, your vital local information will be part of it. In the first set-up, if the editor cuts the release for space reasons, he is likely to cut off this important information.

If the action taken locally is of really very newsworthy character, you could run that paragraph first.

Example

A group of local community leaders, headed by (name and title of your top news person), formed a committee here today to support and raise funds for the Birmingham bus boycott. Meeting in the committee rooms of the _________ church, the committee set a goal of _______ to be raised by (date). The meeting elected _____(name) chairman of the local committee. Participating were (list of names and titles). (Then go on to tell your story with the national angles and prominent people involved mentioned, with quotation from some striking statement by one of the local or national leaders, with information on the background and purpose of the momvement which you are describing.)

Remember: The thing which is important to you may be that a committee has been formed for a worthy cause. But what is important to your newspaper may be that some important people, locally or nationally, are associated with the effort.

If a paper has carried a release on the early work of the committee, it is likely to be willing to carry further releases. But don't drown them with material. Hold your fire for important developments. Unless you have an editor who is heart and soul with you, if you send in too much material, when nothing newsworthy from his own point of view is taking place, he is likely to get in the habit of throwing your stuff in the waspaper basket with no more than a glance, and may overlook your next important release.

If you hold your fire for important events, an editor who has carried your first release will be willing to carry further ones. Thus, if you start off on a petition campaign, for instance, when time is drawing near for sending in the petitions, or for a local meeting which will bring a local campaign to a climax, write it up in advance. Here again, your peg may be the important people who have called the meeting. But if there has been previous publicity, and interest has worked up in the community for your cause, it may have become the most newsworthy thing you have to report, and the names of your sponsors could be dropped further down in the textof your releasese..

One last rule: Try to keep your releases short. A full page, double spaced, is a long release. Unless the material is of the greatest interest, no release should run longer than that, and most should be much shorter -- two or three paragraphs at most.

Attached you will find a sample which will give you a guide as to general set-up which is usually followed on releases, and which gives them a professional look.

Summary:

1. Have a peg to hang your release on: newsworthy people; a newsworthy event. Put it in the first paragraph.
2. The doings of prominent local people may be just as important to a local newspaper as the doing of nationally prominent people who are far away.
3. Don't drown your local papers with releases. Hold your fire for important events.
4. Keep your releases short.
5. Set up your releases double spaced, with allthe necessary information about where the release comes from at the top.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Telephone: JAckson 5-1763 Ella Baker, Associate Director

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1959 AND THEREAFTER

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference announced today that a biography of its president, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, appears for the first time in the recently published Who's Who in America.

The 1958-59 Who' Who, just off the press, is the 60th anniversary edition. On page 3144 it lists among Dr. King's many accomplishments his leadership in the successful Montgomery bus protest.

Formerly, two other Alabama Negroes have been included. They are Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskeegee Institute, and George Washington Carver, outstanding scientist.

-30-

MEMORANDUM

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. trip to India and the Soviet Union

The trip of Dr. King to India is being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. His trip to the Soviet Union is under the sponsorship of the American Baptist Convention, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. His purpose is to acquaint himself by direct contact with the peoples and leaders of those nations whose influence in the world is of special significance.

In India, Dr. King hopes to deepen his understanding of the Ghandian philosophy, of the struggles and aspirations of the Indian people, and to interpret to them the objectives of the American Negro, and, in turn, to be better equipped to interpret to his own people the experiences of the Indians. He is particularly interested in analyzing and understanding applications of the philosophy of non-violence through the whole of his tour. He would have similar interests in studying the society in the Soviet Union from the same points of view.

In the Soviet Union, he would be anxious to visit churches, as a primary point of interest, as well as educational institutions and others of the institutions unique to that form of society such as collective farms and so forth.

He also hopes to familiarize himself, as far as practical, with the experiences and development of the colored nationalities of the Soviet Union. To the extent possible, he would like to meet with such officials as could best interpret to him the Soviet scene.

His travel plans contemplate, at present, departing for India March 9th to spend two weeks inside the Soviet Union.

1959

FOR RELEASE

New York, N. Y.-November 20: A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, announced today that the fund he arranged by private subscription to defray convalescent and attendant expenses for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has completed its work and a final accounting has been made. The total received and disbursed amounted to $2,262.50.

Mr. Randolph solicited a small group of representative New Yorkers following the physical attack upon Dr. King, suggesting that because Dr. King had come to the city to address meetings here, the unfortunate occurance took place under circumstances in which he was a guest of the community. To express the affection and concern of well-wishers, Mr. Randolph proposed the accumulation of a fund for expenses.

Mr. Randolph stated that the response was excellent, and included many distinguished organizations and individuals. They expressed a desire that no public acknowledgement be made of their names, and in keeping with this request only the total sum received and disbursed has been announced.

1959

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The New York Times Magazine

April 24, 1960 SECTION 6 PART 1

The Militant
U. S. Case Against Powell Flops
Sitdowners To Map Bold New Strategy
African fight to go underground
U. S. Case Failing

Some of the 140 Southern student leaders at an Easter Week meeting at Shaw University in Raleigh, N. C., convened by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to consider strategy in the campaign against segregation.

Articles from New York Times

FEAR AND HATRED GRIP BIRMINGHAM

Racial Tension Smoldering After Belated Sitdowns

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Special to The New York Times.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 8—From Red Mountain, where a cast-iron Vulcan looks down 500 feet to the sprawling city, Birmingham seems veiled in the poisonous fumes of distant battles.

BOMBING SETS OFF NASHVILLE MARCH

Negro Councilman's Home Wrecked—2,000 Protest

Special to The New York Times.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 19—The home of a Nashville City Councilman was bombed today, and more than 2,000 Negroes, mostly students, marched on City Hall to protest failure of the police to halt racial violence.

An early-morning dynamite

HE NEW YORK TIMES,

DR. KING SEES GAIN BY NEGRO SIT-INS

Says Store Protests Light Up Injustices in South—Deplores Truman Remark

WASHINGTON, April 17 (UPI)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that the sit-in movement provided an "eternal refutation" to the idea that Negroes in the South were satisfied with segregated facilities.

Dr. King, leader of the non-violent Negro resistance movement in the South, said the sit-ins had served to "dramatize the indignities and injustices that Negroes are facing."

He criticized former President Harry S. Truman for expressing opposition to the demonstrations against segregation

HEAD OF ALABAMA TO SUE THE TIMES

Gov. Patterson Says Ad to Help Dr. King Defamed State and Public Aides

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 27 (AP)—Gov. John Patterson said today that he would file a libel suit against The New York Times because of an advertisement carried in The Times on March 29.

Governor Patterson said he had studied the ad and was convinced that it "is false, malicious and constitutes defamation of the citizens of Alabama and particularly public officials."

The Governor made his statement at a news conference.

He said the suit would be filed against The Times and four Alabama Negro leaders who signed the ad—the Rev. Shuttlesworth of

Herald Tribune—May 4

Dr. King Seeking Sit-In by Negroes At Polls in South

Gandhi Tactics Seen Leading To Mass Arrests

By Laurence Barrett

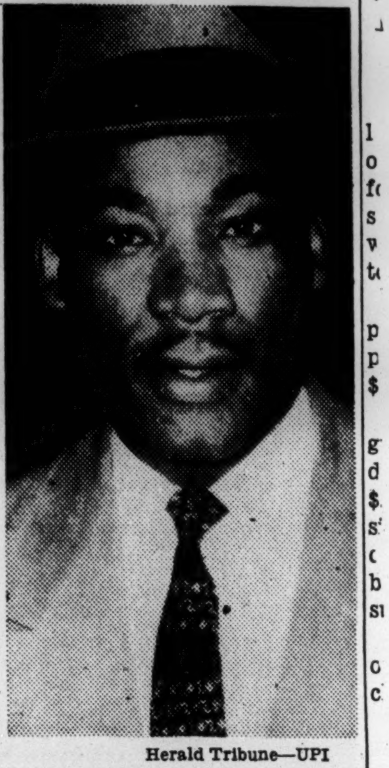
The Rev. Martin Luther King jr. said yesterday he and other Negro leaders were planning to use the non-violent, sit-in method of pressure to force Southern states to allow Negroes to vote in November.

"We definitely are going to use non-violent techniques in the area of voter registration," Dr. King told the New York Herald Tribune.

Asked whether these "techniques" would be the same as those used at lunch counters Dr. King said, "The same principles will be involved."

He said that this was tried in ce in connection ration. "Only in that at-

by telephone from his church Atlanta, Ga. He was called confirm a prediction made



Herald Tribune—UPI

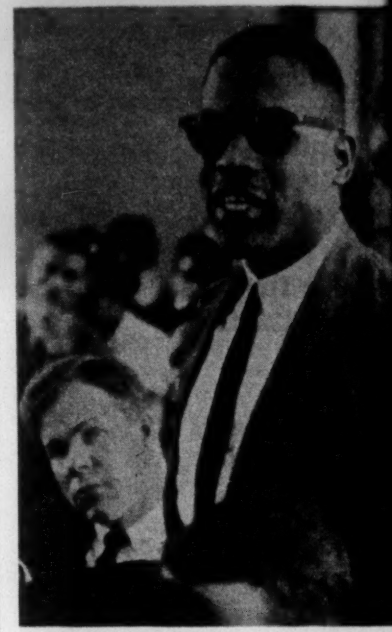
Rev. Martin Luther King

NASHVILLE ISSUE IS FULL EQUALIT

Sit-In Movement Is Prelu to Campaign by Negroe

By HARRISON E. SALISBU

Bernard Lee expelled fr State College for leading demonstration.



THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

BELAFONTE LEADS GIANT RALLY FOR DR. KING

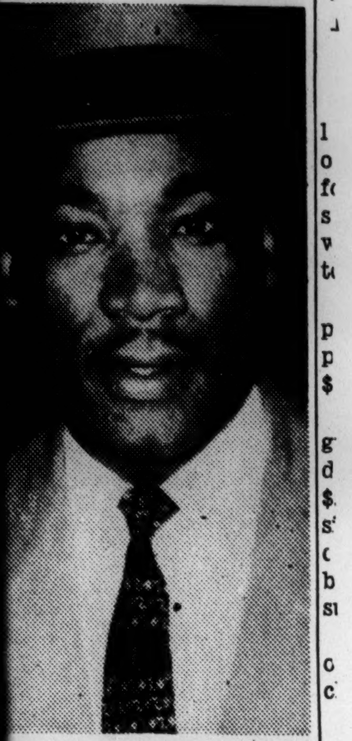
Life Magazine May 2

Mass student rally, led by Harry Belafonte, chairman, Cultural Division, Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mass demonstratio Alabama, led by E

—May 4

Seeking Negroes n South



Herald Tribune—UPI

ev. Martin Luther King

elephone from his church tlanta, Ga. He was called onfirm a prediction made ...tin ... an

R DR. KING

Life Magazine May 2

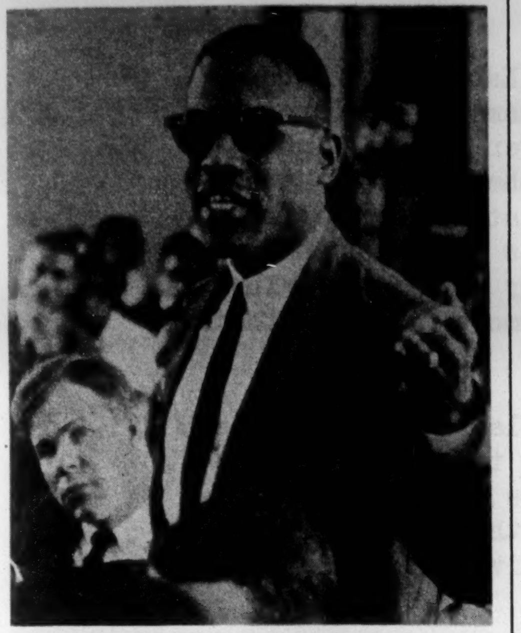
...ued on Page 23, Column 1

NASHVILLE ISSUE IS FULL EQUALITY

Sit-In Movement Is Prelude to Campaign by Negroes

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Bernard Lee expelled from Ala. State College for leading student demonstration.



THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1960.

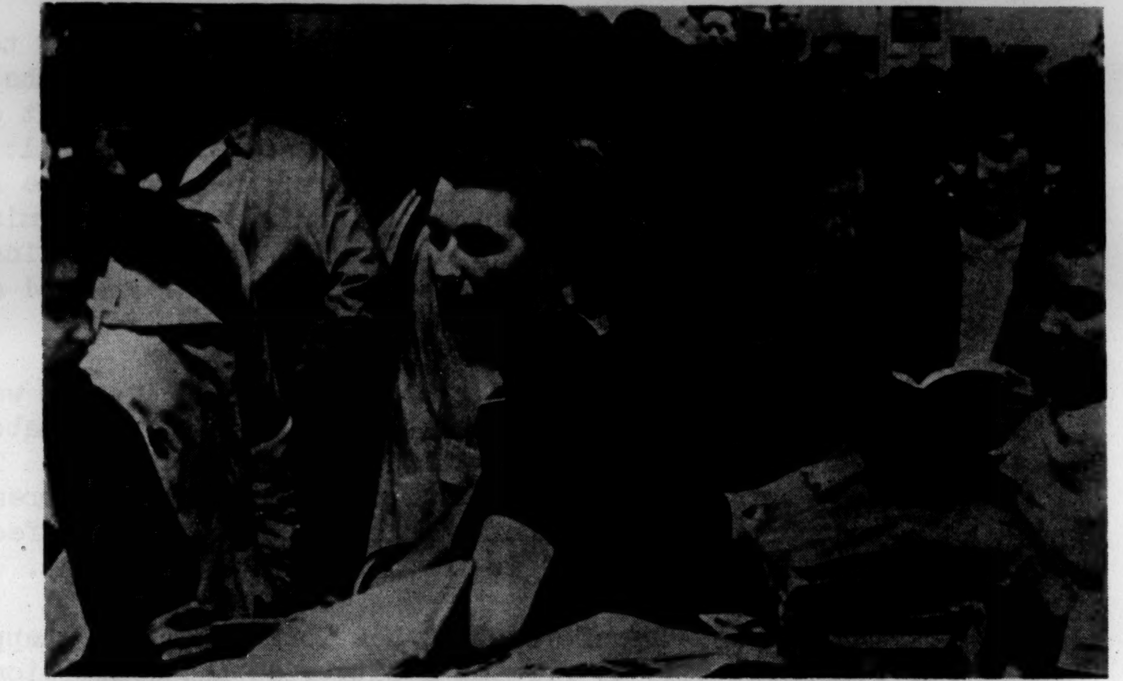
Meany and Reuther Support Chain-Store Boycotts

George Meany, Walter P. Reuther and other top union leaders pledged themselves yesterday to boycott stores of F. W. Woolworth Company and other chains that refused to serve Negroes at Southern lunch counters.

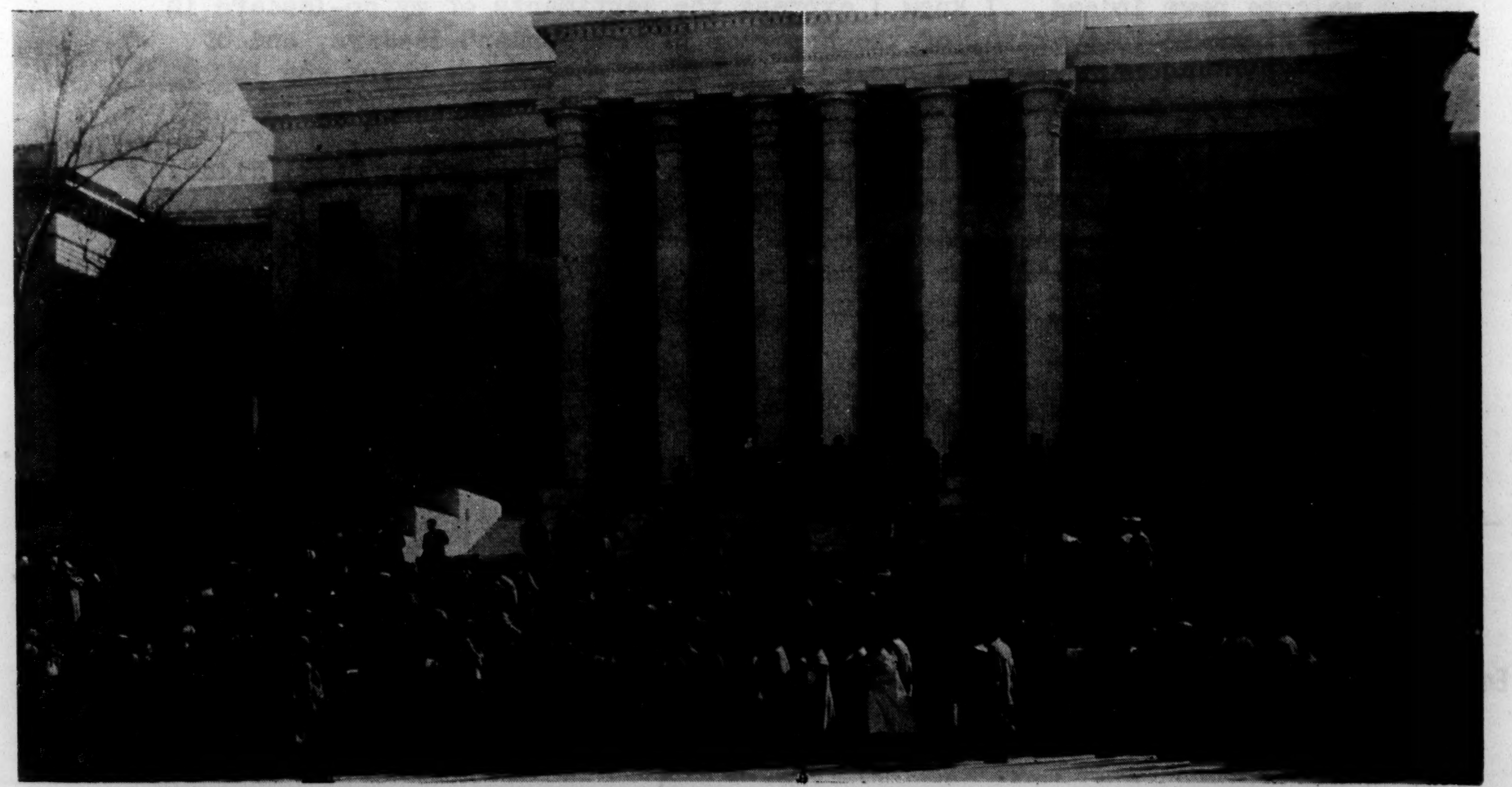
The union chiefs signed ...edge cards presented by stu... leaders of the sit-in pro... ...monstrations now be-

REVOLT OF NEGRO YOUTH

Story from Ebony Magazine, May, 1960



White and Negro coeds demonstrate side by side in Greensboro five-and-dime-store.



Mass demonstration at State Capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, led by Bernard Lee, Chairman, Student Division, Committee to Defend Martin Luther King Jr. and the struggle for freedom in the South.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
407 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 24, 1960

Dear Brother:

A prison sentence is usually regarded as a mark of shame. But to Southern Negroes fighting for freedom, going to jail is a badge of honor. The State of Alabama is planning to so honor me--for as many years as it can. However, I do not view my coming trial for "perjury" in any narrow, personal way. It is clearly part of the total pattern of Reaction--the result of a deliberate plan to harrass, destroy and eliminate all who strike out for freedom with any degree of effectiveness.

This type of attack is, of course, an old story to Labor. Long before it achieved its hard-won victories, Labor had the same sort of rough uphill struggle which we in the South face today. It even had to fight--as we now fight--for the most elementary right of all: the right to have rights. To Southern freedom fighters, therefore, the history of the labor movement is a constant source of inspiration. It reminds us again and again that the unity, courage and will-to-win of ordinary people are, in the end, far stronger than the shotguns, tear gas and armored cars of their enemies.

Even more significant, though, than the lessons we learn from Labor's history, is the active support we are getting from Labor today--in the form of picket lines, bail fund loans and petitions. The maturing struggle in the South however has taken on an unprecedented breadth and scope, far beyond our present financial ability to direct it effectively. Hence, the greatest immediate need is for direct financial help.

The news, therefore, that New York Labor has stepped up its campaign of financial aid, by forming a city-wide Labor Division of the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South is welcome news indeed. I know I express the sentiments of my co-leaders in the right-to-vote drive, of the hundreds of new student leaders, and of the millions of Southern Negroes on the march when I say thank you in advance for your generous assistance!

May the great bond of brotherhood between Labor and the Civil Rights forces ever continue to deepen, so that together we may advance the frontiers of democracy and, in the not too distant future, transform our America, this blessed home of the brave, into a land of the truly free.

Fraternally,

Martin Luther King Jr.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
312 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. UNiversity 6-2000

Enclosed find $______ to help the struggle for freedom in the South.

Name ________________________________
Address ________________________________
City & State ________________________________

News release

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
L. Richard Guylay, Public Relations Director • NAtional 8-6800
1625 Eye Street, Northwest • Washington 6, D. C.

FOR RELEASE

AMs Sunday
June 19, 1960

GOP SETS PROCEDURE FOR WRITING OF 1960 PLATFORM, INVITES VIEWS OF ALL AMERICANS

Charles H. Percy of Chicago, Ill., Temporary Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions for the 1960 Republican National Convention, today invited the American people to take part in the drafting of the Republican Platform for 1960.

Mr. Percy announced that the Resolutions Committee would assemble at 10 a.m., Tuesday, July 19, in the Crystal Ballroom of the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, to begin preliminary work on the platform.

"We urge and will welcome suggestions from individuals and national and regional groups," Mr. Percy declared. "We want to consider a wide range of opinion from every segment of American life.

"As we move into the decade of the Sixties, the challenges and opportunities require us to encourage, examine and consider every possible new idea and this is to be the spirit of the development of our 1960 platform.

"In fact, we suggest that organizations and individuals do not limit their presentation only to immediate goals.

"In addition, we want to get their views on how they and the Republican Party should plan to help America over the long pull, working together toward long-range goals of national import as well as the immediate desires of their own particular interest. Our objective is to build a stronger and better America."

Mr. Percy said that the July 19 meetings of the full committee will be devoted to organizational activities and discussion of plans and procedures. It is planned to appoint eight subcommittees which will hold separate public hearings on July 20 and 21. Such sessions will be open to the press and public.

The eight subcommittees will be formed in three general categories, as follows:

National Security and Peace-- 1. Foreign Policy 2. National Defense.

Growth and Progress-- 3. Labor and Commerce 4. Agriculture and Natural Resources 5. Education, Science and Technology 6. Government Finance and Administration.

Human Needs-- 7. Civil Rights and Immigration 8. Human Affairs--Health, Housing, Urban Problems, Veterans and Welfare.

Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R-Wis), Temporary Vice Chairman of the Committee, will have general supervision of the subcommittee hearings.

Executive Secretary for the entire Committee will be Dr. Gabriel Hauge of New York City, former Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for economic affairs.

There will be two Assistant Executive Secretaries--Dr. William B. Prendergast, Director of Research for the Republican National Committee, who will concentrate on research; and Dr. Floyd E. McCaffree, a consultant to GOP Chairman Thruston B. Morton and former research director for the committee, who will handle administrative details.

Mr. Percy said that the pressure of time would permit the subcommittees to hear only the representatives of national and regional organizations at the July 20-21 hearings, but he stressed that individual views, submitted in writing, would be carefully studied by the proper subcommittee as it prepares its report.

Communications concerning the platform, including requests for appearances at public hearings by representatives of organizations, should be addressed to Mr. Percy at the Republican National Committee, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Inquiries about the schedule of hearings and the details of procedure may be made to Dr. Floyd E. McCaffree, at the same address.

######

MEMORANDUM ON MEETING WITH REVEREND KILGORE

27 JUNE '60

The following arrangements were agreed upon:

1) Bayard Rustin will work untill the end of the March on the Conventions; salary will be paid by the King Defense Committee.

2) Tom Kahn will also work as office secretary through the conventions project. In view of the fact that he was called from another job, which would have provided paid vacation, to work for the Committee, it is understood that he will recaive 2 weeks vacation pay

3) The office will close on August 1st and not reopen until Labor Day. During this period telephone sevice will be discontinued and room 5 given up. Room 4 will be used for storage and if there is an overflow of furnishings they will be stored.

4) Rev. Kilgore is now in charge of the King Defense Committee office and is coordinator of the March on the Conventions. In the latter he will be assisted by Bayard Rustin

5) The following financial responsibilities fall due on Friday, July 1:

Chicago		Los Angeles	
Joan Suall —	$50.00	MIKE Harrington	50.00
J.H. O'Dell	70.00	Clarence Jones	70.00
Norman Hill	50.00		

In addition a bill of approximately $100.00 is forthcoming for the printing of the CALL for the Marches.

6) In the event of an emergency growing out of above responsibilities it is understood that Rev. Kilgore will be consulted on disbursing funds fromthe SCLC account.

7) Rachelle Horowitz will be kept on for the next week, allowing time for us to review our financial abilities to maintain her

8) Rev. Kilgore's name will be substituted for existing names of individuals authorized to draw checks for the SCLC account.

9) Steve Max will be kept on, providing that we need pay him only a nominal sum to supplement his unemployment insurance.

10) Miss Brown will stay on $ 10.00 a week expenses until the financial report is completed/

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Republican National Committee

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NATIONAL 8-6800

THRUSTON B. MORTON
CHAIRMAN

June 28, 1960

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Northern Office
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
312 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Reverend King:

As Temporary Chairman of the Republican Resolutions (Platform) Committee I am happy to respond to your telegram to Senator Thruston B. Morton, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, requesting a hearing before our group.

On Wednesday and Thursday, July 20 and 21, at the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, various subcommittees of the 1960 Republican Resolutions Committee will conduct hearings of representatives of national and regional organizations. We extend a cordial invitation to you to present the views of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to the Civil Rights and Immigration Subcommittee for consideration in drafting the Republican Platform.

I am enclosing a copy of a press release of June 19 which explains the procedure to be followed by the Resolutions Committee and lists the eight subcommittees. Please note that all hearings will be before the subcommittees. Because of the number of witnesses scheduled to testify, it will be necessary to limit the presentation time before each subcommittee. This arrangement will permit discussion and questioning if the subcommittees desire. We want your recommendations in writing also and they may be of any length. Each organization will be expected to handle its own publicity.

We will schedule you to appear before the Civil Rights and Immigration Subcommittee at its Wednesday morning session, July 20. We will allot a total of a half hour for your presentation and questions and replies. The meeting will be in the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel, and we will inform you at a later date of the exact room.

The Republican Platform will state to the voters of America the ways in which the Republican Party intends to serve the nation. Throughout America there are organizations, like yours, dedicated to service, and the Republican

Party wants to do everything in its power to help such organizations make their maximum possible contribution to the well-being of the country as a whole.

To facilitate the task, we ask you to give your answers to the following questions:

1. What will be America's greatest opportunities and most pressing needs in the next four years and beyond?

2. How does your organization intend to help America face these opportunities and needs?

3. How can the Republican Party help your organization make the greatest possible contribution to the well-being of America?

We will be much interested in your views on these questions. With your help, we will write a platform that will engage the allegiance of all American citizens seeking to work together to defend and enlarge the area of freedom, here and throughout the world.

All communications to me concerning the Platform should be addressed to the Republican National Committee, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Dr. Floyd E. McCaffree of the National Committee staff is handling administrative arrangements for the Resolutions Committee and will assist you in arranging the time for your appearance before the Subcommittee. He will provide you from time to time with supplemental information concerning Platform arrangements and activities.

I can assure you that you will be accorded a cordial reception by the Resolutions Committee. We are anxious to have your views.

Most sincerely yours,

Charles H. Percy

Charles H. Percy
Temporary Chairman
Committee on Resolutions

CHP/cs
Encl.

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FILE NO.: PO 230 SOAF (2-1-2)

28 June 1963

Dear Reverend King,

The Chairman of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, H.E. M. Diallo Telli (Guinea), has asked me to inform you that the Committee has decided to grant a hearing to you in order to testify on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, as requested in your letter of 10 June. He has further asked me to enquire from you as to the date or dates when you will be available for a hearing so that the arrangements can be made for a meeting of the Special Committee.

I would, therefore, appreciate it if you can indicate to me what dates would be convenient. I will confirm the date and time as soon as the meeting is arranged.

Yours sincerely,

E. S. Reddy
Principal Secretary
Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid
of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King
American Committee on Africa
211 East 43rd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King
American Committee on Africa
211 East 43rd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

1963
OUR TENTH
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YEAR

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
211 East 43rd Street • New York 17, N. Y. • (212) TN 7-8733 • Cable AMCOMMAF

1 July 1963

Dear Martin:

I am enclosing two items. One is the letter from the United Nations which was sent to you c/o our office. I haven't opened it, but I am sure that it is telling you of the official action the Committee on Apartheid has taken regarding hearing you.

The other item is a copy of a letter which I have sent to your office in Atlanta. But the way you are moving around, I don't know when you might see it there.

Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea, the Chairman of the UN Committee, is awfully anxious to reach you. If in the midst of your activities today (July 2) it is possible to reach him, I know that he would very much appreciate it. His telephone number is YU 8-8110.

Best wishes.

Yours,

George

George M. Houser

1 July 1963

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Martin:

I attended the session of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa last Friday, June 28th, at the United Nations. Your letter, a copy of which is enclosed, was read by the Committee, and it unanimously approved a hearing for you. Also, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions read rather lengthy portions of the Appeal for Action Against Apartheid with yours and Chief Lutuli's signatures. I know from private discussions with various members of the Committee, and particularly with the Chairman, Ambassador Diallo Telli of Guinea, how anxious they are to have you appear before them.

I know what tremendous pressures are on you these days and how difficult it will be to get a date worked out that will be satisfactory all the way around. From having talked with Wyatt Walker while you were both in New York, I know that July is going to be difficult. However, I do think that I ought to mention to you what the strong desire of the UN Committee is. They would much prefer if possible that you appear before them prior to the meeting of the Security Council which will be taking up the question of South Africa some time shortly after the middle of July. The exact date for the Security Council meeting is not yet set, but the dates which I have heard are either the 16th, 18th, or 22nd of the month. This will be an exceedingly important meeting of the Security Council. It could be that what comes out of the Special Committee on Apartheid and your own testimony before it might have some significance in the Security Council debates.

I am told by the Chairman in the Secretariat for the Special Committee on Apartheid that they could get a meeting together on 24 hours notice if they knew when you were to be here. Therefore, in spite of the pressures which are on you, I strongly urge that if there is any way, even on short notice, of your being here in New York to appear before the Committee, this would be very desirable. If this is not possible, then I hope that a date can be set fairly soon so that even if it is in early August, there can be some advance notice to the UN Committee as to what to expect.

Would you like to have us draft some notes of some ideas we have that can be incorporated into any statement you wish to make? We can undertake that here and send some notes off to you and then work on anything else you would like to have us do as you see fit. I will try to call you or Wyatt Walker very shortly so that I can see what your thinking is. I do hope that something can be worked out.

More power to you in these difficult days.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser

GMH:dk
cc: Wyatt Walker

1 July 1963

Rev. Wyatt T. Walker
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wyatt:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which has gone off to Martin regarding the appearance at the United Nations. I imagine that you would see his letter anyway, but I thought it best to send youthis copy. I will try to reach you very shortly to see what you think the possibilities are. I do hope that even on very short notice, something can be arranged before the Security Council meets.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser

GMH:dk
Encls.

Voting Tour

1 Speech

Minister Meeting

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF CARAVAN FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

Distance miles	Location	Travel time minutes	Stopping time minutes	Arrival time
	63rd & Halsted		20	11:00
3½	two Schools	15		
	64th & Stony Island		15	
~~21~~ 2½	63 + Woodlawn	15		
	55th & So. Park		15	12:05
1	[illegible]	07		
	47th & So. Park		10	
1		10		
	Ida B. Wells Homes		15	1:02
½		07		
	35th & So. Park		10	
1¼	Parents School Boycott	12		
	~~30th & 34th & State~~ 35 + State		10	2:06
5½		25		
	Independence & Roosevelt		15	
4½		20		2:55
	Kedzie & Madison		15	
4½		20		
	Larrabee & Scott		10	
1½		07		
	2nd speech Seward Park Fieldhouse		07	3;40

Total Travel Time (minutes) 138

Total Speaking or Stopping time (minutes) 135

al Raby

Greater St. John's Baptist Church Thursday, October 29, 1964

ORDER OF SERVICE

Rev. Clay Evans - Rev. John R. Porter
Co-Chairmen

I. CALL TO ORDER: Rev. Clay Evans, Pastor, Fellowship Baptist Church, 1st; Vice-Pres., Baptist Ministers Conference

II. MUSIC:
  a. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"
  b. "Lift Every Voice and Sing"

III. INVOCATION: Rev. A. T. Tilly, President, Baptist Ministers Conference

LORD's PRAYER

IV. WELCOME: Rev. James Mack, South United Church of Christ, Treasurer of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations.

V. PURPOSE: Father William Hogan, St. Martin's Parish, Recorder, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations.

VI. BAYARD RUSTIN: "What the Clergy Can Do"

  A. Get every member out to vote
  B. Form car pools to take people to the polls
  C. Form baby-sitting groups
  D. Get members to distribute leaflets
  E. Include inserts in Sunday's bulletin
  F. Hold Sunday afternoon forums
  G. Form telephone chains

VII. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, Treasurer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

VIII. INTRODUCTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
Rev. John R. Porter, pastor of Christ Methodist Church, President, Englewood Christian Leadership Conference

IX. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, WORLD RENOWNED LEADER FOR HUMAN FREEDOM, AND RECENT AWARDEE OF THE COVETED INTERNATIONAL NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

X. CLOSING PRAYER: Rev. William A. Johnson, Pastor, Greater St. John's Baptist Church; Past President of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago

XI. SONG: "WE SHALL OVERCOME" - Led by Rev. Andy Young and Mr. Bayard Rustin

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Rev. A. Wayman Ward
Rev. A. E. Williams

RUBY DEE & OSSIE DAVIS
44 Cortlandt Avenue
New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

July 28, 1964

Dear Dr. King:

We were amazed and disappointed to see you, according to all reports, fall for the oldest, and surely one of the most vicious "white man tricks". It appears you permitted the Mayor to call you in in an attempt to invalidate, downgrade and undercut the efforts of others who are much closer to the scene, and who have been working hard to construct some kind of racial peace in Harlem.

We respect your philosophy of non-violence; but hate to see it, and you, used by cynical politicians to muffle the cries of an outraged community. If the Mayor had had a little more respect for your philosophy maybe his police force would not be so trigger happy. Non-violence can only work in a civilized community where both sides to a dispute are still motivated by a common respect for morality. Law and order is a two way street: citizens must respect the law, but the law must equally respect, and protect, the citizen. To call upon the desperate people of Harlem to practice restraint without calling upon the Mayor and his police force to so likewise would be ## blatantly unfair, and might ultimately rob you of the tremendous force you still carry in our community.

We consider the Harlem Unity Council, whose representatives range from the Muslims to the Urban League, to be a legitimate representative of the people of that community, and feel you would have brought a thrill of hope and appreciation from them and the people they represent had you met with them FIRST.

To the crime of violence Harlem must be permitted to plead "Not Guilty" because of extenuating circumstances. Of course the Mayor needs you: to show the world how willing and ready he is to deal with "responsible" leaders, and thereby to absolve himself of responsibility for the criminal act of negligence in relation to Harlem: Harlem, which, with its evil slums and unemplymnet, is an act of continous rape against our people.

The Mayor needs you, Dr. King. But not nearly so much as we, your own people, do. We implore that you will move at once to reassure the people and the leadership of the Harlem Community that their dilemma at this painful hour is much more important to you than the Mayor's.

Yours Sincerely,

Ossie Davis

Ruby Dee Davis

John Killens - asked to signed with us,

September 10, 1965

TO: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Andrew Young
Bayard Rustin

FROM: Harry H. Wachtel

The following names were proposed for the forthcoming election of Executive Committee and Board of Directors of the American Foundation on Nonviolence (AFON). Those marked with GS were formerly Board members of the Gandhi Society. Those marked with SCLC are Board members or staff of the SCLC.

(1) Executive Committee (12)

Dr. King (SCLC) (GS)
Rev. Abernathy (SCLC)
Rev. Kilgore (SCLC) (GS)
Rev. Lowery (SCLC)
Rev. Young (SCLC)
Mordecai Johnson (GS)

Harry Wachtel (GS)
Bayard Rustin
Ralph Helstein (GS)
Cleve Robinson (GS)
Clarence Jones
Donald Slaimon

(2) Board of Directors

All of the Executive Committee (12)

John C. Bennett (GS)
John Cogley (GS)
Joseph Curran (GS)
Rev. Dahlberg (GS)
Steve Allen (GS)
Rabbi Edward Klein (GS)
Dave Livingston (GS)
John Hope Franklin (GS)
Rosa Gragg (GS)
Frank Graham (GS)
Rev. Harrington (GS)
Theodore Kheel
Benjamin Mays (GS)
A. Philip Randolph (GS)
Michael J. Quill (GS)
Walter Reuther
Dorothy Haight
Archibald Carey
Homer Jack
Larry Reddick (SCLC)
Leon Keyserling
Sister ?
Bishop ?

Jackie Robinson (GS)
Rabbi Prinz (GS)
Rev. Julius Mark (GS)
Allard Lavenstein (GS)
Robert Spike
Judge Hooks (SCLC)
Robert Benjamin
Harry Belafonte
Sammy Davis
Matthew Almond
Ralph Bunche
Rev. C. K. Steele (SCLC)
Rev. Fauntrey (SCLC)
Justine Wise Polier
Sadie Alexander
Constance Motley
Bishop Murchison
Rev. Wheelright
C. Van Woodward
Eliza Paschal
Walter Johnson
Harry Golden

(3) I probably spelled several names wrong; and I just feel I left off a Bishop but cannot recall who. I also have no name for the Sister from Chicago.

(4) Other names may have come to your mind who should be added. Some should be dropped. This is a large board - - but many may refuse- - - and we can live with all who accept.

(5) For additional Board names - - I wanted to suggest consideration of Lucy Wachtel, Harry Van Arsdale, Stanley Levinson, Jack Greenberg, Joseph Rauh, Michael Harrington, Norman Hill, Arthur Logan, Ossie Davis, Sidney Potier, Dr. Nelson of Howard University.

(6) We have to consider (a) who would be offended by omission (b) who had been on (GS) and not now included - - George Lawrence, Frank Karelson, Sam Pierce, Bill Kunstler, Rev. Sandy Ray, J. Oscar Lee, Max Youngstein, Libby Reynolds, Mrs. Simon, Robert Ryan.

(7) We ought to consider possible additional names from the ranks of Universities, the Arts, Business, etc. We have a heavy weighting for clergy and labor, which, of course, is as it should be.

(8) After you each have reviewed the list - - could you keep one copy each and mark up the extra copy with your suggestions of omission, inclusion, etc. Also put your initials next to names you personally will be responsible for so that we may move forward with the task of planning the machinery for the request to serve and the first meeting date and place.

(9) For the time being - - the present officers of Gandhi will be continued --

Martin Luther King, Jr. - Honoary Chairman
Mordecai Johnson - President
Harry H. Wachtel - Executive Vice President
Reverend Dahlberg - Vice President
Rosa Gra~~ce~~gg - Secretary

(10) I shall proceed with the amendment of the Charter to make the name American Foundation on NonViolence if I hear no dissenting voice.

HHW

AMM:ew

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER ☼ Book Publishing Consultant
211 WEST 58th STREET NEW YORK NY 10019 phone (21[illegible]) 247-3[illegible]76

19 May 1968

Dear Bayard,

I am writing a biography of Martin King, which I expect to finish in the next week or so. I think you will agree that, whatever its shortcomings may be, it will be a book of permanent value to which people will turn long after the recent quickies have passed from the scene. It will comprise about 300 pages in manuscript and will include maps, photos and a good deal of information not to be found in Lerone Bennett's, Reddick's or other books.

I would appreciate it greatly if you would consent to read the galleys when they are ready and give me a brief comment that could be used in publicity.

First, however, I thought I had better show you the enclosed pages which concern you and get your approval or veto for what I have said, since there is a delicate matter about which I do not wish to embarass you. You may recall our conversation right after Baldwin's article appeared. I would appreciate it, too, if you could date more exactly for me the events on page 102, if you can.

I have never made any secret of my considerable admiration for you, Bayard. You will never know what it cost me emotionally to make the break I did with Liberation over what seemed to me a matter of personal integrity. I have never been able to think about it without regret.

I have long felt a deep admiration, too, for Mr. Randolph, and I would like, if I may, to dedicate my biography of Martin King to him. Would you ask him for me or tell me how to proceed?

Someday I would like to see you write a biography of Randolph, and I would like to edit it. I've mentioned this to you before, at least three years ago, and I'm nowhere near giving up on it.

I hope you can return the enclosed two pages to me as soon as you possibly can, because the whole thing will be going to the printer by the end of the week.

By the way, can you send me a copy of the Freedom Budget and any other relevant material your institute has produced?

Faithfully,

Bill

Page missing in original

of his persecutors and what motivated them. It was not hatred but terror that drove them to such deeds as their willfully false accusation. This was indeed evil of the most reprehensible sort -- but all the more reason why this virulent enmity must be met with love. There had been "no miraculous conversion, but something happened to that jury," and in his heart Martin profoundly believed that the reconciling spirit had somehow touched those white Alabamans.

~~The next morning Dr. King~~ [illegible]

Bayard Rustin was conspicuously absent from the events of 1960. The reasons for this were a source of anguish more acute for King than the tax case. Adam Clayton Powell was among the many people who, like Rockefeller, had his own reasons for wanting King to align himself with his interests, and he regarded Randolph and Rustin as obstacles. For one thing, they were active members of the Socialist Party -- Social-Democratic Federation. Powell, perhaps the most influential Negro in the Democratic Party, wanted King to sever his ties with Rustin, who had served as King's organizer and private assistant since 1956. What, precisely, Powell hoped to gain thereby is unclear, but he informed King that he had better do this -- or else. Powell was prepared to create a scandal which could have been damaging to the movement. Years ago, Rustin had been involved in a homosexual misdemeanor, and Powell hinted that if Rustin stayed on, that episode would be given a full public airing.

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King told Rustin of his conversation with Powell and said he was prepared to stand by his lieutenant at all costs. "You can't do that, Martin," said Rustin. "I won't let you do it. The movement has got to take priority over personal considerations, and you've got your hands full as it is. I'll resign; there's no alternative." King remonstrated with him, but in the end reluctantly agreed. It was, in one sense, the wisest course, but even after the decision was taken, the horns of the dilemma remained to gore him, for there were those who got wind of this compromise. James Baldwin wrote in Harper's some months later, "He lost much moral credit,... especially in the eyes of the young, when he allowed Adam Clayton Powell to force Rustin's resignation. ... The techniques used by Powell -- we will not speculate as to his motives -- were far from sweet; but King was faced with the choice of defending his organizer, who was also his friend, or agreeing with Powell; and he chose the latter course."[2] What Baldwin and others did not ~~understand~~ know about was Rustin's refusal to be defended. King had never shut the door on his friend. Although their careers diverged in subsequent years, there were times such as the March on Washington when they stood shoulder to shoulder in public. One thing Martin King learned from this episode, as from the tax case which overlapped with it, was the vulnerability of public men to underhanded attack. Another was to keep his distance from Adam Powell. He kept his head, as he had done when Robert Williams assailed him. He tried as best he could to clarify his own position and to reconcile his opponents without descending into polemics or factional in-fighting. As this was true in the freedom movement, so was it true in the church, where he quietly but firmly aligned himself with Gardner Taylor and his caucus in challenging the entrenched leadership of J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., and in 1961 supported Taylor, George Lawrence and some eight hundred other clergymen who seceded to form the Progressive Baptist Convention.

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[2] James Baldwin, "The Dangerous Road Before Martin Luther King," Harper's Magazine, February 1961, p. 42.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Birthday

January 15, 1980

As we celebrate the fifty-first anniversary of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the principles and causes for which he gave his life are being challenged at home and abroad. There have always been voices that urged violent repression in the name of religion. There have always been people who were willing to sacrifice others to further their own causes. Martin Luther King, Jr., taught us a different lesson. He taught us to live up to our highest principles of freedom and equal justice, to love and respect the tiniest spark of humanity in the most unlovable and find ways to fan that tiny spark into a lasting flame that would light the way to a better day.

At this time when the forces of tyranny and terrorism are engaging in violence, often in the name of religion, it is important that we remember the power of non-violence to change both institutions and the hearts of individuals.

As we face the challenges of a new decade, we are strengthened by the memory of all the losing battles that went into the great triumphs of Martin Luther King, Jr. May we have the same courage to fortify our convictions, the same love and will to hold out to the final victory.

Jimmy Carter

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING
Statements

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THIS APPEAL

Is Being Presented

To

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

By

THE REVEREND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Of Atlanta, Georgia

On Behalf Of

THE NEGRO CITIZENRY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

In Commemoration

Of The

Centennial
Of The

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION

An Appeal
To The Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of The United States

FOR NATIONAL REDEDICATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION AND FOR AN EXECUTIVE ORDER PROHIBITING SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Submitted May 17, 1962 by
The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Ga.

1. PREAMBLE

Mr. President, sometimes there occur moments in the history of a nation when it becomes necessary to pause and reflect upon the heritage of the past in order to determine the most meaningful course for the present and the future. America today, in the field of race relations, is at such a moment. Consequently, we would like to discuss with you, as one of our fellow Americans, and as President of these United States, the crossroads at which America stands on the issue of civil rights.

Like you, Mr. President, we are profoundly proud of the democratic heritage of our country. We know that freedom is, indeed, a most precious thing. We know that "this land is our land, from California to the New York Island; from the Redwood forests to the Gulfstream waters"; we know that this land exists for all Americans, white and Negro. However, we also know that to millions of Negroes throughout these United States, freedom is not yet a "living reality." State enforced segregation and discrimination based on race or color continue in many parts of our country. Thus, as we approach the 100 th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, eight years after the unanimous United States Supreme Court desegregation decision in Brown v. Board of Education, we want to present for your consideration our thoughts on the ways in which the legal and moral responsibility to end state enforced segregation and discrimination can be met.

The wellsprings of equality lie deep within our past. We believe the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation is a peculiarly appropriate time for all our citizens to rededicate themselves to those early precepts and principles of equality before the law. Mr. President, like Thomas Jefferson before you, we hold, even more today, "these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

The Declaration of Independence gave hope to all the world because it spoke for all men, not just the privileged few.[1]

> "And in every succeeding statement of American purpose - The Gettysburg Address, Wilson's 'Fourteen Points,' the 'Four Freedoms,' - that same emphasis on the rights and needs of 'all men' has been present. In different contexts we gave these testaments of national faith and purpose a specific meaning which led a grateful humanity everywhere to raise monuments in their hearts where they honored the very word 'American.' Yet we cannot rest on those monuments today."[2] (emphasis added)

One hundred years ago this September, Mr. President, General Robert E. Lee's grey-clad Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac singing "Maryland, My Maryland." The Civil War was in its second year. A victorious South was invading the North.

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1. Kennedy, John F. "Are We Up to the Task", The Strategy of Peace, Popular Library, New York, 1961.

2. Ibid.

History tells us that the outcome of Lee's invasion was determined on the 17th of September, 1862 at Antietam Creek, fifty miles up the Potomac from Washington.

> "In the early hours of the morning it was a battle for two woodlots, a cornfield and a small white church, defended by Confederate divisions under Stonewall Jackson. Toward noon it was a battle for a sunken lane, quickly named 'Bloody Lane' by the Northern attackers, and in the afternoon it was an uphill battle for ridges.
>
> "When night fell, the young men from the cities, towns and farms of the North had won the most important points, but thousands of them were dead and every house and barn for many miles around soon filled with wounded."[3]

September 17th, 1862, according to the historian Bruce Catton, was "the most murderous single day of the entire war."

Abraham Lincoln was profoundly aware of the deep wounds which had been inflicted upon the Union when he spoke those prophetic words on November 19, 1863, to those thousands who had gathered on Cemetery Hill in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania for the dedication exercises of a National Soldiers' Cemetery.

> "It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from this earth." (emphasis added)

Only ten months earlier, shortly after the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln had, on September 22, 1862, summoned his Cabinet and issued an Executive Proclamation, effective as of January 1, 1863, freeing the slaves in the rebellious states. Slavery in America was, thus, brought to an end.[4]

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[3] Editorial, "Hotel Workers Union", May 29, 1961, p. 3.

[4] Frederick Douglas, describing the mood and the temperament of abolitionists and free Negroes who had convened in a church in Boston on the evening of December 31, 1862, wrote:

> "We were waiting and listening as for a bolt from the sky, which would rend the fetters of four millions of slaves; we were watching, as it were, by the dim light of the stars, for the dawn of a new day; we were longing for the answer to the agonizing prayers of centuries. Remembering those in bonds as bound with them, we wanted to join in the shout of freedom, and in the anthem of the redeemed."

Life and Times of Frederick Douglas.
N.Y. 1941, Pathway Press, pp. 387-89.

It is precisely because race relations in America today are so deeply rooted, historically, in the socio-political conditions of Slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the "Black Codes", and their aftermath that we believe the time has come for Presidential leadership to be vigorously exerted to remove, once and for all time, the festering cancer of segregation and discrimination from American society.

The struggle for freedom, Mr. President, of which our Civil War was but a bloody chapter, continues throughout our land today. The courage and heroism of Negro citizens at Montgomery, Little Rock, New Orleans, Prince Edward County, and Jackson, Mississippi is only a further effort to affirm that democratic heritage so painfully won, in part, upon the grassy battlefields of Antietam, Lookout Mountain, and Gettysburg.[5]

When the news that the Proclamation had officially become law was announced to the persons in the church assembled, it had an electrifying effect. Douglas described it thus:

> "The effect of this announcement was startling beyond description, and the scene was wild and grand. Joy and gladness exhausted all forms of expression, from shouts of praise to sobs and tears. My old friend, Rue, a Negro preacher, a man of wonderful vocal power, expressed the heartfelt emotion of the hour, when he led all voices in the anthem, 'Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea, Jehovah hath triumphed, His people are free.'"

Ibid.

5. The speeches delivered by leaders of the Southwide Student Sit-In Movement before the national Platform Committees of the Democratic and Republican Parties in the summer of 1960 aptly summarized the more modern efforts to extend freedom:

> "We also represent the thinking of thousands of Negro and white Americans who have participated in, and supported student efforts that have been characterized, generally, as Sit-Ins, but which in truth were peaceful petitions to the conscience of our fellow citizens for redress of the old grievances that stem from racial segregation and discrimination. In a larger sense, we represent hundreds of thousands of freedom loving people, for whom our limited efforts have revitalized the great American dream of 'liberty and justice for all.'
>
> ....
>
> "The threads of freedom form the basic pattern in man's struggle to know himself and live in the assurance that other men will recognize this self. The ache of every man to touch his potential is the throb that beats out the truth of the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. America was founded because men were seeking room to become.
>
> "We again are seeking that room. We want room to recognize our potential. We want to walk into the sun and through the front door. For three hundred and fifty years, the American Negro has been sent to the

We believe, Mr. President, that you have a unique opportunity to initiate a dramatic and historic step forward in the area of race relations. The exigencies of segregation and the inequities and injustices of discrimination against nineteen million Negroes in America demand creative and firm Executive action on behalf of civil rights.

On several occasions you have said the times we live in demand bold, imaginative and courageous action by all our people. We, like you, Mr. President, believe that the time we live in is a time for greatness. The achievement of civil and human rights in America, therefore, can no longer rest solely, or even primarily, on judicial or legislative declaration alone. The conscience of America looks now, again, some one hundred years after the abolition of chattel slavery, to the President of the United States.[6]

We submit that the present state of the law with respect to state enforced segregation and discrimination based on race or color requires, at this juncture in history, catalytic enforcement of civil rights by a strong and morally committed Executive. The time has come, Mr. President, to let those dawn-like rays of freedom, first glimpsed in 1863, fill the heavens with the noonday sunlight of complete human dignity. Morality, and Man's dignity before Man and his God, demand this in this year Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-two.

Sixty-six years ago, some thirty-three years after chattel slavery had ended, Judge Albion Tourgee foresaw that the longer the appurtenances and indicia of slavery continued, the more impatient the Negro would become. Judge Tourgee's argument before the Court in Plessy v. Ferguson[7] was ultimately vindicated in Brown v. Board of Education.[8] Today his words serve as a reminder of the wrongs of the past and cry out to

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back door in education, housing, employment, and the rights of citizenship at the polls. We grew weary. Our impatience with the token efforts of responsible adult leaders was manifest in the spontaneous protest demonstrations which, after February 1, spread rapidly across the entire South and into the North as sympathetic students sought to display their own dissatisfaction with race relations in the United States."

6. "Because ours is a government under a Constitution, Negroes have secured through court action the enforcement of many of their rights. The judicial process is not, however, a valid substitute for political leadership. The courts can only guardedly look beyond the case at bar, and their decrees have limited application. Negro Americans, whose resources have been taxed severely in financing and manning what is in truth a defense of everybody's constitutional principles, have a just claim that the President and his administration give invigorating guidance toward real equality. The nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of Presidential concern and activity. The free peoples of the world, who value the reputation of the United States, wait to see us act with fairness toward our own citizens."

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights,
Southern Regional Council, Jan. 1961, p. 2

7. 163 U.S. 537(1896).

8. 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

the conscience of America to eliminate the injustices of the present:

> "It is easy for us to excuse ourselves for the wrongs of slavery, but day by day, it is growing harder for the colored man to do so; and it is simply to state a universal fact of human nature to declare that a great and last-wrong like slavery done to a whole people grows blacker and darker for generations and ages as they go away from it. The educated grandchild of a slave who looks back into the black pit of slavery will find little excuse for the white Christian civilization which forbade marriage, crushed aspiration, and after two centuries and a half offered the world as the fruits of Christian endeavor five millions of (illegitimate) sons and daughters - the product of a promiscuity enforced by law and upheld by Christian teachings. Slavery will be a more terrible thing to the Negro a hundred years hence than it was to the calloused consciousness of his nameless father, and a more shameful horror to your grandchild's soul than it was to the aching heart of Garrison."[9]

We are confident that with your help, Mr. President, the discontinuance of seggregation and state imposed discrimination shall come to pass. We, therefore, respectfully propose that in glorious commemoration of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, you as President of these United States by Executive Order, proclaim:

1. That the full powers of your office will be used to eliminate all forms of statutory-imposed segregation and discrimination from and throughout the respective states of this nation.

2. Effective January 1, 1963 that as of the school year, September 1963, all school districts presently segregated must desegregate.

   Such a Proclamation should be accompanied by a Directive authorizing the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to immediately prepare, in consultation with local school officials, a program of integration in compliance with the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education.

3. That racial segregation in Federally assisted housing is henceforth prohibited and unlawful.

4. That any and all laws within the United States requiring segregation or discrimination because of race or color are contrary to the national policy of the Government of the United States and are detrimental and inimical to the best interest of the United States at home and abroad.

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[9] Tourgee, Albion. First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question in 1890 (Boston 1890) p. 111.

In the pages to follow we will briefly survey the many judicial decisions precluding the application and imposition of laws requiring discrimination and segregation against Negro Americans. These decisions, in conjunction with the Constitutional and statutory provisions cited therewith, demonstrate that in many areas of American life the Negro is entitled to those civil and Constitutional rights for which we now ask Executive support.

II. RESUME OF THE STATE OF THE LAW WITH RESPECT TO STATE ENFORCED SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE OR COLOR.

Mr. President, in your Proclamation establishing May 1, 1961 as Law Day, you stated:

> "...no nation can remain free unless its people cherish their freedoms, understand the responsibilities they entail, and nurture the will to preserve them ...
>
> "...law is the strongest link between men and freedom, and by strengthening the rule of law we strengthen freedom and justice in our own country and contribute by example to the goal of justice under law for all mankind." (emphasis added)

What greater contribution, "by example", can we make, as a nation, than for the President of the United States to declare that: the retention, continuance and enforcement of any and all laws within the United States requiring segregation or discrimination because of race or color is contrary to the national policy of the government of the United States and inimical to our best interest at home and abroad.

Segregation is but a new form of slavery -- an enslavement of the human spirit and dignity rather than of the body. The enacted legislation and judicially developed case law with respect to equal rights in America today requires the fulfillment of the promise of Emancipation. This law, while admittedly subject to degrees of interpretation, is, nevertheless, in general weighted toward the elimination of any and all forms of state enforced segregation or discrimination. Consequently, we believe that a responsible Executive, nearly 100 years removed from the abolition of chattel slavery, should not remain silent and acquiesce in the persistent enforcement of state laws requiring segregation and discrimination because of race or color.

Article VI, section 2, of our Constitution states:

> "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding."

The supremacy clause is thus binding on private citizens as well as public officials.

Ours is a federal government under a written Constitution. The United States Supreme Court stands as the final arbiter in the federal system. Its decisions under our form of government are continual additions to the "supreme law" of the land.

Over the past eight years the Federal Judiciary has chartered historic new roads to the achievement of human dignity in the United States. The law as judicially developed suggests that the country as a whole - North, South, East and West - should be informed by an Executive Proclamation that the national policy of the Government of the United States is forthwith compliance with the numerous decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the area of equal protection of the law.

Mr. President, to millions of your fellow Americans, discrimination because of race and color is a very real and chilling thing in these United States. The realities of second-class citizenship, therefore, naturally cause us to ask whether the achievement of equality in America is so difficult and so complex that, as far as the daily lives of Negroes are concerned, it must still remain only a "dream deferred"? We think not.

The requirements of the equal protection clause are simple and unequivocal. The Supreme Law of the Land forbids any state to enact separation of the races. The simplicity of this Constitutional command pierces through the complexities and legalisms surrounding human rights. Direct and open state action to compel segregation is forbidden. What a state cannot do directly it cannot do indirectly. There is no device, no legal technique which is permissible to a state if the underlying reality is that the state by its action is recognizing, encouraging, or perpetuating segregation.

The law with respect to equality of treatment under the Fourteenth Amendment has undergone significant changes since the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537 (1896). In that case the Court upheld the constitutionality of a Louisiana travel statute which required racial segregation and imposed penalties on those persons who disobeyed the statute. The Fourteenth Amendment, the Court stated, did not prohibit the states from enacting legislation based on race and color.

EDUCATION

In 1954, some 60 years later, the U. S. Supreme Court reached an opposite interpretation of the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment.[10] In a unanimous decision, the Court declared:

> "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."[11]

Thus, where the State has undertaken the responsibility of public education, the Fourteenth Amendment requires it to provide an equal opportunity to all for an education. Separate, segregated facilities cannot, by their very nature, be equal.

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10. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483.

11. Ibid.

Shortly after the 1954 Brown decision, the Supreme Court of Delaware concluded that the effect of that decision was to nullify all State constitutional and statutory provisions requiring separate schools for the two races.[12]

The U. S. Supreme Court, in its second decision in the Brown case, specifically stated that "All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle." (i. e., that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional.)

In a companion case to the first Brown decision, Bolling v. Sharpe,[13] the question of school segregation in the District of Columbia was raised. School segregation was also held to violate the Fifth Amendment which states that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law:

> "Liberty under law extends to the full range of conduct which the individual is free to pursue, and it cannot be restricted except for a proper governmental objective. Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective."[14]

Realizing that its decision would affect 3 million Negro children and 7 million white children attending compulsorily segregated public schools in almost 3,000 school districts in 17 Southern states, the United States Supreme Court left the implementation of these constitutional principles to the Federal district courts with the safeguard that "it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."[15]

In Cooper v. Aaron[16] (the Little Rock case), the Federal district court, pursuant to a request from state officials, granted a 2-1/2 year delay in the integration of the Little Rock, Arkansas high schools. The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the U. S. Court of Appeals' rejection of this delay. The Court said the constitutional principle established in Brown "forbids States to use their governmental powers to bar children on racial grounds from attending schools where there is State participation through any arrangement, management, funds, or property."[17] Constitutional rights of school children "can neither be nullified openly and directly by State legislators or State executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted 'ingeniously or ingenuously.'"[18] The duty of state authorities (including local school boards and superintendents of schools) to end segregation was reaffirmed. State authorities, in the words of the Court, are "duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system."[19]

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12. Steiner v. Simmons, 111 A. 2d 574 (Del. 1955)
13. 347 U. S. 497 (1954)
14. Ibid.
15. Brown v. Bd. of Ed., 349 U. S. 300 (1955)
16. 358 U. S. 1(1958)
17. Id. at p. 4.
18. Id. at p. 17.
19. Id. at p. 7.

The last significant decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in the area of public education was Pennsylvania v. Board of Directors of City Trusts.[20] The Court said:

> "The Board which operates Girard College is an agency of the State of Pennsylvania. Therefore, even though the Board was acting as trustee, its refusal to admit [the Negro applicants] because they were Negroes was discrimination by the State. Such discrimination is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment."[21]

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20. 353 U. S. 230 (1957). A Negro lad had been denied admission to Girard College, operated and erected under a trust naming the City of Philadelphia as trustee and providing that the college was to admit "as many poor white male orphans, between the ages of six and ten years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain." The trust was administered by a Board of Directors made up of judges and elected officials. No city funds were used, but the property was tax exempt. The U. S. Supreme Court rejected the argument that the city officials were acting in a fiduciary, not a governmental, capacity and were not, therefore, subject to the Fourteenth Amendment.

21. Id. at 231. The "1961 Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights", Vol. 2, Education, summarizes the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court concerning equal protection of the law in public education and the rules governing their implementation. It states:

> "1. State-imposed racial segregation in public educational facilities creates inequality and therefore constitutes a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution. All schools in which a State participates through any arrangement, management, funds or property are subject to this rule. All provisions of Federal State, or local law requiring or permitting racial segregation in public schools are void.
>
> "2. All school authorities operating segregated school systems have a duty to make a prompt and reasonable effort in good faith to comply with the Constitution. The primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving the problems of desegregation rests with the local school authorities.
>
> "3. In many locations this duty would require immediate general admission of Negro children. In others, justification for not requiring immediate general admission of all qualified Negro children may exist. Hostility to racial desegregation is, however, not a ground for delay." Ibid.

Mr. President, despite these numerous signposts designated by our highest court along the road to full equality and equal opportunity in the field of public education, state enforced segregation and discrimination against Negro citizens continues. Some of the most flagrant forms of disregard for the Constitution and the laws of the United States have been curtailed. However, there still remains, overall, state sanctioned and enforced resistance to the decisions of the Court in public education. We cite you only a few examples of the more sophisticated statutory impediments erected by various Southern states in an effort to frustrate any practical implementation of the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education.[22]

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[22] Ala. Code Tit. 52 #61 (4) et seq. (1957 Supp.)
Ark. Stats. Ann. #80-1519 et seq. (1957 Supp.)
Fla. Stats. Ann. #230.232 (1957 Supp.)
La. Rev. Stats. #17:81.1 et seq. 17:331 (1957 Supp.)
Miss. Code Ann. #6334-01 et seq. (1956 Supp.)
N. C. Gen. Stats. #115-176 et seq. (1957 Supp.)
S. C. Code #21-230 (9) (1957 Supp.)
Tenn. Code Ann. #49-1741 et seq. (1958 Supp.)
Tex. Rev. Civ. Stats. art. 2901a (4) (1957 Supp.)
Va. Code #22-232.1 et seq. (1958 Supp.)

Significantly, these are all states in which there has been either no compliance with Brown or only a minimum. There are a total of 2,917 school districts in these ten states; 1,899 are bi-racial, only 172 are desegregated, with Texas having 132 school districts listed as desegregated. Southern School News, June 1961.

The Alabama Assignment Law is fairly representative. Its express intent is to insure "an efficient educational program with public support and to maintain order and goodwill." The local school board is given the power and authority to assign students to particular schools on the basis of legislative criteria. The criteria include availability of space, teaching capacity, transportation, suitability of established curricula for particular pupils, "psychological qualifications" of the pupil for the type of teaching and association involved, the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school, the possibility of breeches of the peace or ill will or economic retaliation within the community, the morals, conduct, health and personal standards of the pupil.

If a student wishes to appeal the decision of the local school board, there is an appeal to the school board for a hearing, then to the local circuit court for a jury trial and finally to the state supreme court.

In its first court test, the Alabama Law was upheld as "not unconstitutional on its face." Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education, 162 F. Supp. 372 (N.D. Ala. 1958), affirmed 358 U.S. 101 (1958).

The Alabama criteria are typical of those used in Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Louisiana. Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1959) Ch. V, "Legal Developments of Resistance in the Southern States," p. 242.

The original Virginia Pupil Placement Law (1956) included as one criterion "the efficient" operation of the schools. The same legislature defined an "efficient" system of schools

It is well known that following the May 17, 1954 desegregation decision, the legislatures of several Southern states passed measures known as "pupil placement, enrollment or assignment" laws. These enactments were expressly designed to give local school boards the power to designate which school children should attend. The process of designation is based on a series of criteria ostensibly and apparently other than race. In reality, Mr. President, most of the pupil placement enrollment or assignment laws are predicated upon race and color as underlying criteria. It is significant to note that in few instances, if any, are these criteria ever used to measure the suitability of white children for school enrollment. The practical effect of these state statutes, therefore, permits us to say with a reasonable degree of certainty that they were not enacted to implement desegregation "with all deliberate speed." Indeed, to the millions of Negroes throughout the South in particular and our nation in general, "pupil placement" has in fact become the main bulwark of "token integration," and so-called "marginal desegregation."

Recent decisions indicate that the Federal District Courts are growing more and more impatient with methods applying apparently legitimate criteria, but which in fact are designed to halt or retard desegregation in education. The U. S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit, for example, ruled on March 23, 1962 that the Tennessee Pupil Assignment Law enacted by the Tennessee Legislature in 1957 may not serve as a plan to convert a segregated school system into a nonracial system. At the time the suit was filed in this case (Northcross et al. v. City of Memphis Board of Education), no Negro child had ever been transferred to a white school, and no white child had ever been transferred to a Negro school under the operation of the Assignment Law. Hence, the court concluded:

> "The practice over a long period of time of separate schools in certain geographical areas of our nation has become a way of life in those areas, and we realize that a change is not easy to accomplish. But as this court must follow the supreme law of the land, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, so must boards of education follow it."[23]

You can be sure, Mr. President, that the impatience of Negro Americans with the delaying tactics of many of our Southern states to desegregate their public education is no less than that of the lower federal courts.

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as one in which no white and colored children were taught together! The district court examined these two statutes together and declared the Pupil Placement Act unconstitutional on its face. Adkins v. School Board of the City of Newport News, 148 F. Supp. 430 (E.D. Va., 1957), affirmed 246 F.2d 325 (4th Cir. 1957) cert. denied, 355 U. S. 855 (1957).

The Act was amended and now orders placement" so as to provide for the orderly administration of such public schools, the competent instruction of the pupils enrolled and the health, safety, and general welfare of such pupils." This statute has yet to be tested, but if Shuttlesworth is followed it may well be upheld as constitutional on its face.

Similarly, the North Carolina Pupil Placement Law directs the local school boards to assign pupils so as to provide for the orderly and efficient instruction, health, safety and general welfare of the pupils. In Carson v. Warlick, 238 F. 2d 724 (4th Cir. 1956), the United States Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit found the Act not unconstitutional on its face.

It is our growing impatience with the "one (1) percent (%) a year rate of desegregation" in the South which causes us to feel, with great conviction, that what is sorely needed is forceful Executive leadership in behalf of civil rights. This is why we say, Mr. President, that a glorious new state in the history of human rights in America would commence if you, via Executive Order, proclaimed: that the continued enforcement of State laws requiring segregation and discrimination, in your best judgment, is contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that the existence of State laws requiring discrimination because of race or color is inimical to the best interests of the United States at home and abroad; and that, consequently, the full powers of your office will be employed to bring about forthwith compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The major social transformation in the mores and customs of a substantial part of our American community provides you, Mr. President, with many opportunities for creative imaginative action. We respectfully submit that it is incumbent upon you to personally exert Executive leadership in the desegregation of public education in the Southern states of this nation. If this is not done, the "peaceful revolution in human rights" taking place in our midst will, to use your own words from another occasion, continue to strain at "the leashes imposed by timid Executive leadership." 24

We are not unaware that the Department of Justice intervened as a friend of the Court in resisting the attempt by the State of Louisiana to stifle desegregation. Nor are we unmindful that the Justice Department sought to intervene as plaintiff in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

We are similarly not unaware of the March 30, 1962 announcement of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham A. Ribicoff, before the Special House Education Subcommittee on integration in federally assisted areas. 25

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23. Citing Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1.

24. Excerpt from John F. Kennedy's acceptance speech of nomination for President.

25. Secretary Ribicoff announced that:

    1. As of September 1963, the federal government will no longer regard segregated schools as "suitable" for federal grants for the education of children whose parents live and work on federal installations.

    2. Where no desegregated schools are available to serve these installations, the commissioner of education "will be authorized to provide for the education of children on a nonsegregated basis on federal property or make other suitable arrangements." SSN. V. 8 No 10, p. 1 (April 1962)

/ In 1961, more than $12 million in current school operating funds was furnished by the federal government in behalf of 65,000 pupils residing on federal government property in 17 Southern and border states (Ala., Ark., Del., Fla., La., Ky., Md., Miss., Mo., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W. Va.) /

SSN. V. 8 No 10, col. 3, p. 1.

But all these actions, Mr. President, though commendatory and needed, are not a satisfactory substitute for the clarion voice of dynamic, forceful Presidential leadership. Sixty-six years was a painfully long time for the parents and children of Negro Americans to be declared constitutionally entitled to the full fruits of public education that had heretofore been limited and restricted under the Plessy v. Ferguson doctrine of separate-but-equal. One hundred years after the abolition of chattel slavery is indeed an even longer time. The extent to which the Brown decision will be complied with in "all deliberate speed" rests on your shoulders, Mr. President. The "righteousness which exalteth a nation" on the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation demands that the President of the United States, in the name of all the people of the United States, proclaim that as of the school year, September 1963, all school districts presently segregated must desegregate. This could be accomplished by authorizing the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to immediately prepare a program of integration for each school district pursuant to the mandate of Brown. Such programs should be worked out now in consultation with local school officials, but in each case the Department of HEW should be mindful of its national duty.

In addition, we think that the proposals advanced by the Southern Regional Council in its report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, that the President of the United States:

1. "--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

2. "--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards"

should be the basis of a formal Executive Proclamation effective January 1, 1963.

The constitutional principles developed in the school segregation cases have been extended to other public facilities and institutions.[26]

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[26] Public Beaches: Lonesome v. Maxwell, 123 F. Supp. 193 (D. Md. 1954) stated that Brown did not apply to public beaches and pools. The decision was reversed by the Fourth Circuit, 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir. 1955) whose decision was affirmed per curiam by the U. S. Supreme Court in Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City v. Dawson, 350 U. S. 877 (1955).

Public Golf Courses: In Holmes v. City of Atlanta, Ga., 223 F. 2d 93 (5th Cir. 1956) the Court of Appeals had held that Atlanta's municipal golf courses could continue a program of "separate-but-equal". This decision was reversed by the U. S. S. Ct. in 350 U. S. 879, per curiam, with an order that the case be remanded to the district court and a decree entered in favor of petitioners in accordance with Mayor v. Dawson, supra.

Public Parks: In Detiege v. New Orleans City Park Improvement Association, 252 F. 2d 122 (5th Cir. 1958) the Fifth Circuit ruled that a Louisiana law and New Orleans city ordinance requiring segregation in city parks was unconstitutional. Affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court in 358 U. S. 54 (1958)

HOUSING

A modest but significant step was taken in the judicial development of the national law in regard to discrimination and segregation in private and public housing in the case of Buchanan v. Warley.[27]

The U. S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous opinion, found that a racially restrictive zoning ordinance of Louisville, Ky. was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state. The enforcement of the ordinance constituted state action in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in that it deprived persons of property rights without due process of law:

> "But for the ordinance, the state courts would have enforced the contract, and the defendant would have been compelled to pay the purchase price and take a conveyance of the premises. The right of the plaintiff in error to sell his property was directly involved and necessarily impaired because it was held in effect that he could not sell the lot to a person of color who was willing and ready to acquire the property and had obliged himself to take it."[28]

The Court stated that the social purpose behind the ordinance, i.e., to prevent race conflict, miscegenation, and deterioration in the value of property was not sufficient to obviate the objection that it deprived one of property without due process of law.

These same principles apply even though state-owned public facilities are leased to private persons. See Derrington v. Plummer, 240 F. 2d 922 (5th Cir. 1956), cert. denied, 353 U. S. 924 (1957), and Tate v. Dept. of Conservation, 231 F. 2d 615, cert. denied, 352 U. S. 838. Cities which manage their own facilities in a "proprietary capacity" are also forbidden to discriminate. City of St. Petersburg v. Alsup, 238 F2d 830 (5th Cir. 1956), cert. denied, 353 U. S. 922 (1957).

Public Libraries: As far back as 1945, Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library was decided by the Fourth Circuit, 149 F. 2d 212. The defendant, a privately endowed library, governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees appointed by the original donor, barred Negroes from its training school for librarians. Because of the importance of financial assistance given the library by the state and city, and because of the significant control over library activities exercised by the state, racial discrimination by the library was held violative of the Fourteenth Amendment. The U. S. Supreme Court denied certiorari in 326 U. S. 721 (1945).

[27] 245 U. S. 60 (1917). Buchanan, a white person, had brought an action in the Kentucky State Court to compel specific performance of a contract for sale of certain real estate in Louisville to a Negro. The State courts denied him relief because a Louisville ordinance's stated purpose was to "prevent conflict and ill-feeling between the white and colored races in the City of Louisville" by forbidding Negroes to move into a block upon which a greater number of houses were occupied by white people.

[28] Id. at p. 73.

Between the Buchanan case and the landmark decision in Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948), the Supreme Court made two other significant contributions toward the achievement of equal rights in public and private housing. Both were predicated upon the reasoning in Buchanan. The first, Harmon v. Taylor,[29] declared unconstitutional a city ordinance forbidding Negroes to ~~establish a home on~~ property in a white community. The issue was the right of a white seller to dispose of his property free from restrictions as to potential purchasers. The second, Richmond v. Deans,[30] invalidated a similar city ordinance.

Thus, the legislative trend initially established in Baltimore in 1910 of limiting, by local ordinances, the areas in which whites and Negroes could reside, was judicially terminated by the U. S. Supreme Court. State or city racial zoning laws were declared unconstitutional.

In 1948 in the case of Shelley v. Kraemer, mentioned above, judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants was declared state action in contravention of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court held in effect that a state may not enforce private rights based on contractual agreements between private individuals where to do so would result in the infringement of those constitutional rights guaranteed by the Constitution.[31]

Later, in 1953, in Barrows v. Jackson,[32] the question arose as to whether or not a restrictive covenant could be enforced at law by a suit for damages against a co-covenantor who had allegedly broken the covenant. The Supreme Court replied that to award damages for the breach of a covenant would be to sanction the validity thereof and as such would also constitute state action violative of the Fourteenth Amendment "as surely as it was state action to enforce such covenants in equity, as in Shelley v. Kraemer."[33]

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29. 273 U. S. 668 (1927).

30. 281 U. S. 704 (1930).

31. Hurd v. Hodges, 334 U. S. 24 (1948), was decided on the same day as Shelley. The case involved the issue of judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants in the District of Columbia. The Court based its decision on 8 United States Code 342, derived from the Civil Rights Act of 1866:

> "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."

It concluded that, even in the absence of statute, judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants in the District of Columbia would be unconstitutional:

> "It is not consistent with the public policy of the United States to permit federal courts in the Nation's capital to exercise general equitable powers to compel action denied the state courts where such state action has been held to be violative of the guaranty of the equal protection of the laws." at 35.

32. 346 U. S. 249 (1953).

33. Id. at 254.

The lower federal courts and state courts have followed the historic lead established by the Supreme Court. There have been numerous cases in which these courts have held that local authorities operating public housing projects are barred by the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution from denying applications for housing facilities because of an applicant's race. Neither may local public housing authorities set up racially segregated housing.[34]

In the Banks case, the Appellate Court of the State of California ruled in August 1953 that the San Francisco Housing Authority must abandon its "neighborhood pattern" of resident selection, and admit applicants without discrimination. The U. S. Supreme Court rejected this appeal in May 1954.

Between 1953 and 1958, Federal District Courts in Evansville, Indiana; Louisville, Kentucky; Benton Harbor, Michigan; St. Louis, Missouri; and Columbus and Toledo, Ohio barred racial segregation in public housing. These federal courts acted within the framework of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment which forbids the practice of racial discrimination by any public officials, whether under authority of state statutes and ordinances or in deference to the custom and usage of a community.

In the Housing Act of 1949, Congress stated for the first time an overall national goal in housing:

> "The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."[35]

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[34] See: Banks v. Housing Authority of City and County of San Francisco, 120 Cal. App. 2d 1, cert. denied, 347 U. S. 974.

Detroit Housing Commission v. Lewis, 226 F. 2d 180.

Jones v. City of Hamtramck, 121 F. Supp. 123.

Vann v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing, 113 F. Supp. 210.

Askew v. Benton Harbor Housing Commission (W. D. Mich., C. A. No. 2512, Dec. 21, 1956).

Davis v. St. Louis Housing Authority (E. D. Mo., C. A. No. 8637, Dec. 27, 1955).

Ward v. Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority (S. D. Ohio, C. A. No. 4299, Nov. 5, 1955).

Woodbridge v. Housing Authority of Evansville (S. D. Ind., Civ. No. 618, 1953).

Taylor v. Leonard, 30 N. J. Super. Ct. 116, 103 A. 2d 632 (1954) (quota system and segregation violate 14th Amendment).

Miller v. McComb, Camden County, N. J. Super. Ct., 1955 (consent decree).

At the time that this legislation was passed, the Federal government had still been following an unbroken policy of providing federal funds for housing without seriously looking to determine whether racial discrimination was in fact being practiced. Shortly after the Shelley case, in 1948, the Federal Housing Administration held that it would not provide mortgage insurance money for property on which restrictive covenants were recorded after February 15, 1950.[36] Later, in 1951, the FHA announced that all repossessed FHA-insured housing would be administered and sold on a non-segregated basis.[37] The following year, in connection with the program of housing for non-white defense workers during the Korean War, its field offices were directed to give "some preference" to proposals for open-occupancy developments as against all-minority projects.[38] By 1954 the declared national policy of the FHA was to encourage the development of demonstration open-occupancy projects in certain areas.

The Veterans' Administration has taken steps similar to the FHA in regard to restrictive covenants. Its regulations prevent the use of racially restrictive covenants on property financed under a VA guarantee. The Report of the United States Civil Rights Commission states:

> "These regulations apply to property encumbered by racial restrictions created and recorded after February 15, 1950. Unlike FHA, VA does not refuse to issue a guarantee on a loan covering property subject to such a restriction. But the lender is deprived of the very valuable right of conveying the property to VA in the event of default and foreclosure .. .. With respect to the direct loan program, VA will make no loan on property encumbered by a racial restrictive covenant created and filed after February 15, 1950. A subsequent filing of such a restriction by the borrower subjects the loan to optional acceleration by VA." p. 69

In view of the numerous decisions and statutory provisions on housing, we are perplexed as to how there can be so much "law" entitling the Negro to equal opportunity and equality of treatment in housing, yet so little equality of treatment in fact. Mr. President, the stated purpose of the National Housing Act of 1949 was to achieve the "goal of a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family"; that of the Housing Act of 1954 was to provide "adequate housing for all people.[39] Though eloquently stated national goals, they remain today harshly unfilled for 19 million Negro Americans.

Mr. President, you yourself spoke so eloquently about how an Executive Order in the area of federally assisted housing could be issued by the President of the United States with "the stroke of a pen."

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35. 63 Stat. 413 (1949), 42 U.S.C. 1441 (1958).

36. FHA Underwriting Manual, Sec. 303 (Dec. 1949). The FHA is authorized to insure private lending institutions against losses on long-term, first mortgage, home loans, and on unsecured loans for home repairs.

37. Report of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Vol. 4, "Housing". p. 25

38. Ibid.

39. 12 U.S.C. Sec. 1750aa.

On January 16, 1962, in response to a question posed to you during the course of your press conference on that date as to when you would issue an Executive Order prohibiting racial segregation in federally assisted housing, you said the following:

> "Well, I think that - I stated that I would issue that order when I considered it would be in the public interest and when I considered it to make an important contribution to advancing the rights of our citizens ... we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance this cause."[40]

We submit that the majority of the people of the United States would welcome an expression of Executive leadership on the question of democracy in housing. The "national consensus" of America is not an impediment to the issuance of an Executive Order in federally assisted housing.[41] In any event, "the President speaks the moral tone of America" and as such has "an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our policy and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done.[42]

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[40] Excerpt from a transcript of the President's news conference, as reprinted on p. 14, Jan. 16, 1962, The New York Times. Anthony Lewis of The New York Times, commenting on the President's response to the question at his news conference, said:

> "The President indicated his feeling that it was important not to move too fast in the field of race relations so as not to get too far ahead of public opinion.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "There was some suggestions that Mr. Kennedy feared that issuance of the order (in Federally assisted housing) would hurt the chances of other legislative problems, notably his trade program, because of possible resentment among key Southern Congressmen."
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> The New York Times, Jan. 16,
> 1962, p. 1, p. 15.

[41] The New York Times, Jan. 18, 1962, p. 16, in an article entitled "Kennedy Aides Report Nation is Dissatisfied With Status Quo", indicated that a Report released by the White House showed "The American people were far from satisfied with the 'status quo' and expressed 'a strong demand for Federal action in numerous areas.'"

[42] The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, p. 10, 1960-61 Report of the Southern Regional Council. The words of the Southern Regional Council are as appropriate today in 1962 as they were in 1960:

> "...the President of the United States in the 1960's ought carefully to decide what are the necessary conditions of national unity. We think they do not reside in the perpetuation of sectionalism. The white population of eleven Southern states is roughly 20% of the nation's total. These are people who, besides being numerous, have been a seed bed throughout our history of able statesmen, treasured writers, and valorous military men.

TRANSPORTATION

Until recently, the Commerce Clause of the U. S. Constitution had been the primary vehicle used to invalidate state laws requiring racial segregation in interstate travel.[43] In Southern Pacific Ry. v. Arizona,[44] the Supreme Court held that where uniformity was essential for the functioning of commerce, a state may not impose its own regulations. This same criterion of uniformity was applied by the Court in Morgan v. Virginia,[45] when it invalidated a Virginia law requiring racial segregation of vehicles traveling through the state.[46]

Two years later, the U. S. Supreme Court sustained the validity of a Michigan anti-discrimination statute as applied to steamboats operating between Detroit, Michigan and Canada. Conflict with Canada on the issue of discrimination was not to be anticipated. Jack Greenberg, in Race Relations and American Law,[47] concludes from these two cases that "the Court places a low value on the state's interest in segregation when balancing it against national uniformity, while placing a high value on non segregation in a similar equation.[48]

> They are not a people to be condemned and shunned. And there could be no greater mistake than to assume that this 20% is a monolith. A large proportion would welcome, or at least have no objection to a broadening of civil rights because, more keenly than do persons in other regions, they want to be emancipated from the heavy age-old weight. There are state governments which have given clear indication, in the language of political maneuver, of their willingness to be silent followers of a national consensus. There is, in short, within the ranks of white Southerners practical, effective support for reform which ought not to be undervalued." Id. at pp. 6-7.

[43] Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the U. S. Constitution provides:

> "The Congress shall have power ... to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian Tribes."

[44] 325 U. S. 761 (1945).

[45] 328 U. S. 373 (1946).

[46] The Court pointed out the lack of uniformity among states on segregation; 18 states forbade segregation while ten states required it; the definition of Negro varied from state to state which would cause passengers to be in a state of constant change during an interstate trip. Therefore The Court concluded:

> "As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute ... as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid." Id. at 386.

[47] Columbia University Press, 1955.

[48] Id. at p. 120. Greenberg's study of the application of the Morgan rule" indicated that the Sixth Circuit has applied the Morgan rule to company regulations as well

The Interstate Commerce Act, section 3(1), makes it unlawful for a rail carrier to "subject any particular person ... to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."[49] The Court has interpreted this section as imposing the same standards as those of the Fourteenth Amendment. Until the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Brown, this meant that if railroads could provide "separate but equal" accommodations, they were fulfilling the requirements of the statute. The first major departure from this doctrine, in transportation, occurred in Mitchell v. U. S.,[50] when the Court ruled that "separate but equal" could not constitutionally apply to Pullmans.

Shortly thereafter, in Henderson v. U. S.[51], dining car segregation was set aside not by attacking segregation, per se, as unconstitutional but by stating that Negroes may not be excluded from any empty seats in a diner even if this meant violating a segregation rule.[52] Recently in Boynton v. Virginia,[53] the I. C. A. was interpreted as guaranteeing to an interstate passenger the right to be served without discrimination in terminal and restaurant facilities operated as an integral part of the carrier's transportation service, even though the carrier does not own, actively operate, or directly control the terminal or restaurant.

As you so well know, Mr. President, even with these numerous court decisions requiring desegregation in interstate transportation, discrimination and segregation against Negroes continued. It was not until after the now famous "Freedom Rides" that any significant equality of treatment was accorded Negroes in interstate travel.[54]

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as state laws. Segregation ordered by a driver in Kentucky which had no bus segregation law was held to be an unreasonable burden on interstate commerce just as much as if it had been imposed by law. Whiteside v. Southern Bus Lines, 177 F. 2d 949 (6th Cir. 1949). The Supreme Court of Virginia also applied the Morgan rule to rail travel when it held that buses and trains are indistinguishable as far as of burden to interstate commerce. Lee v. Commonwealth, 189 Va. 890 (1949).

49. 49 U. S. C. A. 3(1).

50. 313 U. S. 80 (1941).

51. 339 U. S. 816 (1950).

52. The Court commented on the principle of segregation, however, by criticizing "the curtains, partitions and signs (which) emphasize the artificiality of a difference in treatment which serves only to call attention to a racial classification of passengers." Id. at 825.

53. 364 U. S. 454 ( )

54. On November 7, 1955, the Interstate Commerce Commission decided NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Ry. Co., ordering the end of segregation on all interstate rail travel. It also ordered that the Richmond Terminal take down "WHITE" and "COLORED" signs. Relying heavily on the Brown decision, the ICC stated:

> "It is hardly open to question that much progress in improved race relations has been made.... We are, therefore, now free to place greater emphasis on steps 'to preserve the self-respect and dignity of citizenship of a common country' which this commission in 1887 balanced against 'peace and order.'"

On the same day as the ruling in the above case the ICC also declared that to require "Negro interstate passengers / to / occupy space or seats in specified

Insofar as bus terminals are concerned, it was also not until following the "Freedom Rides" in May 1961 that the Attorney General of the United States petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue a regulation prohibiting discrimination on interstate busses and in bus terminals.[55]

While there are no state laws requiring segregation aboard airplanes,[56] desegregation still exists in the airline terminals of some Southern cities.[57]

In the area of intrastate travel, state imposed segregation is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment. In Browder v. Gayle,[58] the District Court held that state imposed bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama was unconstitutional. Segregation in intrastate travel cannot constitutionally be imposed by state statute, local ordinance, or public officials. In 1958, Evers v. Dwyer[59] declared that Memphis, Tennessee's continued enforcement of bus segregation was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment.

You may wonder why, Mr. President, we mention so many court decisions. We do this only because we want to emphasize the fact that in transportation as in housing and public education, there is a plethora of law entitling Negroes to protection against discriminatory treatment because of their race and color. These decisions, in conjunction with the legislation enacted over the years, make it amply clear that Negroes are legally and constitutionally entitled to exercise these very rights we now seek to have secured by Presidential leadership.

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portions...of buses, subjects such passengers to unjust discrimination, and undue and unreasonable prejudice and disadvantage, in violation of Section 216(d) /of the ICA/ and is therefore unlawful." 64 M.C.C. 769 (1955) at 772.

[55] The ICC issued a regulation on September 22, 1961, effective November 1, 1961, prohibiting carriers from segregating passengers on any bus operated interstate, and from maintaining or using any terminal any portion of which is segregated. The Department of Justice has moved quickly against localities which prevented bus terminals from obeying the regulation. Since November 1961, eight suits were filed against the following cities: Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Monroe, and Rustin, Louisiana; Greenwood, Jackson, and McComb, Mississippi. Favorable decisions for the government have been made in all cases except Baton Rouge and Jackson which are still pending.

[56] The 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals has held that the Civil Aeronautics Act outlaws racial discrimination in the air. Fitzgerald v. Pan Am World Airlines, 229 F. 2d 499 (2nd Cir. 1956).

[57] At the request of the Federal Aviation Agency, the Department of Justice filed a suit which led to the desegregation of the Montgomery airport in January, 1962. Another suit, intended to desegregate the New Orleans restaurant at the airport, is awaiting judgment as of April 1962. The Department of Justice was able to desegregate the Columbus, Georgia, and the Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina, airports by negotiation.

[58] 142 F. Supp. 707 (M.D. Ala. 1956), aff'd per curiam 352 U.S. 903 (1956).

[59] 358 U.S. 202 (1958).

On the one hand, Mr. President, nearly twenty million citizens find themselves constitutionally, legislatively and judicially entitled to the immediate discontinuance of the inequities and injustices of racial segregation and discrimination. On the other hand, however, these same persons find that practically, in real life, statutory imposed racial segregation and discrimination is still enforced by many of the states in this country. This is the dilemma in which Negro Americans find themselves. We, thus, appeal to you to exert the full powers of your office to end the frustrations and indignities of this dilemma; and the unlawful conditions which give rise to it.

III. RESUME OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE JUDICIALLY DEVELOPED AND STATUTORY LAW OUTLAWING STATE ENFORCED SEGREGATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

All the judicial and legislative declarations of the rights of Negroes has not discouraged nor prevented the nullification and frustration of the patiently won guarantees of human decency and fair play by many of the states of these United States. Public officials in the Southern states of our country have willfully disregarded, disobeyed, and flaunted the Constitution and statutes of the United States and the decisions of our highest court. We suggest, Mr. President, that there is a direct relationship between the hardened resistance of these state officials to comply with the judicial and legislative declarations of our civil and constitutional rights and the absence of forceful Presidential leadership publicly committed to a policy of forthwith compliance.

One of the basic premises on which our government was organized and on which it continues to exist is a respect for and a belief in the rule of law. A truly democratic society does not close its eyes when a large number of states are consciously and deliberately pursuing a policy of defiance to its national laws. The statute books of the states of the deep South and border areas are filled with legislation which require racial segregation or separation of the races, and which impose criminal penalties for persons who pursue a non-discriminatory course of conduct in their daily lives.

Following the Brown decision, the state legislatures of fifteen Southern and border states enacted over 340 new laws and resolutions to prevent, restrict, or control desegregation.[60] Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia have adopted tuition grant laws;[61] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia have set up pupil placement plans.[62] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia legislators have approved interposition resolutions.[63] Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and Texas have local option provisions for closing schools in the event of desegregation.[64]

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60. "Statistical Summary", Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1961.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

Much of this legislation has been the subject of litigation. The interposition resolutions have been declared unconstitutional; the pupil placement laws, while not declared unconstitutional per se, have been challenged as to their unconstitutional method of application. Tuition grant laws and local option laws have also been challenged as to their purpose. A total of 226 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts on school segregation, desegregation, and related issues. The outcome of the litigation has been a slow process of desegregation, school by school, child by child, case by case; 7.3% of Negro school children in the South and border areas are presently attending schools with white children; this means that of the region's 3,210,724 Negro children, 233,509 Negroes are in schools with white children.[65]

While the above statistics indicate some progress, there are still, however, states and state officials, from the governor on down, who are in complete defiance of the laws of the United States and who have been permitted to court lawlessness.

Complete school segregation is maintained in the public school systems in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Segregation is maintained on all grade levels in Georgia except in the Atlanta system.[66]

Mr. President, perhaps you can understand why, to some degree, Negro citizens in our Southern states look to you for leadership in securing and protecting their constitutionally and judicially declared civil rights. We cannot in good faith repose our confidence in state officials who enforce segregation and discrimination in flagrant defiance of elementary rights.

In January 1961, Southern School News, Vol. 7, No. 7, in reporting on state sanctioned resistance to integration in Alabama reported:

> "Governor John Patterson, noting school desegregation troubles in New Orleans said this was nothing compared to what would happen in Alabama if integration were attempted in this state.
>
> "'If you think they've had trouble in New Orleans,' he said Dec. 7 at a news conference, 'just wait until they try integration here. There'll be hell to pay.'
>
> "He said the ultimate choice facing Alabamians would be private schools or no schools at all. He has previously warned the state that such measures as the placement law are not perfect barriers against integration. And even token integration is intolerable, he said, repeating his absolute opposition to integration in any degree:
>
> "'There is no such thing as token integration or planned desegregation. Once you let the bars down, it's all over.'
>
> Closed Schools
>
> "The governor has said that he would not permit the operation of any mixed schools in Alabama. 'If the federal government continues its present course,' he repeated, 'the only solution will be to close the schools.'

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65. Ibid.
66. Nine Negro children first entered the 11th and 12th grades of four former all-white high schools of Atlanta on August 30, 1961 by court order in Calhoun v. Latimer.

> "While asserting his opposition to mob violence, Patterson warned that when a showdown comes, 'I'll be one of the first ones stirring up trouble, any way I can.' By that he said he meant anything to harass or thwart the Federal Government."

The Governor of Mississippi, Ross R. Barnett, indicated similar defiance in his inaugural message on January 19, 1960.

> "Our people, both white and colored, throughout generations, have successfully operated a dual system of education because we know it is best for both races. I know that this is the best and only system and I believe that the thinking people of both races feel the same way about it. Regardless, our schools at all levels must be kept segregated at all costs."

Olin D. Johnston, United States Senator from the State of South Carolina, has made the following statement which reflects the official attitude of that state:

> "Our dual system of schools is the best in the Nation and the relationship we have between the races is the envy of those upon whom integration has been forced ... In the face of much unreality and great danger, there are those in our country who favor integration in our schools... It is not good for the white children or the colored children. Both will lose if integration is forced upon us ...[67]

Statements such as those above, when made by the highest officials of many of our Southern States, engender a climate of opinion which sanctions a total disregard of the constitutional rights of Negroes. This, in and of itself, Mr. President, is a serious degenerative social phenomenon in a society which seeks to inspire and imbue its citizens with a respect for law. In addition, such declarations when not countered by a firm unequivocal statement of national policy by the Chief Executive of the Government of the United States serves only to encourage and embolden those among us who seek to turn back the clock of history to slavery, the Black Codes and *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*.

Admittedly, Mr. President, the elimination of segregation and state imposed discrimination against Negroes involves a substantial change in the customs and mores of a significant section of our country. But customs and usages, to the contrary notwithstanding, cannot be invoked as the rationale for a program of "caution" in eliminating the immoral and unconstitutional practices of segregation and discrimination.

It is too often overlooked and/or forgotten that the South is not the only culture in the world that has had to radically change its customs and mores in the past 15, 30, or 50 years.

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[67] *Southern State News*, Oct. 1959, p. 13.
The State of Mississippi stands out as the worst example of defiance of Federal law and human decency. It has innumerable statutes which are applied and enforced by various state officials, requiring racial separation in all areas of life, public and private. See appendix A attached hereto.

"Since World War II, Great Britain, France and other powers have been stripped of colonies purchased with blood and treasure. The Japanese God-Emperor, whose deity had not been questioned for centuries, was made mortal with the stroke of a pen. In all the history of the human race has there been a more rapid and total rejiggering of human attitudes than that which, within a decade, stilled the fanatic hatreds of the West Germans and the Japanese and brought them back into the family of civilized peoples? These epic upheavals, which likewise 'profoundly and personally (touched) the lives of so many millions of individuals,' were accomplished with far less warning, in point of time, than the notice which the South enjoyed, long before 1954, of the ultimate doom of its 'separate but equal' subterfuges; and, generally speaking, they were accomplished with far less sound and fury per capita than was recently generated in Mississippi and Alabama by the sight, or thought, of white and Negro students seeking to walk together into a bus station.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, the NAACP, the Freedom Riders and assorted other demons in the new Southern Theology have not demanded that white Southerners cast out their God, dam up their economic lifestreams, or even that they suppress the ancient rancors and hatreds which are their badge, their shield and their sword. Southerners are being asked to do only what 125 million other Americans ... have done for decades without foaming at the mouth, namely, to assure each citizen the right of public as well as private association with anyone who is disposed to associate with him; to guarantee everyone equal access to facilities which have been paid for with public funds, which operate under governmental license, or which are held out for public use; and, through their elected officials, to preserve the peace when their more depraved fellows take the law into their own hands in defiance of the New Order. Is this really asking too much?"[68]

IV. DUTY AND POWER OF THE PRESIDENT TO SECURE THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA.

This Administration has, perhaps more than any other recent administration, recognized the importance of those cherished rights generically described as the "Rights of Man." The 1960 platform of the Democratic Party, in referring to the "Rights of Man" and to civil rights in particular, stated that:

> "It is the duty of the President to see that these rights are respected and the Constitution and laws as interpreted by the Supreme Court are faithfully executed."[69]

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68. Unpublished Manuscript by Charles Markham, Esq., of Battle, Fowler, Stokes & Kheel, New York City, New York.

69. Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Report, July 22, 1960 Supplement, p. 1301.

This duty today, some two years later, is of no less importance. Indeed, within the historical context of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, Presidential responsibility for the securing of civil rights is ever more important and meaningful.

The 1960 Democratic Party platform, noted specifically the peculiar role and special responsibility the Chief Executive has for the implementation and achievement of human rights for all citizens. It appropriately said:

> "What is now required is effective moral and political leadership by the whole Executive Branch of our government to make equal opportunity a living reality for all Americans."[70] (emphasis added)

1963, in the United States of America, Mr. President, must be the year of living reality, not only for some nineteen million Negroes, but for all America. To accomplish this goal, the party platform of your Administration recognized that significant executive orders and/or legal actions by the Attorney General would be necessary. Above all, however, it stated that the achievement of full human dignity would require the

> "strong, active, persuasive and incentive leadership of the President of the United States.[71] (emphasis added)

Mr. President, as President-elect you displayed an understanding of the consequences of ineffective and "timid executive leadership." In your speech formally accepting your Party's selection of you as their candidate for President of the United States you said, before thousands of Americans who had come to hear you and extend their support:

> "Apeaceful revolution for human rights - demanding an end to racial discrimination in all parts of our community life - has strained at the leashes imposed by timid executive leadership."[72] (emphasis added)

Two months later, on September 9, 1960, on your return to Los Angeles California, you spoke in a way which reflected a keen understanding of the importance of Presidential leadership on behalf of civil rights. You noted that:

> "If the President does not himself wage the struggle for equal rights - if he stands above the battle - then the battle will inevitably be lost . . . He cannot wait for others to act . . . He himself must draft the programs, transmit them to Congress and fight for their enactment, taking his case to the people if Congress is slow."[73] (emphasis added)

It is difficult for us to understand how you are now more hesitant to exert that bold Executive leadership so persuasively spoken of by you as a Candidate. Surely, it must be clear that if the President "does not himself wage the battle for equal rights"

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70. Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Report, July 22, 1960 Supplement, p. 1301.
71. Ibid., p. 1301.
72. Ibid., p. 1296.
73. The New York Times, Jan. 17, 1962, p. 3.

the battle will be lost! A President who "waits for others to act" on civil rights is not offering the kind of leadership consistent and commensurate with the invigorating spirit of the "New Frontier."

We believe that you, like Abraham Lincoln before you, stand at a historic crossroads in the life and conscience of our nation. The Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation must be honored by the complete elimination of all forms of state imposed segregation and discrimination.

The Proclamation of Emancipation in 1863 was an historic milestone along the high road to freedom and human dignity. Since 1863, however, there have been many "roadblocks". Shortly after 1877 a new form of slavery arose to replace the old. In the form of legislation, euphemistically called the "Black Codes," segregation was introduced for the purpose of reinstituting the essence of slavery.[74]

We know, Mr. President, that the thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was enacted to vindicate "those fundamental rights which appertain to the existence of citizenship and the enjoyment or deprivation of which constitutes the essential distinction between freedom and slavery."[75] Segregation and state enforced discrimination is inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Proclamation of Emancipation and contrary to the legislative purpose of the Thirteenth Amendment. The continued enforcement of state laws imposing racial discrimination and segregation constitutes a direct violation of those "fundamental rights which appertain to the existence of citizenship."[76]

On September 22, 1862 Lincoln sought to chart a new and high road for America. We believe that you, too, Mr. President, have been seeking to chart a high road for our country.

> "Our overriding obligation in the months ahead is to fulfill the world's hope by fulfilling our own faith."[77]

We welcomed this declaration of human rights. We noted, with particular attention, some of the statements in your State of the Union message of January 11, 1962:

> ". . . (T)he policy of this Administration is to give to the individual the opportunity to realize his own highest possibilities.

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[74] Glaine, James G., leader of the Republicans and later Speaker of the House, described the "Black Codes" as follows:

> "The truth was that his (the Negro's) liberty was merely of form and not of fact and the slavery which was abolished by the organic law of a Nation was now to be revived by the enactment of a State" (emphasis added.) Twenty Years in Congress, vol. I, (Henry Bill Publishing Co. 1886)

[75] The Civil Rights Cases; United States v. Stanley; United States v. Ryan; United States v. Singleton; Robinson and wife v. Memphis & Charleston Railroad Company, 109 U.S. 3,203 S. Ct. 18, 28 (1883)

[76] Ibid.

[77] The New York Times, Jan. 12, 1962, p. 12.

> "Our program is to open to all the opportunity to steady and productive employment, to remove from all the handicap of arbitrary or irrational exclusion, to offer to all the facilities for education and health and welfare, to make society the servant of the individual and the individual the source of progress, and thus to realize for all the full promise of America." [78] (emphasis added)

> ". . . . America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all its citizens of any race or of any color." [79] (emphasis added)

You then went on to say:

> "As we approach the 100th anniversary next January of the Emancipation Proclamation, let the acts of every branch of the Government -- and every citizen -- portray that 'righteousness that exalteth a nation'" [80] (emphasis added)

These statements are excellent, Mr. President, but the world and the nation waits for that 'righteousness that exalteth' America. The issuance of an Executive Proclamation requesting all states which continue to operate under a segregated system of education to submit plans for immediate desegregation by the school year of September 1963 would "exalteth" the hearts of millions at home and abroad on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The New York Times, editorially, the day after your State of the Union message, said in part:

> "The President linked the approaching centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation with a plea for fuller guarantees of racial equality, then made it plain he had nothing original to put forward in this regard." [81] (emphasis added)

We respectfully suggest that the exigencies of segregation and racial discrimination provide you with a veritable storehouse of materials from which proposals for Executive action can be fashioned. Mr. President, no other office, like the Presidency, within our three branches of government offers or possesses such inherent capabilities for the exertion of national leadership on the critical issues of our time. When the President of the United States speaks he speaks with the voice of the American people. Woodrow Wilson, writing in his Blumenthal Lectures given at Columbia University in 1907 said:

> "He (the President) cannot escape being the leader of his party except by incapacity and lack of personal force, because he is at once the choice of the party and of the nation.
>
> "He can dominate his party by being spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of the country, by giving direction to opinion, by giving the

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81. The New York Times, Jan. 12., 1962, lead editorial "The Burden and the Glory"

> "country at once the information and the statements of policy which will enable it to form its judgments alike of parties and of men.
>
> "His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. His position takes the imagination of the country. He is the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people.
>
> "He may be both the leader of his party and the leader of the nation, or he may be one or the other. If he lead the nation, his party can hardly resist him. His office is anything he has the sagacity and force to make of it.
>
> "Some of our Presidents have deliberately held themselves off from using the full power they might legitimately have used, because of conscientious scruples, because they were more theorists than statesmen ... The President is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can.
>
> "His is the vital place of action in the system, whether he accept it as such or not, and the office is the measure of the man -- of his wisdom as well as of his force." (emphasis added)[82]

Segregation and discrimination against millions of American citizens because of race and skin color is a domestic problem with ramifications throughout the world, the majority of whose people are non-white. What the President of the United States says and does on this crucial issue is observed and heard around the world.

The recent exertion of Executive power in behalf of the public interest to maintain price stability in the Steel Industry revealed to us the tremendous influence which the President of the United States can exert. You can, Mr. President, if you so choose, creatively utilize this same power in behalf of civil and constitutional rights. We, respectfully, submit that human dignity and the immediate discontinuance of state enforced discrimination against Negro citizens is as much in the public interest as stabilization of prices and wages.[83]

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82. The President Office and Powers - 1787-1957, Edward S. Corwin, pp. 28, 39; New York University Press, 4th Edition, (1957)

83. "America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent which, in our Negro population, is going to waste. We need manpower and we leave it untrained. We need brains and talents and we allow them to lie fallow. We need to restore the social health of our cities and we do little to prevent their greater infection with the viruses of disorganization and spiritual deadness. We need to deepen our sense of purpose and our confidence in our country and its cause, and we allow prejudice to be institutionalized and our national values to be layered with hypocrisy. We need the friendship of the non-white peoples of Africa and Asia, and we subject our own non-white citizens to indignity. " The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," Southern Regional Council

As, chief executive, you have the unique opportunity to *activate and direct the moral and democratic conscience of America* in the field of race relations. The President of the United States

> "Can draw upon his authority as spokesman for the nation in such a way as to inspire those who are working for a more democratic America and to rebuff those who would drag us backward into the swamps of primitivism and oppression -- or, still better, to educate all of us in the ways of brotherhood. The moral force of this great office is never so apparent as when he lashes out at the vigilants who spoil the vines of the First Amendment, its prestige never so imposing as when he sets out quietly to persuade the leaders of Southern opinion that a new day has dawned. One thing is certain about our attempt to solve the crisis of desegregation in the schools: a key factor in the equation of success *will be a succession of Presidents determined to use all the resources of this great office.*[84] (emphasis added)

The Constitution of the United States places responsibility for the implementation of the laws directly upon the office of the Presidency. Before the President enters on the execution of this office, he is required to take the following oath:

> "I do solumnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." [85]

This solemn oath, which Lincoln characterized as "recorded in Heaven," requires all the provisions of the Constitution be enforced by the President for the protection of all the citizens of the country regardless of which particular state in which they happen to reside.

The duty to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Constitution is of an entirely different nature than the duties of office prescribed in the oaths of office taken by members of Congress and the Judiciary. Their oath is simply to "support" the Constitution.[86]

The Constitution further requires him as the Chief Executive to "take care that the Laws be faithfully executed."[86]

> "Under Article VI of the Constitution, the Constitution and Acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land. Thus, 'Laws,' within the meaning of Article II, Section 3, include the Constitution and the interpretation given it in judicial proceedings.[87]

The question before the Supreme Court in In Re Neagle,[88] was whether the Presidential duty was limited to enforcement of Acts of Congress or treaties according to the

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84. Rossiter, Clinton, The American Presidency (2nd Ed) New York: Harcourt Brace &Co.; 1960
85. Article II, Sec. 1, #8
86. Article VI.
86. Article III, Sec. 3.
87. See *Standard Computing Scale Co.* v. *Farrill*, 249 U.S. 751, 577 (1919); *In re Neagle*, 135 U.S. 1(1889); Williams v. Bruffy, 96 U.S. 176, 183 (1877); Stoffel v. W. J. McCahan Sugar Ref. Co., 35 F.2d 602, 603 (E.D. Pa. 1929). "Petition of the United States to intervene in Prince Edward County School Board case.

express terms, or whether it included the "rights, duties and obligations growing out of the Constitution itself . . . " The Court reached the latter view:

> "In the view we take of the Constitution of the United States, any obligation fairly and properly inferable from that instrument, or any duty . . . is "a law" within the meaning of this phrase."[89]

and consequently enforceable by the President under his constitutional powers.

Mr. President, a time of greatness, calls for acts of greatness. *The full panoply of Presidential* power must now again, as in 1863, be exerted in behalf of civil rights. A former President of the United States, once said, in describing the importance of creatively wing the executive power to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States.

> "The most important factor in getting the right spirit in my administration, next to the insistence upon courage, honesty, and a genuine democracy of desire to serve the plain people, was my insistence upon the theory that the executive power was limited only by specific restrictions and prohibitions appearing in the Constitution or imposed by the Congress under its Constitutional powers. My view was that every executive officer, and above all every executive officer in high position, was a steward of the people, and not to content himself with the negative merit of keeping his talents undamaged in a napkin. I declined to adopt the view that what was imperatively necessary for the Nation could not be done by the President unless he could find some specific authorization to do it. My belief was that it was not only his right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws. Under this interpretation of executive power I did and caused to be done many things not previously done by the President and the heads of the Departments. I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare, I acted for the common well-being of our people, whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition. I did not care a rap for the mere form and show of the substance."[90]

Candor and frankness require us to remind you again, Mr. President, of *your own* words, quoted earlier in this appeal:

> "If the *President* does not himself wage the struggle for equal rights - if he stands above the battle - then the battle will inevitably be lost . . . . He cannot wait for others to act . . . He himself must draft the programs, transmit them to Congress and *fight for their enactment, taking his case to the people if Congress is slow*."[91] (emphasis added)

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88. 135 U. S. 1.
89. *Id.* at p. 59.
90. Roosevelt, Theodore, An Autobiography, pp. 388-389. New York 1913
91. New York Times, Jan. 17, 1962, p. 3.

Millions of your fellow Americans, need, and the moral conscience of our country demands "your stewardship" of the nation toward the goal of human dignity and equal rights.

We repeated these words from your September 9, 1960 Los Angeles campaign speech, only because we firmly believe that there is broad statutory authority for the President of the United States to initiate action to enforce the judicially declared civil and constitutional rights of nearly twenty million Negro Americans.

As is well known, Mr. President, we are morally,spiritually and practically, committed to the principles and precepts of non-violence. We are confident that our peaceful resistance to unlawfully imposed segregation and discrimination will awaken the conscience and morality of those who, in ignorance and without love and respect for the dignity of man, seek to impose second class citizenship upon us.

We believe we need not and should not struggle unaided. Our efforts to achieve human decency and human rights by eliminating the unlawful restrictions upon the exercise of our civil and constitutional rights seeks to uplift and enrich our entire country.

Much of the presidential sources of authority and power for executive enforcement of civil rights in the United States arises from Title 10, Sections 332 and 333. These statutory provisions concern the possible exertion of force against some of our fellow citizens. We want to make it unmistakably clear that our present appeal for the exertion of Presidential power on behalf of civil rights is expressly intended to remove these conditions, the continued existence of which decreases the possibility of a peaceful non-violent achievement of first class citizenship. We hope and pray that some of the power for presidential action concerning the use of military force will never become necessary to secure civil and constitutional rights in these United States. Title 10, Section 333 of the United States Code provides:

> "The President, by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it
>
> "(1) So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege, or immunity, or to give that protection; or
>
> "(2) Opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.
>
> "In any situation covered by clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution."

Section 333 of Title 10 has its origin in the Act of April 20, 1871. It not only extended presidential power far beyond the limitations of present section 333, but the intent of the enacting Congress was to enable the President to act whenever the state denied the equal protection of the laws to its citizens. It was to be "an Act to enforce the

Provisions of the fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes." 17 Stat. 13. The only significant change from the 1871 Act to the present section 333 was the elimination of the following sentence at the end:

> ". . . and any person who shall be arrested under the provisions of this and the preceding section shall be delivered to the marshal of the proper district to be dealt with according to law."

The mandate from Congress is clear. The President has statutory authority to use the militia, armed forces, or "ANY OTHER MEANS" to suppress a conspiracy or unlawful combination if it deprives a class of person of the equal protection of the laws of the United States.

10 U.S.C. 332 relates to the problem of presidential enforcement of judicial decrees. It provides:

> "Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal Service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion." [92]

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92. The history of 10 U.S.C. 332 goes back to the early days of our country when President Washington requested authority from Congress to handle the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania. Congress granted him broad authority to call forth the militia. It is illuminating for us today to see the various means Washington attempted to use until he felt compelled to resort to the militia as the final means of seeing that the laws of the country would be obeyed. He issued a proclamation on September 15, 1792 warning "all persons whom it may concern to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever . . ." 36 N.C. LR. p. 124. The Administration began legal proceedings against those who were violating the law. The Government only purchased whiskey for the Army from those farmers who obeyed the law. Attacks upon the revenue collector were followed by warrants for the arrest of those who had participated in the attacks. The U. S. Marshal was physically threatened by the western farmers and was therefore unable to serve process. President Washington still hesitated to use the militia and first appealed to the Governor of Pennsylvania to call forth the state militia. Upon the latter's refusal, Washington issued a second proclamation warning the insurgents that he was determined to "cause the laws to be duly executed." p. 127. He also appointed three U.S. commissioners to proceed to the scene of the trouble and a referendum was conducted in which the people voted against compliance with the Whiskey Tax. The President hesitated no longer to enforce the law. He issued a third proclamation in which he declared that the militia from four of the neighboring states would proceed to "the scene of the disaffection." When the militia arrived, it was met with complete submission.

    As a result of this disobedience to the laws of the land, Congress passed the Act of 1795 to provide "means by which the Executive could come in aid of the Judiciary"

Mr. President, our citation of the constitutional and statutory sources of Presidential power is not done for the purpose of advocating or rationalizing the use of military force to enforce civil rights. On the contrary, we are urging bold imaginative Executive leadership precisely because we are so deeply committed to a firm but peaceful non-violent achievement of human dignity for 18 million Americans.

The Civil Rights Acts Amendment of 1947 repealed that portion of 10 U.S.C. 332 which authorized the President to employ the armed forces to "aid in the execution of judicial process issued under" the Civil Rights Act. However, the Senate debate on the amendment indicated that the Senate did not intend to deprive the President of the power given him by the George Washington Act of 1795.[93]

In short, Mr. President, we are firmly convinced that there exist sufficient constitutional and statutary sources of power to enable you to creatively use the authority and moral prestege of your office to dramatically advance human rights in America. As the 100th anniversary of the Proclamation of Emancipation draws near, we along with millions of our fellow citizens, and the peoples throughout the world are watching and waiting to see whether America, has at long last fullfilled the hopes and dreams arising from the abolition of slavery. We appeal to you in order that we may now have to wait no longer. We appeal to you because we love so dearly this great land of ours. We appeal to you because we yearn for the time when we can stand in the full sunlight of human decency and join hands with our white brethren, north and south, east and west, and sing in joyous hallelujah, "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea, Jehovah hath triumphed - His people are free!"

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by calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the United States whenever they "shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed."

The Thomas Jefferson Amendment of 1807 gave the President the additional power of employing the land or naval force of the United States. In Martin v. Mott, 12 Wheat 19 (1827), it was held that authority to decide whether the exigency had arisen to call the militia belonged exclusively to the President.

The Abraham Lincoln Amendment of 1861 to the George Washington 1795 Act authorized the President to call forth the armed forces "to enforce the faithful execution of the laws" whenever, in the judgment of the President, "It shall become impracticable" to enforce them by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings.

[93] See Appendix B attached hereto.

APPENDIX B

ISSUE 1

CONCLUSION 1

FACTS 1

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APPENDIX I (Title 50)

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ISSUE: Did the Civil Rights Act of 1957 limit in any way executive power to enforce judicial decrees dealing with civil rights?

CONCLUSION: No.

FACTS:

The precise question of this memorandum is the effect on executive power of the passage of the Knowland-Humphrey amendment during the course of the debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1957 in the 85th Congress.

The Knowland-Humphrey amendment repealed 42 U. S. C. 1993. That section was originally passed on the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Acts Apr. 9, 1866, c. 31 sec. 9, 14 Stat. 29. It was re-enacted in the Civil Rights Act of 1870 with no substantive changes. May 31, 1870, c. 114, sec. 13, 16 Stat. 143. Entitled "Aid of Military and Naval Forces", sec. 1993 provided:

> It shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process issued under Sections 1981-1983 or 1985-1994 of this title.

The events leading to the repeal of sec. 1993 are as follows: In 1957 the Justice Dept. had drafted a civil rights bill which was introduced in both houses as the "Eisenhower Administration bill." It consisted of four parts. Part I provided for the establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights. Part II provided for an Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. Part III provided that the Attorney General would have standing to sue for an injunction on the behalf of those deprived of rights under sec. 1985.[1] This third part was to be an amendment to sec. 1985. Part IV provided that the Attorney General would have standing to sue in his own name for the denial of voting rights.

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[1] 42 U. S. C. 1985 Conspiracy to interfere with civil rights.

(1) Preventing an officer from performing duties. If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire to prevent, by force, intimidation, or threat, any person from accepting or holding any office . . . under the United States or from discharging any duties thereof; . . . or impede him in the discharge of his official duties;

(2) Obstructing justice; intimidating party, witness, or juror. If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire . . . for the purpose of impeding, hindering or obstructing, or defeating in any manner, the due course of justice in any State or Territory with intent to deny any citizen the equal protection of the laws . . .

(3) Depriving persons of rights and privileges. If two or more persons . . . conspire, or go in disguise on the highway . . . for the purpose of depriving . . . any person . . . of the equal protection of the laws . . . the party so injured may have an action for the recovery of damages.

Identical bills were considered by both Houses. Hearings were held in the Senate. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 85th Congress, 1st Session. But no Senate reports on the bill were issued, since the Senate placed the House bill, H. R. 6127, directly on the Senate calendar before the Senate bill was reported out of committee.

Part III amended sec. 1985; it thereby became interrelated to sec. 1993. Sec. 1993 was a general enforcement section for most of the civil rights sections, and so in retrospect it does not seem strange that the amendment did not mention specifically the interrelation. But it was this unmentioned interrelation which provoked the Southern attack that culminated in the repeal of sec. 1993.

Opponents to the bill, both in the House and the Senate, focused their attack on Part III. Three major arguments were developed:

> (1) Use of the injunctive remedy by the Attorney General, when he already had power to prosecute criminally, would mean that he would elect the injunctive procedure so as to deny jury trial to those who would be accused of violating sec. 1985 rights.
>
> (2) Granting the Attorney General standing to sue on the behalf of others for denial of sec. 1985 rights would make him an oppressive power wielder.
>
> (3) The administration had represented the bill as one dealing with voting rights. In fact, sec. 1985 rights comprehended many more rights. To pass Part III would go beyond the necessities of the time and would be a fraud on the Congress as well as the American people.

A fourth argument emerged in the Senate debate. It was that by means of the interrelation of the amendments of sec. 1985 (i. e., Part III) to the enforcement provision of sec. 1993, integration in the South would be accomplished by military force. It was to this last argument that the Knowland-Humphrey amendment was addressed.

The House Judiciary Committee report indicates that the "military force" argument was not considered in that body. The majority report speaks in terms of the "injunctive remedy:" "The effect ... of the proposed bill on ... sec. 1985 is not to expand the rights presently protected but merely to provide the Attorney General ... with a new remedy." H. R. Rep. No. 291, 85th Cong., 1st Sess. 10 (1957). The minority report also does not mention the military force argument. Id. at 45.

The first mention of this argument appeared during the course of the Senate hearings. The subject came up during the testimony of Attorney General Brownell. The testimony was:

> Mr. Young. /_staff_/ I would like to have an expression from you now as to whether this statute is intended ... /_to be_/ used for the enforcement of these decrees?
>
> Mr. Brownell. I am rather disturbed by you even raising these points, because, as I said so many times, public statements made by persons who intimate that there is any such thought in the minds of anyone here in

> Washington to use the military in these cases does not represent the true state of facts, and I frankly think that the only reason it can be brought into the discussion at all is to confuse the issue.
>
> Mr. Young. It is possible to do it under that statute, however, is it not, General?
>
> Mr. Brownell. There are other statutes that would have to be considered in connection with that, and I think you will find the general rule is that the Governor of the State must request the President.
>
> We do not want to take away any supplementary aid which the Governor of a State may want.
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> No one has had in mind any use of the militia in this situation, and I don't think that there should be any implication that they do.
>
> Mr. Young. ... the power resides in the President to do this, does it not?
>
> Mr. Brownell. The President is presumed to act in a constitutional way and I do not think that there is any indication that he is not going to.
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> I frankly don't think it would be appropriate to have an exercise in the interpretation of that statute. /_Sec. 1993_/
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> Since there is not the slightest suggestion on the part of any responsible public official of bringing in matters of the militia into the civil rights area, I think it would be quite misleading really to continue ...
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> /T/his program does not extend the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Whatever power is there now, the constitutional power of the President remains exactly the same. We are not extending Federal jurisdiction one bit.[2]

There was no other testimony on this point by Mr. Brownell. But it was at this point that Senator Ervin pointed out the interrelation of sec. 1985 to sec. 1993. He also noted that sec. 1993 was an existing statute, a point sometimes lost sight of in the later debate.

Then on July 2nd Senator Russell took to the floor with a prepared speech. Reveling in the full flower of Southern oratory he declaimed:

---

2. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., 214-217, (1957).

> /_The/ bill is cunningly designed to vest in the Attorney General unprecedented power to bring to bear the whole might of the Federal government, including the armed forces, if necessary, to force a commingling of white and Negro children in the State supported public schools of the South.
>
> /_Its aim/ is to force the white people of the South at the point of a Federal bayonnet to conform to almost any conceivable edict directed at the destruction of any of the local customs, laws ....103 Cong. Rec. 10771 (1957).
>
> Voting rights is a smokescreen to obscure the unlimited grant of powers to the Attorney General of the United States to govern by injunction and Federal bayonet. Id. at 10772.
>
> If it is proposed to move into the South in this fashion, the concentration camps may as well be prepared now, because there will not be enough jails to hold the people of the South who will oppose the use of raw Federal power forcibly to commingle white and Negro children in the same schools .... Id. at 10774.

That same day Senator Douglas took the floor and answered:

> So far as the use of Federal troops by the President is concerned...that power has existed in the United States since the time of the Whisky Rebellion, and since 1870 when the Force Act was passed. But that power has never been exercised by this Government since 1877, and we pray God it never will be exercised. Id. at 10779.

As later insertions into the Congressional Record demonstrate, the opponents of Part III were on the offensive. Playing to the national audience they elaborated these arguments:

(1) The sponsors of the act really wanted to enforce school integration at a bayonet point under the guise of a voting rights bill.

(2) The amendment to sec. 1985, when 1985 by its own terms did not refer to sec. 1993 (the enforcement provision), was a hidden cross reference demonstrating the epitome of legislative trickery.

(3) The invocation of sec. 1933 was pouring salt into old wounds.

(4) The Congressional sponsors were unwitting dupes of the faceless, nameless legislative draftsmen in the Attorney General's office.

(5) The President himself was against it. Or at best, he did not fully realize what he was asking for. Utilizing TV programs, and capitalizing on newspaper editorials and on article in Newsweek, the opponents campaign was built up.

The Senate sponsors, facing substantial difficulties in attempting to pass the injunctive provisions of Part III, and hoping to save votes which might otherwise be alienated by the interrelation aspect of sec. 1993, chose to propose an amendment which would repeal sec. 1993 in toto. This was the Knowland-Humphrey amendment.

In the subsequent two weeks the debate on the Senate floor turned to other aspects of Part III. As the debate on this section neared to its close, the Administration made its position known in two ways. One was by a press release distributed on July 16 by the White House which was entitled "Statement by the President". It said:

> This legislation seeks to accomplish these four simple objectives:
>
> 1. To protect the constitutional right of all citizens to vote regardless of race or color. In this connection we seek to uphold the traditional authority of the Federal courts to enforce their orders. This means that a jury trial should not be interposed in contempt of court cases. . . .
>
> 2. To provide a reasonable program of assistance in efforts to protect other constitutional rights of our citizens.

The second was through the Presidential press conference of the following day, July 17, 1957. The relevant portion of it reads:

> /A/re you aware. . . you now have the authority to use military force to put through the school integration in the South. . . . ?
>
> Well, first of all, lawyers have differed about some of the authorities of which you speak, but I have been informed by various lawyers that that power does exist.
>
> But I want to say this:
>
> I can't imagine any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send Federal troops into a Federal Court /sic/ and into any area to enforce the orders of a Federal court, because I believe that common sense of America will never require it.
>
> Now, there may be that kind of authority resting somewhere, but certainly I am not seeking any additional authority of that kind, and I would never believe that it would be a wise thing to do in this country. 103 Cong. Rec. 12055 (1957) (Official transcript, as reported in The New York Times, inserted).

On July 18th the Senate began discussion of the amendment. And on the next day of the debate, July 22nd, a full discussion of the amendment occurred. The Senate then voted to pass it unanimously. *Id.* at 12310 (90 ayes and 0 nays).

With no substantive discussion of the Senate amendments, the House Rules Committee recommended adoption of the Senate amendments, H. R. Rep. No. 1243, 85th Cong., 1st Sess. 1 (1957).

ANALYSIS:

An understanding of the appropriate scope to be attributed to the repeal of sec. 1993 necessarily involves an understanding of the basis of executive power under other statutory and constitutional provisions. Some of these provisions are:

> U. S. Const. art. II, sec. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States.
>
> U. S. Const. art. II, sec. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States.
>
> U. S. Const. art. II, sec. 3. /H/e shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed....
>
> U. S. Const. art. II, sec. 1. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: - "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."
>
> U. S. Const. art. VI. /A/nd all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution....

Congress has provided the President with other statutory authority[3] in Title 10 (Armed Forces), Chapter 15 (Insurrection), secs. 331-334, and in Title 50 (War and National Defense), Chapter 13 (Insurrection), secs. 205-226.[4]

The proponents of the thesis that the appropriate scope to be attributed to the repeal of sec. 1993 is a wide one necessarily have two contentions. These are:

(1) The legislative purpose implicit in the repeal of Sec. 1993 was to deny the President the authority to use the armed forces to execute judicial decrees in cases under the civil rights acts.

(2) Without such specific statutory authority as existed under sec. 1993, the President is without authority to implement such decrees.

---

[3] Congress probably acted under art. I, sec. 8, which states: "Provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions."

[4] See Appendix I for the statutes.

The legislative purpose.

(a) Pollitt

Pollitt's analysis of the repeal of sec. 1993 is as follows:

Congress recognized and sustained the power of the President under the George Washington Act of 1795 to use the armed forces to enforce judicial decrees arising under the civil rights act and other acts of Congress and believed that the supplementary power given him in the civil rights act should be repealed so as to narrow the area of controversy of the then pending business. Politt, Presidential Use of Troops to Execute the Laws: A Brief History, 36 N. C. L. Rev. 117, 135 (1957).

The Senate debate makes it clear that the 1957 amendment was not intended to deprive the President of what Congress believed to be the identical authority given to him by the George Washington Act of 1795. Id. at 137.

The Senate approved the Knowland-Humphrey amendment by unanimous vote, which fact, when viewed in light of the background of the section eliminated from the announced purposes of the sponsors of the amendment, and the unanimous views of those who spoke on the amendment, leads to but one conclusion: that the Congress that met in 1957 believed that all apart from the express provision in the existing civil rights act, the President had authority under the Constitution and the George Washington Act of 1795 to use federal troops to enforce the execution of judicial decrees issued in civil rights and other judicial cases. Id. at 138.

Some of Pollitt's analysis is incorrect, but otherwise his conclusion on the effect of the repealing amendment is a sound one.

(b) Background.

First it is necessary to recall the circumstances which surrounded the debate on the repealing amendment. Those were the pre-Little Rock days, and as Senator Douglas had stated, there had been little occasion to invoke sec. 1993 during all the time it had been on the statute books. No doubt the use of military force was never in the minds of those sponsoring the main bill. The President himself had indicated his distaste towards such use. The Attorney General had been evasive on this point. And the opponents of any civil rights legislation were making great capital out of their "discovered" interrelation of sec. 1985 to sec. 1993.

It was in this context that the sponsors of the main bill were faced with several alternatives. They could have directly justified the interrelation, saying that Part III was in no way adding to the enforcement provisions of sec. 1993; that that section already existed, and if there should be a repeal of that section, then the burden of showing a need for its repeal should be on those who wanted it repealed. Or sec. 1993 could have been amended so as to delete any reference to either the whole of sec. 1985, or more narrowly, to the Part III amendments to sec. 1985. Or outright repeal of sec. 1993 could be advanced. Whether or not other alternatives were considered, it was outright repeal which was selected. And it is this last alternative which, when compared to the other alternatives, presents the strongest argument for the negative implication that by repeal the President is denied the power to enforce judicial decrees under the civil rights act.

In turning to the content of the debate it should be noted that whatever legislative history there is, it is contained in the Senate debate. The House neither in its report, or on the floor, considered the interrelation aspect of Part III. The Senate had no explanatory reports. The debate then is the legislative record, and whether judicially significant or not, the Senate was highly conscious that it was making a record which would be used in the interpretation of the bill. Not only was there considerable discussion on the importance of making a legislative history for purposes of construing the act, but it was also recognized that there was special probative value that would be attributed to the remarks of sponsors of amendments. 103 Cong. Rec. 11987 88 (1957).

(c) Debate positions.

What emerges from the debate is a slight medley of confusion. The sponsors were not always clear as to the purpose and effect of the repealing amendment. Their opponents were divided. One recognized that the President would still have the power to enforce judicial decrees, and another did not. Other Senators indicated that they did not know what was the real issue involved in the repeal. One thing is certain: the unanimity of views which Pollitt says occurred did not exist.

(d) Sponsors' position.

From the sponsors' side, and from those advocates of the entire bill, three positions were taken with regard to the repeal amendment. They were:

(1) It would serve the immediate purpose of narrowing the debate to the real issue of the injunctive power of the Attorney General under Part III, as well as saving votes which otherwise might be alienated by this sec. 1993 "military force" provision.

(2) As a policy matter, a program of integration should not be implemented by military force.

(3) Nonetheless, the power of the President to enforce judicial decrees, despite the repeal of sec. 1993, remained. Therefore nothing would be lost by enacting the repealing amendment.

Senator Humphrey's remarks reflect these somewhat inconsistent positions:

> The reference to section 1993 is unfortunate. I think the Attorney General made a very unfortunate mistake in making that kind of reference, because there is plenty of other law to utilize, without rubbing salt into an old wound. 103 Cong. Rec. 11980 (1957) (July 17).
>
> It is the belief of those of us who offered the amendment... that provisions relating to the use of military force had no place in the bill, and therefore ought to be eliminated. 103 Cong. Rec. 12074 (July 18).

> It is most regrettable and unfortunate that...this bill should have been clouded by, and, in fact, distorted by, reference to the use of the Armed Forces of the United States as an instrumentality of law enforcement in civil rights matters.... I have felt that the reference was...unwise and psychologically unfortunate.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Civil rights, to be meaningful, must be essentially secured by observance of the law. To be sure, enforcement has its role in the fulfillment of any law, or in the fulfillment of the objectives of the law; but ... when we are dealing with human rights ... we must seek to obtain compliance ... through respect for the law ... Therefore any reference in this proposed public statute to the use of military forces has an unfortunate connotation, and I must say our opponents found in this particular reference to the use of military power a dramatic incident, putting out of focus the whole purpose of the proposals which are before the Senate in the field of civil rights. 103 Cong. Rec. 12304 (1957) (July 22).

Senator Knowland's statement also indicated a purpose to narrow the issues on the floor, and a purpose to have a civil rights program which would not necessitate the use of military force. But he only intimated that the repeal of sec. 1993 would not affect other Presidential powers. He said:

> Although it was not stated in so many words, the inference was that it would be the intention of the sponsors of the bill and those who propose its enactment, that the full weight of the Armed Forces of the United States ... might be brought to bear upon a school district or locality in the enforcement of certain court orders.... /T/hat was not the intent of the President ...of the House of Representatives...and...it certainly was not the intent or policy of any member of this body.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> At least we should eliminate that argument from the bill.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> As I stated, it was for the clarification of the debate that the amendment was offered, and the amendment is only to repeal that particular section of the code which dates from Reconstruction days. 103 Cong. Rec. 12304 (1957) (July 22).

The Senators which most consistently and clearly maintained that the repeal of sec. 1993 would have no effect on Presidential powers were Senators Clark and Javits. And their position was clearly understood and acknowledged by one of the prime opponents of the bill, Senator Long.

During his presentation of the whole of Part III, Senator Javits said:

> On that point /the Knowland-Humphrey amendment/ I see no particular reason why that part of the bill should be stricken out; neither do I see any particular reason why it should be retained. If in connection with the passage of the bill, the Senate wishes to strike out something which is a vestige of the past, and does not belong in the law, that will be

> perfectly all right. There are many parts of the law that fall into that category....
>
> So in this case, if more Senators will vote for the bill if that part is eliminated, and if Senators will be made happy by its elimination, ---that is to say, by striking out provisions which are obsolescent; indeed, provisions which were replaced a year ago by the Armed Forces bill, [5] which gives the President all the power he needs in order to keep order ---I would not think of taking the position that I should insist on the retention of that particular part, and that not one word of it should be changed.
>
> Senator Aiken. Is it the opinion of the Senator from New York that if the Knowland-Humphrey amendment is agreed to, the President still will have authority to use troops where necessary?
>
> In the event of some large scale breach of public order, the other statutes which are more specific, in my opinion give the President all the power he needs or all the power he ought to have, regardless of this particular provision of the bill.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> I say the President would not thereby be deprived of any power he needs or any power he ought to have. 103 Cong. Rec. 12098 (1957) (July 18).

Senator Clark's statement, during the main debate on the repealing amendment, was as follows:

> Under Article 1, section 3 of the Constitution, the President of the United States is required to see to the faithful execution of the laws. Since 1795 the President has had full power to use the military forces of the United States to execute the laws if wholesale resistance is encountered...the 1795 act was the result of the Whiskey Rebellion.
>
> In view of the fact that these laws have been on the books since 1795, and that the President has the constitutional duty to enforce the laws in any event, I am in accord with... /the sponsors/ that it would be psychologically unsound and unwise further to embitter the civil rights controversy by referring, in the bill under consideration, to an old section of the Klu Klux Klan Act, which inevitably would arouse age-old passions which were better left to die on the ashes of their age.
>
> So I shall support the pending amendment, knowing full well that after the amendment is agreed to, the President will still have, as he has always had, adequate authority to enforce the laws of the United States. 103 Cong. Rec. 12306 (1957) (July 22).

---

[5] The reference evidently is to the recodification of 1956. 50 U.S.C. 201-204 on Aug. 10, 1956 was recodified as 10 U.S.C. 331-334. ch. 1041, 70A Stat. 641.

Senator Clark then inserted in the Congressional Record a memorandum prepared by the American Law Division of the Library of Congress which in substance justified his statement.[6]

(e) An opponent's recognition.

Senator Long indicated that he fully understood the thrust of statements such as those of Senator Clark, and one is tempted to say, attributed a greater clarity of purpose to the sponsors of the amendment than they deserved when he said:

I believe certain things should be made clear. One of them is that the Senators who are proposing that this provision of the bill be stricken out are not doing so because they do not envision the use of Federal troops to support integration in the South. They are moving to have the provisions stricken out because, as they have explained, they believe that under the Constitution, and other sections of the law, the use of Federal troops, including the use of bayonets, to enforce such measures will still be available. Id. at 12310.

(f) The ambiguous Senators.

Other Senators advanced the position of being adamantly against the use of "military force" to implement court orders, and yet recognized the existence of such power in the executive. Senator Lausche was against Part III without the Knowland-Humphrey amendment since:

> It is set forth pointedly, harshly, and severely that the Army, the Navy and the militia shall be called out to put the law into effect.
>
> I shudder to think that in America, in connection with a problem of this type, that someone possessed the audacity to sponsor such a provision, notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution which gives the President the power to enforce judicial decrees when they are resisted by armed revolution or otherwise.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> There was no need for that provision, Mr. President. The Constitution... already gave ample powers to the President. Id. at 12307.

Senator Carroll thought the amendment was designed "to quiet the fears that have been aroused". Id. at 12309. He added: "If I believed that the enactment of the bill would result in the imposition of a police force on the Southland, I would vote against the bill. Yet in referring to the Library of Congress memorandum he said: "Its statement on the matter is clear. The President has always had the power to use force to insure the functioning of the United States laws." Id. at 12309-10.

Senator Cooper also presented the position that though it was bad policy to use military force, yet the President would continue to have such power. He said:

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6. See Appendix II.

> A few minutes ago the Senate voted to repeal the archaic reconstruction statute which gave to the President of the United States, presumably, the power to enforce the orders of the courts by the use of military force. It was wise to repeal it because it is old and archaic and because it would not be enforced.
>
> Yet everyone who is familiar with the Constitution and who knows the law is aware that the President has such power, without that statute. The United States cannot permit the Federal system and the judicial system to collapse, if local law enforcement should collapse. 103 Cong. Rec. 12317 (1957).

Other Senators were even less clear about their positions on the effect and purpose of the repeal of sec. 1993. Senator Saltonstall wanted no Federal dictation, and thought the "government should be close to the people". Id. at 12283. Senator Anderson thought the amendment dealt with "a subject which might have been handled by separate legislation." Id. at 12284. Senator Aiken thought it would repeal "an obsolete law which is unnecessary and which ought not to remain in the statutes." Id. at 12284.

(g) Recapitulation and sole opposing interpretation.

Aside from the immediate tactical purpose of "narrowing the issues", there were only few statements to the effect that the repeal of sec. 1993 would have absolutely no effect on extant Presidential powers. The majority of the statements fell in that ambiguous pose that decried the use of military force but which nonetheless recognized the existence of a duplicatory and residual Presidential power to use military force. Some of these statements may not have recognized explicitly the existence of such power, but no Senator denied it, - save one, and that was Senator Russell. He said:

> Senators may differ as to the general authority of the President of the United States to employ the military forces, but I assert that the adoption of the amendment will eliminate from our law the specific power of the President to delegate the authority to employ troops to execute judicial process in specific cases.
>
> There is a vast difference between the employment of troops under a specific statute to carry out a specific judgment of a court and the general powers of the United States to quell insurrection within this land. It should be unnecessary to dwell upon that difference. Id. at 12310.

(h) Conclusion on legislative purpose.

The position that the repeal of sec. 1993 effectuated a legislative purpose to deny the President power to enforce judicial decrees under the civil rights act has little to recommend it. The position rests on these two elements:

(1) The debate indicated a legislative policy against the use of military force to support court orders.

(2) The statement of Senator Russell indicated the true legislative purposes.

Each of these elements is a weak reed. The terms of the amendment did not extend beyond sec. 1993 and so did not expressly repeal any other extant Presidential power. The legislative policy opposed to the use of military force did not culminate in express legislation denying such power to the executive. The only statement which would tend to justify an interpretation that other, duplicating Presidential powers were repealed by implication is that of Senator Russell, and since his voice is that of an opponent, it is no guide to the divining of the legislative purpose.[7] Furthermore the Senator's statement makes no legal sense. The distinction which he draws between general powers and specific powers is meaningless in the present context. When there exists a general power (10 U. S. C. 331-334) and a specific power parallel, and comprehended within it (42 U. S. C. 1993), and that special power is repealed, some statutory language is required before it can be argued that the general power has been diminished by the repeal of the specific power. The fact the Senator finds it "unnecessary to dwell upon that difference" would indicate that there is nothing to dwell on.

The other position, that repeal of sec. 1993 did not affect existing Presidential powers, seems correct (though it is not free from ambiguity). First, there are the floor statements which reveal that there was no purpose to take away existing, albeit duplicatory powers.[8] Second, it must be recognized that there is a distinction between a policy against enforcing decrees by military means, and its enactment into legislation. Although some statements by sponsors and advocates of the bill embraced policy, none went so far as to propose to enact it into legislation. No express statutory denial of power to the President was passed. Third, if there is anything to the idea of a "basic purpose", or of a legislative understanding at what "mischief" the legislative action was aimed to remedy, it then becomes evident that the basic purpose was a tactical one, and that was to narrow the debate to what were considered the more fundamental and immediate issues. The issue of whether or not all executive power to enforce judicial decrees in the area of civil rights was being repealed was not before the Senate when it voted on the Knowland-Humphrey amendment. Fourth, since the unanimity of the vote embraced many viewpoints, special weight must be given to the views of the sponsors of the amendment, and of the advocates of the main bill.[9] Their views do not reveal a purpose to have the repeal go beyond its express terms.

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7. "The fears and doubts of the opposition are no authoritative guide to the construction of legislation. It is the sponsors we look to when the meaning of the statutory words is in doubt." Schwegmann Bros. v. Calvert Distillers Corp., 341 U. S. 384, 394 (1952)

8. See, United States v. San Francisco, 310 U. S. 675, 186 (1951) (individual statements admissable when they seem to represent the understanding of the group).

9. Testimony of the draftsman as to the nature and effect of the bill is often treated as evidence of legislative intent. Elder v. Brannan, 341 U. S. 277, 284 (1951); see also, NLRB v. Denver Bldg. Council, 341 U. S. 675, 686 (1951)(weight of statements of Representative or Senator in charge of bill) and Ahrens v. Clark, 335 U. S. 188, 192 (1948) Congressman who introduces bill).

A DIFFERENT APPROACH:

Although the Supreme Court has said: "Legislative materials... can scarcely be deemed incompetent or irrelevant"[10] an analysis will be set forth which relies only partially on legislative history.[11]

To begin with, there is the text.[12] The Knowland-Humphrey amendment only repealed sec. 1993. It says nothing more. Since there is the duplicatory and more comprehensive executive authority under 10 U.S.C. 331-334, for the repeal to have any effect on these sections it must operate by implication.

Baldly stated the opposing argument is that "the express repeal of sec. 1993 also impliedly repealed those sections of Title 10 which authorize the President to utilize armed forces to enforce judicial decrees dealing with civil rights. Therefore the President now is without such power. Congress has denied it to him."

The difficulty with the scope to be attributed to the repeal has been noted in a more general context by Justice Frankfurter:

> The difficulty in many instances where a problem of meaning arises is that the enactment was not directed towards the troubling question. The problem might then be stated, as once it was by Mr. Justice Cardozo, "which choice is the more likely that Congress would have made?" Burnet v. Guggenheim, 288 U.S. 280, 285 (1933). Frankfurter, Some Reflections on the Reading of Statutes, 47 Col. L. Rev. 527 (1947).

Congress did not squarely face up to the issue of what power the President would have left, after the repeal. It was really legislating on other matters. As to the choice Congress would have made, certain reliance can be placed on standard rules for construing legislation.

One such rule is that: "The courts will not ascribe to the legislature an intent to create absurd or harsh consequence, and so an interpretation avoiding absurdity is always to be preferred."[13] Applied, it means that Congress would not have acted so as to strip the Executive of the statutory authority he has under Title 10, leaving him power to use military force to enforce all judicial decrees, except those dealing with civil rights. That is, there was no reasonable distinction advanced during the debate as to why the President should by implication be denied this power with regard to civil rights decrees, and not with regard to all other decrees. To deny the President power in only one area when obstructionism may be as great with regard to civil rights as to any other subject matter creates an absurd result. Additionally, to construe such an implied

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10. United States v. Dickerson, 310 U.S. 554, 562 (1940); see, United States v. American Trucking Assoc., 310 U.S. 534, 543 (1940).

11. "Spurious use of legislative history must not swallow the legislation so as to give point to the quip that only when legislative history is doubtful do you go to the statute. While courts are no longer confined to the language, they are still confined by it." Frankfurter, Some Reflections on the Reading of Statutes, 47 Col. L. Rev. 527 (1947)

12. Id. at 535.

13. I Sutherland, Statutory Construction Sec. 2007 (3rd ed. Horack, 1943).

repeal of Title 10 would create an absurd result in the sense that Congress would have been deemed to have curtailed the executive power of art. II, secs. 1 and 3 of the Constitution. This interpretation can be avoided. All that is necessary is an interpretation that there was no repeal by implication.

Other rules of statutory construction that could be applied are:

(1) There is a presumption against the implied repeal of a statute.[14]

(2) A law is not presumed to be repealed by implication; conversely, the presumption is against an implied repeal.[15]

(3) It is a well established principle that a valid legislative enactment which contains an express provision repealing a particular act or part of an act is effectual to establish a repeal of the law it describes.[16]

(4) A single act may repeal former legislation, in part by a provision expressly repealing specified existing legislation, and in part by implication because of inconsistency with existing law. However, the existence of a specific repealer is evidence of an intent that further repeals (by implication) are not intended by the legislature.[17]

Putting aside the legislative purpose (if it should be deemed too ambiguous), and also these rules of construction (should they be deemed make-weights), nonetheless, there is a basic constitutional argument that can be made which would limit the effect of the repeal of sec. 1993. It is that the Constitution has prescribed certain steps for the enactment of legislation and unless these are satisfied, legislative silence cannot be taken as repealing previously enacted legislation. Cf., Schwegmann Bros. v. Calvert Distillers Corp., 341 U.S. 384, 396, (1952) (Jackson, J. concurring).

A further consideration arguing for a narrow scope of application for the repeal is the contemporaneous and legislatively uncontested promulgation of the Little Rock executive orders.[18] On September 23rd and 24th, two months almost to the day from the repeal of sec. 1993, President Eisenhower issued two executive orders, one calling for dispersal of the mobs, and the other for the mobilization of the National Guard. Both were issued to enforce and to aid in the execution of judicial decrees. Both referred to the statutory power of Title 10 and to the constitutional power of the President.

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14. I Sutherland, Statutory Construction Sec. 2012, n. 2 (3rd ed. Horack 1943). The footnote cites: Frost v. Weinie, 157 U.S. 46 (1894); United States v. Greathouse, 166 U.S. 601 (1897); United States v. Noce, 268 U.S. 613 (1925).

15. Id. at Sec. 2014, n. 1.

16. Id. at Sec. 2008, citing Bear Lake & River Waterworks & Irrig. Co. v. Garland, 164 U.S. 1 (1896).

17. Id. at Sec. 2015, citing Fay v. Dist. Ct. of Appeal, 200 Cal. 522, 254 Pac. 896 (1927); Buffurn v. Chase Nat'l Bank, 192 F. 2d 58 (1951).

18. See Appendix III.

(a) Conclusion.

There is no convincing proof of a Congressional purpose that the repeal amendment was also to impliedly repeal 10 U. S. C. 331-334 as to matters dealing with civil rights. In fact, the legislative purpose, though slightly ambiguous, pointed the other way.

Normal rules of statutory construction for a situation where the legislature did not explicitly deal with a problem would construe the Title 10 provisions as being left unaffected by the Knowland-Humphrey repeal amendment.

It also seems doubtful that Congress can abridge the executive's constitutional powers to execute the laws.[19] Furthermore, contemporaneous executive action reinforces the conclusion that the prior statutory authority of Title 10 was unaffected by the amendment.

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[19] Cf. Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer, 343 U. S. 579 (1952)

APPENDIX I

Some provisions from Title 50 (War and National Defense) Chapter 13 (Insurrection) secs. 205-226.

50 U. S. C. 205 Suspension of commercial intercourse with State in insurrection.

Whenever the President, in pursuance of the provisions of this chapter, * has called forth the militia to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and the insurgents shall have failed to disperse by the time directed by the President, and when the insurgents claim to act under the authority of any State or States, and such claim is not disclaimed or repudiated by the persons exercising the functions of government in such State or States, or in the part or parts thereof are at any time found by the President to be in insurrection against the United States, the President may, by proclamation, declare that the inhabitants of such State, or of any section or part thereof where such insurrection exists, are in a state of insurrection against the United States; and thereupon all commercial intercourse by and between the same and the citizens thereof and the citizens of the rest of the United States shall cease and be unlawful so long as such condition of hostility shall continue; and all goods and chattels, wares and merchandise, coming from such State or section into the parts of the United States, or proceeding from other parts of the United States to such State or section by land or water, shall, together with the vessel conveying the same, or conveying persons to or from such state or section be forfeited to the United States.

(Derivation: Acts July 13, 1861, ch. 3, sec. 5, 12 Stat. 257; July 31, 1861, ch. 32, 12 Stat. 284)

Sec. 206 Suspension of commercial intercourse with part of State in insurrection.

Sec. 207 Persons affected by suspension of commercial intercourse.

Secs. 208-209 (Licensing to trade.)

Sec. 210 (Penalties for unauthorized trade.)

Sec. 211 (Investigation for abuses.)

Sec. 212 Confiscation of Property employed to aid insurgents.

Whenever during any insurrection against the government of the United States, after the President shall have declared by proclamation that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by power vested in the marshals by law, any person, or his agent, attorney or employee, purchases or acquires, sells or gives, any property of whatsoever kind or description, with intent to use or employ the same, or suffers the same to be used or employed in aiding, abetting, or promoting such insurrection or resistance to the laws, or any person engaged therein; or being the owner of any such property, knowingly uses or employs, or consents to such use or

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* Although 50 USC 205 refers to "provisions of this chapter" the reference must be understood as applying to 10 U. S. C. 331-334 since they were formerly 50 U. S. C. 201-205. Aug. 10, 1956, ch. 1041, sec. 53, 70 A Stat. 641.

employment of the same, all such property shall be lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found; and it shall be the duty of the President to cause the same to be seized, confiscated and condemned.

Sec. 213 Jurisdiction of confiscation proceedings.

Sec. 214 (Now 10 U. S. C. 7651(c) - property on inland waters).

Sec. 215 Institution of Confiscation Proceedings.

The Attorney General, or the United States attorney for any judicial district in which such property may at the time be, may institute the proceedings of condemnation, and in such case they shall be wholly for the benefit of the United States; ....

Sec. 216 Preventing transportation of goods to aid insurrection.

Sec. 217 Trading in captured or abandoned property.

Sec. 218 - 226 (Ports of entry, vessels).

APPENDIX II

Library of Congress

July 9, 1957

To: Hon. John A. Carroll
From: American Law Division
Subject: Use of Armed Forces to Enforce Civil Rights Bill (H. R. 6127; 85th Congress)

To suggest that under the terms of the proposed civil rights bill (H. R. 6127; 85th Cong.) entire armed might of the United States might be mobilized to enforce compliance with judicial law (namely the Supreme Court ruling that segregation is violative of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) but not to enforce other provisions of that bill pertaining to denial of the right to vote is to overlook existing statutory provisions authorizing employment of the Armed Forces by the President to fulfill his constitutional duty to see to the faithful execution of the laws (art. II, sec. 3). Under title 10, sections 332-333 of the United States Code, the President already is vested with ample authority to employ the Armed Forces to enforce obedience to any Federal law, whether that disobedience is directed at judicial and executive officers enforcing decrees issued pursuant to judicial interpretation of the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, or is manifested in the form of resistance to Federal officers attempting to execute statutory law. Moreover such resistance elsewhere is declared by statute to be a crime against the United States; and if the ordinary, judicial processes are inadequate to punish those found guilty of committing such offenses, suppression of disobedience to said statutory provision legally would warrant the President's use of troops consistent with his constitutional duty as chief law enforcer.

The applicable provisions of law hitherto cited are the following: /Citing 10 U. S. C. 332-333_/

> Whoever forcibly assaults, resists, opposes, impedes, intimidates or interferes with any judge of the United States, any United States attorney, any assistant United States attorney, or any United States marshal or deputy marshal, or person employed to assist such marshal or deputy marshal, or any officer or employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice***(etc.), while engaged in or on account of the performance of his official duties shall be fined***(U. S. C. 18: 111, 114)."

The purpose of this presentation of the aforementioned statutory provisions is to demonstrate that independently of the proposed civil rights bill, the President already is vested with ample authority to deploy the Armed Forces to meet concerted popular resistance designed either to obstruct enforcement of judicial decrees issued pursuant to constitutional and statutory provisions or to interfere with enforcement of statutory law by Federal officers. It matters little, therefore, whether title 42, United States Code, section 1993 is to be viewed as expressly authorizing the use of military force to execute title 42, United States Code, section 1981 /1985?/ as amended by part 3 of H. R. 6127, but not complementing execution of title 42, United States Code, section 1971 as amended by part of H. R. 6127 and relating to the denial of the right to vote.

As a perusal of the first cited provisions will confirm, the President's right to use the Armed Forces is clearly circumscribed. Military forces cannot be mobilized to mow down private citizens merely because they have congregated together in the exercise of their constitutionally protected freedom to assemble. On the contrary, these forces can only be deployed for one purpose only: namely, to combat organized resistance to the enforcement of law. To condemn the use of armed forces without acknowledging the only legitimate occasion for its exercise is either to becloud the issue or to conceal behind such protest what amounts to an arrogation of a right to resist with impunity.

Norman J. Small
American Law Division

Inserted by Senator Clark,
103 Cong. Rec. 12306-07
(1957) (July 22).

APPENDIX III

The Little Rock Executive Orders.

Proclamation No. 3204, Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas, Sept. 23, *1957, 22 F. R. 7628. (From Newport, R. I.)

WHEREAS certain persons in the State of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations, and conspiracies, have willfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to the enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas; and

WHEREAS such willful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that state and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and

WHEREAS such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws:

Now therefore, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly sections 332, 333, and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

> 10 U. S. C. 334 Proclamation to disperse.
> Whenever the President considers it necessary to use the militia or the armed forces under this chapter, he shall, by proclamation, immediately order the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes within a limited time.

Executive Order No. 10730, Assistance for Removal of an Obstruction of Justice Within the State of Arkansas, Sept. 24, 1957, 22 F. R. 7628. (From Washington, D. C.)

WHEREAS on September 23, 1957, I issued Proclamation No. 3204 reading in part as follows:

* * * * * * /_Operative parts are recited_/ * * * * * *

WHEREAS the command contained in that Proclamation has not been obeyed and willful obstruction of enforcement of said court orders still exists and threatens to continue:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, and section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1: I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of Defense to order into the active military service of the United States as he may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Order, any or all of the units of National Guard of the United States and of the Air National Guard of the United States within the State of Arkansas to serve in active military service of the United States for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders.

Section 2: The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed to take all appropriate steps to enforce any orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas for the removal of obstruction of justice in the State of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools in the Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas. In carrying out the provisions of this section, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use the units and members thereof, ordered into the active military service of the United States pursuant to Section 1 of this Order.

Section 3: In furtherance of the enforcement of the aforementioned orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the armed forces of the United States as he may deem necessary.

Section 4: The Secretary of Defense is authorized to delegate to the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, or both, any of the authority conferred on him by this order.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

10 U.S.C. 332 Use of militia and armed forces to enforce Federal authority.

Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages or rebellion against the authority of the United States makes it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

10 U.S.C. 333 Interference with State and Federal law.

The President, by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it

(1) So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right, privilege, or immunity, or to give that protection; or

(2) Opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.

In any situation covered by clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

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* 10 U. S. C. A. 334 has the proclamation date listed as of Sept. 24, 1957. This is an error, as can be seen by the reference to the Proclamation in the subsequent Executive Order. The Federal Register has the correct date listed, Sept. 23, 1957.

SW5-0234-pm

Florence Rice

State Labor Board - not Rodgers

Signed petition against local,
demonstration or strike
— made them withdraw
letter, labor Bd said 65
regained time
#65 asked for election
but can't get up -

* Robert Gerdy
New Yorker

"Valenti
Croyden"
Bu 8 4000

Statement before the Platform Committee of the Democratic National Convention

Atlantic City, August 1964
by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mr. Chairman; Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before the Platform Committee of the National Convention of the Democratic Party. Since my appearance before this Committee in Los Angeles, California, profound and revolutionary changes have occurred within our country as well as throughout the world. In our country, twenty million Negroes, in accelerated cadence have joined in the world-wide struggle to eliminate the immoral practices of discrimination and segregation based on race and color.

In 1960, representatives of Negro and civil rightsgroups, sought to interpret to the Conventions of both political parties the meaning and implications of the then current wave of student sit-in demonstrations which had occurred in many cities throughout the South. In 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Negroes' liberation from chattel slavery, the embers of freedom smoldering within twenty million black Americans erupted into blazing conflagrations in Birmingham, Alabama; Danville, Virginia; Jackson, Mississippi; Chicago, Illinois; New York City; Cambridge, Maryland, and other parts of our nation. Unlike four years ago, however, the meaning of the so-called Negro revolution of 1963 became clear for all to see and was given legislative recognition in the recently enacted civil rights bill.

Immediately following the passage of the Bill on July 3, 1964, at a moment when many naively thought the Negro Revolution had run its course, new events transpired in the north, south and west. The nation was faced with the grim realization that the Revolution had not spent its force but would continue inexorably until total slavery had been replaced by total freedom.

The new events to which I refer are:(1) the Republican Convention held in San Francisco; (2) the consummation of a marriage of the radical right and the segregationists; (3) the hideous triple lynchings in Mississippi; and (4) the outbreak of riots in three northern cities.

I urge you who are to propose a platform for your Party, to give pause and take full measure of this moment of history. Will you in your deliberations be stampeded by incendiary headlines? Will you cower before a pernicious synthetic called "white backlash"? Will you under-estimate the force of the Negro Revolution? Or will you courageously look beyond the smoke to the real fires of frustration and make Atlantic City in 1964 the place where forces of progress and justice joined in a crusade to stamp out for all time, the scourge of poverty and discrimination?

You must at the outset be a positive counter force to the Republican Convention which geared its platform and candidates toward seeking favor among the most reactionary, segregationist forces in this nation. It not only turned its back on its own Lincoln tradition, but took a giant stride backward towards know-nothingness and racism. Like the fate of Lot's wife, their rearward direction must eventually lead to their oblivion.

The first response to this destructive turn in history by all good people was one of great alarm and concern. The American Negro, long accustomed to broken promises and disappointment, viewed with stark horror the frenzied marriage in the Cow Palace of Birchites, KKK with the Radical Right.

Celebration of the final enactment of the Civil Rights Bill curdled and was soured. Rejoicing was replaced by a deep and frightening concern that the counter -forces to Negro liberation could in 1964 nominate for the highest office in the land one who openly clasped the bloody hand of George Wallace ... one who voted against the Civil Rights Bill ... and one whose entire philosophy and program are anathema to all of the hard-won progress of the past decade.

A cold fear touched the hearts of twenty million Negroes. They had only begun to come out of the dark land of Egypt where so many of their brothers are still in bondage -- still denied elementary dignity . The many heralded victories in the courts, in the legislatures, and in the cities had only touched a few. The forces to bar the road, to drive us back to Egypt, seemed so formidable, so high in authority, and so determined.

You will recall, when the Israelites felt lost and afraid in the desert after their departure from Egypt, they turned against Moses and God and reverted to the worship of false gods. They heeded for a while those who preached the devil's sermon.

But one must not for a moment forget that this is 1964. It is not 1876 or 1787. Our ranks cannot be broken or scattered. We can be provoked at times into uncontrolled protests; we can temporarily heed the false voices. But - the battles of Montgomery, Albany, St. Augustine, Birmingham and Danville were not in vain. The men, women and children who boycotted schools, faced fire hoses, dogs' fangs and filled the jails, will not be misled. They have been tempered and disciplined by these struggles! In the bursting mood that has overtaken the Negro in 1963 the words "compromise", "retreat", are profane and pernicious. The direction of the Negro liberation movement -- indeed its compelling and inspired forward motion -- cannot be diverted for long. Detours and errors will occur ... there will be defeats. We will have our Valley Forges and Summer Soldiers, and even Benedict Arnolds. BUT, like the words of our inspiring freedom songs , we will head for our goal because "aint gonna let nobody turn me around."

Our Revolution is genuine because it was born from the same womb that always gives birth to massive social upheavals --- the womb of intolerable conditions and unendurable situations.

The Negro is determined to liberate himself. His cry for justice has hardened into a palpable, irresistible force. He is unwilling to retrogress or even mark time. In this Revolution, no plans have been written for retreat. Those who will not get into step will find the parade has passed them.

Finally, the Negro knows he is right. He has not closed his ranks.... He has not organized for conquest to gain spoils or to enslave those who have injured him. His goal is not to capture what belongs to someone else -- he merely wants and will have what is honorably his!

I came here today to urge you to join hands with us -- to stride with us toward Freedom. I came to urge you to recognize that the Negro Revolution is no momentary outburst, but a force for good to effectuate a better tomorrow for Negro America, for White America -- indeed, for all Americans regardless of race, color or creed.

Our Revolution is ready to join forces with those who believe in justice for all -- who want to eliminate poverty for all. Issue a call to rally all those who believe in these simple goals and you will surely defeat and rout forever those who have joined hands since San Francisco in seeking to darken the sun! Sound the call with clarion voice for a colorblind land of plenty which cares for its own and you will find marching with you the great mass of people who reject white supremacy and racism because it is the mainstream of yesterday.

I have dealt at some length with the broad perspective of the problems confronting us today. Allow me now to pose several issues which require your serious consideration for inclusion in your Party's Platform. I trust that the context which I have elaborated will provide a further dimension to these specifics.

(1) The Civil Rights Bill's Enforcement
(2) The Furtherance of Voting Rights
(3) The War on Poverty

(1) Civil Rights Act Enforcement

A few days after the President signed the Act, the Republican Convention nominated as its Presidential candidate a Senator who voted against cloture and the Bill, and who publicly declared that the legislation was unconstitutional. The Platform of that Party was tailored to fit this anti Civil Rights Bill philosophy. If any ambiguity existed on the subject, it was removed by the rallying of all segregationist forces around the banner of that Party and its nominee. One need hardly wonder how such a nominee, if elected, would exercise the great powers of the Chief Executive.

It therefore behooves your Party to take its stand on this urgent subject -- to speak out all the more clearly and loudly that the Civil Rights Act is the law of the land and that its letter and spirit will be enforced.

If that legislation is to have real meaning, it is essential that no "cooling-off" period, no interval of deliberation without speed be allowed to intervene. Professor Gordon W. Allport, in his classic "The Nature of Prejudice," cogently demonstrates the inherent dangers of such periods of delay in immediate enforcement or compliance with the new laws. His observations which are supported by our said experience with the 1954 School Desegregation Decision, are worthy of full quotation:

> "Experience shows that most citizens accept a forthright *fait accompli* with little protest or disorder. In part they do so because integrationist policies are usually in line with their own consciences (even though countering their prejudices). In part the swift change is accepted because opposing forces have no time to mobilize and launch a counter-movement.

> "Following this line of reasoning, it probably would have been psychologically sounder for the Supreme Court to have insisted upon prompt acquiescence with its ruling of 1954. 'Deliberate speed' does not fix an early and inescapable date for compliance. As subsequent events have shown, the delay has given time for the formation of Citizen Councils, for the crusades of agitators, and, worst of all, for fierce disagreement to arise among authorities occupying strategic roles in the hierarchy of law enforcement (school boards, mayors, district courts, legislatures, state governors and Washington officials). No firm and consistent course of action is agreed upon, leadership falters, counter-movements flourish." (Allport, "The Nature of Prejudice," p. V)

This Convention represents the political party now at the helm of the Federal Government. For it, to temporize or equivocate on the imperative of full compliance would lead to a national catastrophe. The counter-movements referred to by Prof. Allport are indeed flourishing. First they bitterly resisted enactment. Next, they have rallied themselves around the candidacy of Senator Goldwater avowedly to achieve nullification.

At this very moment, during the elections campaign, they are pandering to prejudice and distorting the provisions of the Act. They subtly refer to the Act as a "Civil Wrongs" Act, which will give special treatment and privileges to the Negroes; they have planted scare notions with the white workers concerning job security and seniority; they predict a "police state" will be used to enforce the Act. In short, contrary to the President's plea at the time he signed the Act, [redacted] they have not "closed the springs of racial poison," but rather they have sought to pollute the atmosphere with racist and "white supremacy" virulence.

The hour of the crisis is late. The eruption of riots, if nothing else, reveals how little time and patience is left. A firm declaration in the most convincing language emanating from this

Convention could well give pause to those who have been swayed or confused by the virulent racial hatred spewn by the ugly counter-movements.

When I call for vigorous enforcement I do not limit myself to Public Accommodations (Title II) or Voting (Title I). Enforcement must be across the board not only with words but also with such elementary basics as manpower and appropriations. While a good beginning has been made in Public Accommodations, and it is heartening, there is much to be done at this very moment.

Let me illustrate by reference to Title VI - "Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs". This title is rich in potential. But it contains a directive which may need development in the crucible of enforcement. It deals with such a fundamental principle: where federal funds or assistance have been extended to a program, no person shall be excluded from participation in its benefits on the grounds of color, race or national origin.

More than two billion dollars of Federal funds have been provided for hospitals under the Hill-Burton Act and yet Negro patients have been denied access to, or are segregated within, these hospitals and Nego doctors are denied staff privileges, and other qualified personnel are discriminated against in employment there. Similar bias exists in many other Federally supported facilities such as nursing homes, clinics and like institutions. It is well known that the vitally important school-lunch program has been operated in many southern communities to deny its benefits to Negro children. I could cite many more instances of Federal money which includes taxes paid by Negroes, being used in like fashion.

Now that the new Act expressly forbids such discrimination, it is imperative that the machinery of Title VI -- which is elaborate and time-consuming-- be put into operation. Many of the abuses which are by now ingrained in the fabric by habitual discrimination, can be corrected by exposure. In some places, unregenerate resistance will be met requiring firm, legal directives. As noted earlier, time must not be permitted to elapse else counter-movement, evasion and avoidance will be encouraged.

Clear and real authority is now vested in the Federal government which must by deeds make it plain that nullification and emasculation from within and without will not be permitted. To "falter" or "deliberate" or "temporize" now would be to court disaster. The legislative rolls of the states and Nation are cluttered with sound measures which have gathered dust because the will to enforce was lacking. To the Negro people no better - yet so bitter - example can be found than the long slumber of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. Let not this be the fate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(2) The Furtherance of Voting Rights

Voting as a badge of full citizenship has always had a special meaning to the Negro. But in 1964, in the context of world-wide developments, the denial of the right to vote cuts painfully and deeply into his new sense of personal dignity. It is salt on his wounded pride! Today, he looks beyond the borders of his own land and sees decolonization and liberation of nations in Africa and Asia; he sees liberated colored peoples -- yellow, black and brown -- ruling over new nations. With pride he observes great pageants of political progress in which thirty-two nations of Africa cast off their colonial bondage. The Negro sees colored statesmen voting on vital issues of war and peace at the United Nations.

But, as he casts his eyes about him, in many -- too many -- cities of his own land, he sees millions of Negroes denied the significant walk to the ballot box.

The Negro, like all other Americans, has been inculcated with the rituals of our democracy and he learned them well! He was taught that we are a nation of the people, for the people, and above all by the people; that in the words of Lincoln, there is a constitutional right to choose and change the government democratically at the ballot box -- whether it be the President, or Congress, a Governor or the Town or Village Supervisor, and that the public servant must answer to the electorate!

In the context of 1964, a century after the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, he is asked to accept patiently a ~~the~~ flagrant and systematic exclusion from the right to vote in eleven states of this Nation. Is it so unusual that the disfranchised, denied a legitimate, non-violent vehicle for redress, turns to other methods of expressing his needs? How hollow must ring the pleas for "law and order" to those who are deprived of the law's most elementary tool --- the right to vote out of office the public officials who stand in the doorway to decent and equal education, jobs, housing, and public safety! All too often, the very same official who blocks the ballot box is the one who hypocritically admonishes the Negro to adhere to law and order!

Surely, a Negro in 1964 should not have to risk his life to cast his vote! What is urgently required is a plank on voting which at long last gives reality to the guarantees of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. A plank such as this must call for the Federal government to exercise its unlimited authority on this front. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 made good beginnings; the 1964 Act, in Title I, provides additional machinery and non-discriminatory standards.

But all laws on the books are useless if enforcement is not vigorously assumed. The crux of the problem of voting to which I urge this Convention to give consideration is no longer discriminatory laws. The Report of the Civil Rights Commission as far back as 1959 pointed its finger accurately when it stated that the evil arises "from discriminatory application and administration of apparently non-discriminatory laws" (p. 133).

Let me briefly illustrate the over-all problem of voting by reference to the State of Mississippi. There can be no doubt but that the church burnings, harassment and murders in that State are a direct result of the fact that the Negro citizens cannot vote and participate in electing responsible public officials. While many thousands of Negroes have attempted to register in the face of violence, economic reprisals and other forms of intimidation in that State, only 1636 have succeeded in doing so in 1963. This is a total of 192 per month. At this rate, it would take more than 135 years to register one-half of the 400,000 unregistered Negroes.

While Mississippi provides the most horrible example, the picture in the ten other Southern states is hardly much brighter. The Civil Rights Commission's 1963 Report notes that in 250 counties in the United States, less than 15 per cent of the voting-age Negroes are registered to vote. A few days ago, the Southern Regional Council reported that despite an heroic, concentrated effort on its part, supported by the five major Civil Rights organizations, only 1,937,982 of five million eligible Negro voters are registered. More than 3,000,000 Negroes in eleven states are disenfranchised.

In a report issued by Congressman William McCulloch of the House Committee on the Judiciary (H.R. Report 914, Part 2), (December 2, 1963), is outlined some of the enforcement measures which are essential if the remedy of the ballot box is to become a reality. He urges on Congress, and I now urge on this Platform Committee that the Department of Justice increase many fold its enforcement of the new legislation, utilising to the maximum its new right to call for a three-judge court. The manpower and funds must be voted. The House Report I now quote shows the inadequacy of present enforcement. It states that the Department of Justice

> "only has about 20 lawyers assigned to voting cases in its Civil Rights Division as opposed to many times this number in other fields. We believe a greater effort should be made to request an increased appropriation for this Division. Meanwhile, the Department should create a task force to do the job. Attorneys must be loaned from other divisions and assigned to work with the Civil Rights Division until more permanent arrangements are made. Assistant U.S. attorneys in the affected districts should also be employed, together with such law students who might be attached on a voluntary basis to participate in this program.
>
> Certainly, the present situation is most unsatisfactory. Four counties in Florida have less than 3 percent Negroes of voting age registered. Yet, not one voting case has been instituted in the entire State of Florida. Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Mississippi have counties with no registered Negroes but which have not been faced with a suit. Similarly, North and South Carolina have disproportionately low Negro registration in some counties and, yet, suits have been brought in neither of these States.
>
> New means are to be granted in title I to assist the Federal Government in franchising qualified Negroes. But a law without a will to enforce it is a subterfuge. The Department must eliminate the last vestiges of voter discrimination in every county in the country." (P. 4, H.R. Report 914, Part 2 (Dec. 2, 1963)).

In addition, the voting standards and procedures in the Acts of 1964, 1960 and 1957 must be extended to cover all elections, state as well as federal. The 1964 Act was amended at an early stage to limit State voting abuses as they apply to Federal elections only. The initial Bill, as proposed by the Administration, prohibited such abuses in State elections as well. I urge that this Platform Committee include in the Platform the extension to State elections of all voting safeguards now applicable to Federal elections. The remedy of the ballot box is needed more desperately in State and local elections. Hence, a right to vote law limited to Federal elections only is a mockery which exposes the Negroes' second-class citizenship.

Further in the realm of State and local domain, I should like to draw your attention to lawlessness, which, whether by design or accident, has seen lynching, murder, bombings, police harassment and intimidation directed against Negroes and their white allies. What is required is the exertion of more, not less, Federal power in these areas.

In this atmosphere of terror, how can one accept the irritating, ~~unreal~~, legal fiction that under our system of Government, local law enforcement is traditionally within the province of local,police officials? Is not such a reservation of power in the States subject to the constitutional guarantees of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments?

The history of the 30's provides an interesting parallel if one seeks to cope with new problems in a flexible manner. In that decade, the creative force of the Federal Government was called into being at a time when depression conditions cried out for new remedies. Yet, up to that time social welfare was traditionally the province of the States. One recalls how the New Deal's creative expansion of Federal authority -- the NRA, AAA, Social Security, NLRA and other areas -- was challenged in the Courts, in the legislative halls and on the hustings as an invasion of State's rights. Those who resisted change then - as now - lamented the loss of State's rights and cloaked a reactionary philosophy with quotations from Thomas Jefferson and Adam Smith.

It is therefore natural that Negroes throughout our country, in looking at the flagrant and brutal violation of constitutional rights in Mississippi, Alabama, St. Augustine, Florida, and elsewhere askethemselves: "If the United States government can protect the right to vote in South Korea, South Viet Nam, West Germany, only to mention a few, and indeed is prepared to risk war over missile bases in Cuba, why is that same government heedless and ineffective in protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi, Florida and Albama?"

The recent cold-blooded murder of three young Civil Rights workers in the State of Mississippi, and of Col. Penn in Georgia, and countless other instances of police harrassment point to the necessity for a vigorous and creative use of the power of the Executive Branch of the government to protect citizens' rights in locally hostile environs.

As you know, I am not a lawyer but I have been advised by several legal authorities that there exists ample statutory authority for the federal government to act in Mississippi and other parts of our country without the necessity of federal troops to ensure that federal guaranteed rights are respected in every state of this union. Title 10, Section 333 of the United States Code Annotated, is said to give the President the right to end "domestic violence" in a State if "any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity or protection named in the constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection."

Concretely, pursuant to this authority vested in the President of the United States under this section, the President could appoint a special panel of United States marshals to serve as field observers in the offices of the local voting registrars in any area where there is a claimed denial or deprivation of a right to vote guaranteed to all citizens under the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal constitution. Such a panel of marshals would be, in addition to the present national staff, attached to the various judicial districts throughout the constitutional United States. This proposed staff or panel of voting rights marshals could be specially trained to carry out their duties under their presidential appointment. In addition to serving as observers such marshals could be empowered to physically accompany five or more persons claiming interference and deprivation of their right to vote to the office of the local registrar. Any and all such claims of interference and denial of the opportunity to register or vote would have to be supported by an affidavit by the persons claiming such denial or interference on appropriate forms provided by the special panel of voting rights marshals. I urgently implore this committee to include within the Platform of the Democratic Party a recommendation for the establishment and appointment of such a panel of voting rights marshals.

Supplementing the use of Executive power under Title 10, Section 333 just described, the powers of the United States Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation must be more vigorously and creatively employed. In view of the instances of murder and brutality which have occurred in Mississippi,

~~the recent lynching of three civil rights wo-~~

the recent lynching of three civil rights workers in that State, the unsolved bombings of Negro homes in Louisian, Mississippi, Alabama, including the infamous murder of four Negro girls attending Sunday School in Birmingham in September, 1963, Negroes are justifiably asking: "If our government is capable of gathering intelligence information in a matter of hours from all parts of the world and has been able successfully to infiltrate and maintain a constant intelligence surveillance of the United States Communist party and other subversive groups, is it not also capable of maintaining a surveillance of the terroristic groups and persons subverting the constitution of the United States by arson, bombings, and murder of civil rights workers?"

In light of the above considerations, I call upon this Committee to pledge in its Platform

(1) that Executive Power vested in the President will be asserted to safeguard the right to vote and other citizenship rights, and

(2) that the Federal Government will vigorously and creatively employ its vast resources and authority to assure to its citizens protection against vigilantes, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and other hate groups seeking to terrorize and intimidate such citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights.

(3) War on Poverty

The newly enacted civil rights bill brings the American Negro to the threshold of becoming a first class participant in our society. But until he can be released from economic privation he cannot fully be deemed liberated. Negroes are still at the bottom of the economic ladder. They are chained to the lowest rung by a double lock: One imprisons them on the basis of color while the second binds them to a culture of poverty.

Our affluent nation is experiencing a complex manpower revolution, dramatic shifts in the composition of labor force, increasing rapid technological change and rising educational and skill requirements. At the same time, automation is eliminating jobs from our economy at the rate of forty thousand per week or two million eighty thousand a year. While technological forces and structual unemployment brought about by automation are colorblind, the objective economic position of the Negro in society causes him as a group to be hardest hit by automation.

Poverty in America tends to be concentrated among disadvantaged groups. One-half of all Negro families in the United States are poor by the $3,000.00 annual income definition. Yet we make up only 22 percent of the over-all nine million poor families. In 1962, almost one out of three non-white workers had not completed elementary school as compared with one in ten among whites. A fifth of non-white and a third of whites had finished high school. In 1959, the median annual income of all the white population who had income was $3,207.00 whereas for Negroes it was slightly over $1,518.00. The average Negro with four years of college education can expect to earn less in his lifetime than the white eighth grade dropout. In short, Negroes in America are unemployed the longest, have lower earnings when they are employed, and have less education and on the average benefit less financially from the education they do attain.

Congressman McCulloch's report (HR 914, Part 2), from which I have previously quoted, succinctly corroborates the deplorable facts concerning Negro poverty. I quote from P. 27 of that report:

> "In 1962, nonwhites made up 11 percent of the civilian labor force, but 22 percent of the unemployed. Approximately 900,000 nonwhites were without jobs during the year -- thereby constituting an unemployment rate of 11 percent. This was more than twice the rate of white unemployed workers. The breakdown among age, sex, and occupational categories is even more striking. Moreover, among Negroes who are employed, their jobs are largely concentrated among the semiskilled and unskilled occupations. This has the effect of severely retarding the economic standards of the Negro population. Likewise, concentration at the lower levels of employment heightens the chances of early and long duration layoffs. This is particularly evident today with the rapid upgrading of job skills which is closely associated with automation."

Sadly I find that the trend is toward ever increasing Negro unemployment. It is ironic that on the very day when the President signed the Civil Rights Bill, July 3, 1964, the Labor Department released the fact that the national unemployment rate had increased in June from 5.1 to 5.3 percent. In human terms -- people not percentages -- this represented an increase of one million one hundred persons, of which about one-fourth are Negro.

The question today confronting this Platform Committee therefore is not "What more does the Negro want now that the civil rights bill has passed?" but rather "What can be done by the Democratic Party to make freedom real and substantial for our Negro citizens, and for millions of white citizens afflicted with poverty?"

The Negro today is not struggling for some abstract, vague rights, but for concrete and prompt improvement in his way of life. What will it profit him to be able to send his children to an integrated school if the family income is insufficient to buy them school clothes? What will he gain by being permitted to move to an integrated neighborhood if he cannot afford to do so because he is unemployed or has a low-paying job with no future? Of what advantage is it to the Negro to establish that he can be served in integrated restaurants or accommodated in integrated hotels, if he is bound to the kind of financial servitude which will not allow him to take a vacation or even to take his wife out to dine? Negores must not only have the right to go into any establishment open to the public, but they must also be absorbed into our economic system in such a manner that they can afford to exercise that right.

The struggle for rights is, at bottom a struggle for opportunities. In asking for opportunity, the Nego is not seeking charity. He does not want to languish on welfare rolls any more than the next man. He does not want to be given a job he cannot handle. Neither, however, does he want to be told that there is no place where he can be trained to handle it. So with equal opportunity must come the practical, realistic aid which will equip him to seize it. Giving a pair of shoes to a man who has not learned to walk is a cruel jest.

Special measures are needed to alleviate the economic conditions of Negroes as well as all other persons in a family unit which earns less than $3,000.00 a year.

During World War II, our fighting men were deprived of certain advantages and opportunities. To make up for this, they were given a package of veterans rights, significantly called a "Bill of Rights." The major features of this GI Bill of Rights included subsidies for trade school or college education, with living expenses provided during the period of study. Veterans were given special concessions enabling them to buy homes without cash, with lower interest rates and easier repayment terms. They could negotiate loans from banks to launch businesses, using the government as an endorser of any losses. They received special points to place them ahead in competition for civil service jobs. They were provided with medical care and long-term financial grants if their physical condition had been impaired by their military service. In addition to these legally granted rights, a strong social climate for many years favored the preferential employment of veterans in all walks of life.

In this way, the nation was compensating the veteran for his time lost in school or in his career or in business. Such compensatory treatment was approved by the majority of Americans. Certainly the Nego has been deprived. Few people consider the fact that, in addition to being enslaved for two centuries, the Negro was, during all those years, robbed of the wages of his toil. No amount of gold could provide an adequate compensation for the exploitation and humiliation of the Nego in America down through the centuries. Not all the wealth of this affluent society could meet the bill.

Yet a price can be placed on unpaid wages. The ancient common law has always provided a remedy for the appropriation of the labor of one human being by another. This law should be made to apply for American Negroes. The payment should be in the form of a massive program by the government of special, compensatory measures which could be regarded as a settlement in accordance with the accepted practice of common law. Such measures would certainly be less expensive than any computation based on two centures of unpaid wages and accumulated interest.

I am proposing, therefore, that, just as we granted a GI Bill of Rights to war veterans, America launch a broad-based and gigantic Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged, our veterans of the long siege of denial. I am specifically proposing that the Platform of the Democratic Party include an endorsement and support for the borad plan of such a Bill.

A Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged would immediately transform the conditions of Negro life. The most profound alteration would not reside soomuch in the specific grants as in the basic psychological and motivational transformation of the Nego. I would challenge skeptics to give such a bold new approach a test for the next decade. I contend that the decline in school dropouts, family breakups, crime rates, illegitimacy, swollen relief rolls and other social evils would stagger the imagination. Change in human psychology is normally a slow process, but it is safe to predict that, when a people is ready for change as the Negro has shown himself ready today, the response is bound to be rapid and constructive.

While Negroes form a large percentage of America's disadvantaged, there are many more millions of white poor who would also benefit from such a bill. The moral justification for special measures for Negroes is rooted in the robberies inherent in the institution of slavery. Many poor whites, however, were the derivative victims of slavery. As long as labor was cheapened by the involuntary servitude of the black man, the freedom of white labor,especially in the South, was little more than a myth. It was free only to bargain from the depressed base imposed by slavery upon the whole labor market. Nor did this derivative bondage end when formal slavery gave way to the de facto slavery of discrimination. To this day the white poor also suffer deprivation and the humiliation of poverty if not of color. They are chained by the weight of discrimination, though its badge of degradation does not mark them. It corrupts their lives, frustrates their opportunities and withers their education. In one sense it is more evil for them because it has confused so many by prejudice that they have supported their own oppressors.

It is a simple matter of justice that America in dealing creatively with the task of raising the Negro from backwardness, should also be rescuing a large stratum of the forgotten white poor. A Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged, applicable to white and Negro families alike with annual incomes of less than $3,000.00 could mark the rise of a new era, in which the full resources of the society would be used to attack the tenacious poverty which ~~is~~ so paradoxically exists in the midst of plenty.

To better understand one of the factors involved in the outbreak of riots and the self-contained resentment of millions of Negroes who loom so large in the gruesome statistics of unemployment, automation and poverty, one must assume that the Negro reads and hears about America's unprecedented prosperity. President Johnson, in his State of the Union message, emphasized this contradiction when he heralded the United States' "highest standard of living in the world: and deplored that it was accompanied by "dislocations, loss of jobs and the specter of poverty in the midst of plenty."

Amidst this affluence, the Negro lives mostly in this sick culture of increasing poverty. He becomes cynical and skeptical about "Wars on Poverty" when he reads about expenditures to photograph the moon which are many-fold larger than the cost of the anti-Poverty Bill before Congress. He reads the New York Times of July 24, 1964 and learns that the Senate passed an Anti-Poverty Bill which proposes to spend $947,000,000 and on the same front page of the Times he reads that for only six months of this year General Motors announced an after tax profit of one billion 138 million dollars; Ford 324 million, and Chrysler 114 million -- making an aggregate for these three auto producers of one billion 676 million dollars. In this rich land, where only three of our many rich corporations reported such profits for half a year the government was fighting hard to adopt a measure to spend a little more than half of that profit. This 947 million as a War on Poverty amounted to $23.67 for each of the 40 million of admitted poor!

The Negro also read this editorial comment in the July 25th issue of the Times and became even more cynical about this "War on

Poverty"--

> "Given the entrenched nature and widespread extent of poverty, it is far from venturesome in its choice of weapons and it is extremely Modest in the proposed size of its offensive, which will come to less than 1 per cent of total Federal outlays. As a result, the program amounts to a preliminary reconnaisance instead of an all-out campaign."

I am not here to oppose this War on Povery! I welcome a cautious beginning if it is the start, not the end, of the program. A real war requires full mobilization of all resources. It needs an offensive force which moves with lightning speed.

Only last week, we witnessed how this Nation can respond. to a crisis. Within hours after the events in the Gulf of Tonkin, the resources of the military were directed dramatically and quickly right at the target. No one paused to figure the dollars and cents cost. The military, Congress and even the UN were mobilized.

If the Negro expects this type of mobilization for a War against Poverty is he asking far too much? Did not the President in his 1964 State of the Union message pledge a far-reaching war not only to "relieve the symptoms of poverty, but to cure it and above all prevent it!"

The aggression of the forces of poverty must be met with a full scale war -- if the victims of this aggression, Negro and White alike, representing at least one-fifth of this nation -- are to feel they are partners in this land of opportunity!

One encounters these days a most mischievous approach to the issue of poverty. Appealing to thedeep rooted prejudice it suggests that the War on Poverty is solely to aid the colored poor. That it is just a part of the Civil Rights issue. In truth, of the 9.3 million families classified by the Government as poor, 7.3 million or 78 percent are white and 2 million or 22 percent are non-white.

We understand what motivates this mischief. With each day it becomes clearer to those of us who are involved in the struggle for Civil Rights that the solution to our full citizenship, political and economic, cannot be achieved by the Negro or Civil Rights forces alone.

We are painfully aware that if all discriminatory laws in the United States were immediately repealed -- as they should be -- if the Civil Rights Bill were vigorously enforced -- as it must be --- the economically deprived condition of the Negro, the historic and institutionalized consequence of color, will remain unless the Negro Revolution builds and maintains alliances with the majoirty white community, alliances with a basic goal -- the elimination of the causes of poverty! Only through such an alliance will both the Freedom movement and the White community -- north, south, east and west, together in partnership be able to constructively make a massive assault upon slums, inferior education, inadequate medical care, the entire culture of poverty.

I suggest to you that your support at this Convention of a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged would represent a massive frontal offensive in the War on Poverty. It would reaffirm our American tradition of equality of opportunity. It would do more.

It would rid our nation of the notion that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character. And it would do still more. It would speed up the day when the fears of insecurity, the doubts clouding our future, will be transformed into radiant confidence, into glowing excitement to reach creative goals, and into an abiding moral balance where "justice will roll down like waters" and where the brotherhood of man will be undergirded by a secure and expanding prosperity for all.

ymca - 135th st.
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1959

Introductory Remarks

by Martin Luther King
to Both Parties

For more than 300 years the Negro people in the deep South have been lynched, brutalized, Jim-Crowed, discriminated against and segregated. They have been denied their full equality and citizenship as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, specifically by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. They live under conditions of terror and white supremacy, which violate the laws of ~~the~~ both God and man. Our country is paying dearly at home and abroad for its three centuries of monstrous injustices against one-tenth of its population because of their race, their color, and because of a previous condition of servitude imposed upon them against their will.

I speak to you as a Negro who, living in the deep South, has felt upon his own back the indignities of second-class citizenship. In speaking as a Southern Negro, I speak for America. For no American, be he white or black, can rise higher than the status of the humblest, mistreated citizen. The South is the main source of the racism and white supremacy which poisons the bloodstream of the entire nation. Unless the evil scourge of jim crowism and segregation is cleansed from the South, it will be cleansed in no part of the United States.

We, the Negro people of the South, supported by increasing numbers of our brave white fellow citizens, are determined to achieve our free and equal citizenship. We are a part of the world-wide revolution of our brothers and sisters in Africa, and of the colonial and oppressed darker peoples elsewhere to obtain full human dignity. We seek to transform our second-class citizenship into first-class citizenship. We are determined to rescue our country from the shame, the hypocrisies and the immorality flowing from the degradation of citizens because of the color of their skins.

Pl- the historic Negro students of the South

[redacted] are waging their battle through peaceful, democratic and non-violent methods--in keeping with the honored traditions of our country. But they are being met with violence and terror and imprisonment, against which ~~xx~~ all their appeals have been unavailing. Standing besides these students are the whole Negro citizenry of the South and North, the enlightened conscience of all fiar-minded Americans and the sympathies of progressive humanity everywhere. Never have the Negro people been more united, nor their allies more numerous.

We have been compelled to take the struggle into our own limited hands, because for 100 years successive Republican and Democratic national administrations have failed to enforce our Constitutional liberties. We can--we will--wait no longer. As the great Negro abolitionist Frederick Douglas declared: "He is whipped hardest who is whipped easiest."

We call upon this convention to do its duty --to the Constitution, to the Negro, to the American people--by placing the power of the Federal Government behind our struggle for justice, equality and human dignity. Words are not sufficient. Lynch mobs are not stopped with empty resolutions; polling booths are not opened with paper promises. Deeds and actions alone can enforce our Constitutional rights and re-establish our confidence in those who sit in the seats of governmental power.

Gentlemen, how can we have confidence in your deliberations when sitting in your midst are delegates sworn to deny citizens their Constitutional rights, to whom the Constitution is but a scrap of paper? How can you honor the credentials of those who daily incite lawless violence against those whose only crime is to avail themselves of their Constitutitional rights? We ask you to unseat and repudiate all such defilers of the law of the land and those who conspire with them.

Gentlemen, the Jim Crow system and segregation are not only cruel and inhuman. They are obsolete--they no longer have any place in the social fabric of a modern, civilized nation. Responsibility for the violence and terror and bloodshed which takes place in the South todaylies upon those who attempt to maintain the Jim Crow system upon an unwilling people and against the march of time and history. It is those who attempt to continue ~~that~~ this evil system that are leading our country to disaster.

The creative initiative of the people is inexhaustible. One hundred years is ~~a~~ long enough to wait for the two major parties to accord the full measure of our freedom. Parties are [illegible] transient; the people are immortal. Where parties fail, the people will succeed.

The eyes of 18 million Negroes are upon your convention and your candidates. What you say is important--but what you do is decisive!

1959

Proposals to Both Parties

We submit these proposals to this national convention on behalf of the Constitutional rights and human dignity of 18 million Negro Americans. We believe they are supported by the overwhelming majority of the American people of all races, creeds and colors and from every walk of life.

We urge your convention to adopt these proposals--which are truly minimal--to make them a part of your platform and to carry them into life. While these recommendations are limited to the matter of civil rights--which is the decisive domestic issue of our time--we are interested in seeing your convention adopt a socially progressive position on all other international and national issues before the American people.

We warn you, gentlemen, that platforms and promises are no longer sufficient to meet the just and insistent demands of the Negro people for immediate free and unconditional citizenship. The time has come for action--action not only by this convention and its candidates who may prove successful in the November elections. We insist upon action now by the present Federal Government, especially by its Executive and Legislative branches which are still in power and in session. It is well-known that the Republican Party is in control of the Executive branch of the government and the Democratic Party, of the Legislative. The congress is scheduled to reconvene in August following the national conventions of both parties. We shall judge the seriousness and sincerity of the platforms and candidates which you approve in your July convention by what the Congress and the White House do in August: first, to guarantee the right of the Negro people in the deep South to vote in the 1960 elections; secondly, to stop the brutal terror against peaceful Negro citizens and their supporters in the deep South; thirdly, to enforce the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation in September; and, fourthly, to uphold the lawful, peaceful and non-violent picketing of Negro students and their supporters who seek to exercise their Constitutional rights.

Our proposals follow:

1) We demand that this convention go on record as fully endorsing the great, peaceful democratic sit-in movement in the South, led by the heroic Negro students, supported by increasing numbers of their white fellow students. This movement seeks not alone the Constitutional right of Negroes; but it aims at the moral regeneration of America. It should be endorsed by this convention [illegible] its non-violent methods, its ennobling spirit, and its democratic objective of ending segregation in all places of public accomodation in the South. It is the responsibility of this convention and of its representatives in the federal government in Washington to speak out against, and to halt, the lawless terror, intimidation, brutality, false arrests and violence upon these students as they seek to exercise their constitutional rights against the degradation of segregation, discrimination and Jim Crow.

2) The 1960 elections will be a farce unless more than 10 million Negroes in the South have the opportunity to vote. We demand that this convention go on record for establishing a federal registration apparatus in the deep South, in which the victims--the Negro people--shall serve. This apparatus should be put into effect now for the 1960 elections--and not be postponed until after the elections when the Negro people will have been effectively disfranchised in this year's election. Moreover, the entire federal apparatus should be drawn into guaranteeing the right of the Negro people in the South to vote.

3) We demand the enactment as the law of the land of Section III of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill authorizing the federal Department of Justice to intervene to uphold the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in all public school systems. We recommend that 1961 be the target date for completion of school integration in accordance

with the Supreme Court decision of 6 years ago.

4) We demand that the President of the United States--the present incumbent and the newly-elected candidate--issue an executive order barring all discrimination in government employment, in all employment policies of firms doing business with the government and in all forms of public-supported housing.

5) We demand that this convention go on record to pass at the next session of Congress an anti-lynch law with teeth in it.

6) We call upon your Party and National Convention to repudiate and condemn the segregationists, white supremacists, racists and Dixiecrats in your ranks--and to unseat and expel them. The Negro people nor any other democratic-minded Americans can have any confidence in a Party which seats a Faubus or an Eastland, or that upholds within its ranks those who make alliances with such racists. We demand a pledge to unseat Senator Eastland from the United States Senate as being elected from the state of Mississippi where Negro citizens--the majority of the state's population--are disfranchised in violation of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

7) We demand that this convention go on record to uphold the second section of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which calls for the reduction of representation of states in accordance with their disfranchisement of qualified voters.

8) We demand that Section IV of ARTICLE IV of the U.S. Constitution be upheld, guaranteeing every state a republican form of government. We submit that states in the deep South which disfranchise 40 to 52% of their populations do not have a republican form of government. Negroes are denied both the exercise of the vote and representation.

9) As an earmark of the fulfillment of these Constitutional rights, we demand that a Negro citizen be included as a full-fledged member of the Presidential Cabinet. The lily-white exclusion of Negro citizens from the top policy-making levels of government must be ended. It is the source-pattern of white-supremacy state and city governments which exist in the 50 states of the Union.

10) We demand that this convention and its candidates take a clear moral stand against colonialism and racism of all kinds, everywhere, and especially in Africa where apartheid has led to the massacre of hundreds of people seeking only to live in freedom in their own land.

I shall soon lay plans before the Southern Leaders Conference for launching a campaign to prepare three million Negroes to participate in the 1958 election. Across the south we now intend to extend the voting clinics to help Negroes overcome the contrived and artificial obstacles to their registering and voting. We hope the campaign will culminate in simultaneous mass attendance at the registration offices in ten cities across the South. In order to help this crusade for the extension of democracy and to alleviate the possibilities of violence, I have today appealed to Vice President Nixon to do three things which I feel will immeasurably aid the cause of justice and freedom in our great nation.

1. To come South to speak to the people of the South and to explain to them in moral terms that civil rights is the great crisis and issue of our time.
2. To urge all Southerners, Negro and white, to uphold the United States Constitution by obeying the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.
3. To call together all Republican Representatives and Senators to impress upon them the importance of passing the civil rights bill now before Congress, not only because failing to do so will create social disunity at home and confusion about American democracy abroad, but primarily because the achievement of civil rights is a moral imperative. Our nation cannot exist half slave and half free.

We hope that the Vice President will see his way clear to do these things not only in the interest of Negroes but to aid all Americans, Negro and white, who are victims of the civil rights crisis.

Because the questionof civil rights is one of such paramount importance to our nation at home and abroad, and is of necessity beyond partisan politics, I have therefore suggested to Vice-President Nixon that he be accompanied by the ~~Senate~~ Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights, Senator Thomas J. Hennings, Jr.

In this campaign we shall urge Negroes to hold unswervingly to non-violence in word, thought and deed. Under these conditions we cannot fail, for as we move peacefully towards our goal without rancor and without bitterness, the spirit of good-will that a campaign of this nature will generate will be a boon to the spiritual growth and the democratization of our nation.

The Southern Leaders Conference initiates a Crusade for Citizenship, the purpose of which is to help two million Negroes register and vote in the 1958 and 1960 elections. Such a Crusade would include these aims:

1. Educational; to arouse the masses of Negroes to realize that in a Democracy their status and improvement depends upon their ability to vote and their exercise of the franchise; to impress upon Negroes that their collective strength as a voting bloc is immensely powerful and can determine the defeat or victory of one candidate or another. With a sufficient voting strength the political forces will begin to reckon with the needs and demands of the Negro voters.

2. Tactical; to establish voting clinics to familiarize individuals and groups with the techniques and educational requirements. Where resistence is encountered, these groups willcollect evidence so that constituted authority, under such new legislation as may be enacted, will be provided with the facts on which to act.

3. Public Relations; to arouse the conscience of the nation through radio, TV, press, as to conditions that exist, the progress being made, and the responsibility of the rest of the nation to secure these elementary rights for the Negro. This responsibility involves support - moral, political, and financial.

4. Coordination; the Crusade would be able to facilitate joint activities and avoid wasteful duplication, give strength to movements by united actions, and would assess areas of major concentration to achieve maximum effectiveness.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The S.L.C. would call for and coordinate a movement. This movement would be known as Crusade for Citizenship. A central office could be set up in Atlanta with a full-time, paid Executive Director and staff. He, and organizers or associates, would be responsible to the S.L.C. Their major functions would be:

1. To organize city-wide or county-wide committees through the south. These committees would include the churches, social, civic, fraternal, labor and other organizations of the community. These committees would be responsible for the setting of quota, time schedules, voting clinics, and thus setting into motion all groups in this one central direction. They will receive literature and information from the central office. Periodic visits by staff will be made to check on progress, offer suggestions, publicize nationally meritorious achievement, etc. Local organizations will also report to the national office unlawful practices, flagrant denials of rights, in order that the Executive Director will be in a position to take them up with Governmental Authorities in Washington.

2. Finances - the central office and its Director and staff will be maintained by funds raised by the S.L.C. in collaboration with interested groups, North and South. A beginning budget for the period from September to May 1958 would be $25,000.00. The practicability of obtaining such funds is to experienced people in the field entirely possible. The dramatic appeal of the securing of the vote for millions of citizens is strong and irresistible. Churches, trade unions, foundations and other bodies can be systematically canvassed. There are interested individuals from whom substantial contributions are possible for work of this kind. In the normal course of events it is hoped that funds for day to day activities of local committees will be raised locally. However it is recommended that the central office give financial assistance in cases of emergency, in providing of literature, and in helping to establish committees and supplying field personnel. It is thus seen that the local committees will not be required to raise money for the central office and all national fund-raising will be conductedby the Central Office.

PROGRAM

Throughout the educational plan there will be preparations for the utilization of persuasion, legal action and direct action at registration centers in some ten major areas during the registration periods prior to the 1958 elections. This action would involve the selection of a date on which in each city, carefully trained groups of individuals would march in a procession to the registration offices and, in a non-violent/spirit, insist upon being registered. Acting with firmness and determination they would remain in the office even if arrest is the consequence.

In setting up a south-wide voting Crusade, relationships with the NAACP and other groups involved in campaigns for registration and voting, must be considered. For example, the National Elks, the National Council of Negro Women, have already established some machinery. The question arises how our area of work will augment the total effort rather than create areas of competition and duplication. I believe that the program and organizational structure outlined above will insure the highest possible cooperation of all organizations and institutions prepared to operate in the field. It is clear from our description that this movement is specialized and has clearly limited boundaries and purposes. Therefore its very limitations place it in a separate category from organizations with multiple functions and a wide range of purposes. Further, in certain states where the NAACP is outlawed or its activities effectively curtailed, no other agency prepared for such an extensive campaign is available. Finally, the national psychology and ~~the maintainence of the dignit~~

the maintainence of the dignity of the Negro masses of the south, requires that the campaign for registering and voting be led by southern leaders. A strong mass organization indigenous to the south is the greatest assurance for restoring the legal and emotional atmosphere in which the NAACP can again fully operate in the South.....to say nothing of the fact that the establishment of a movement in the South will convince those in power that it is futile to attempt to illegalize mass action and thus will restrain them from extending their campaign to wipe out the NAACP over the whole South.

Draft

THE GRAND ALLIANCE versus THE "WHITE BACKLASH"

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

Science knows that within a single seed immense power is generated in the process of growth. Ordinary blades of grass will crack and splinter concrete. The atoms of a social movement are similarly charged with power. When Negroes united it was inevitable that a force of spectacular strength would accumulate. After one hundred years of suffocation and hopelessness the Negro, in the past decade was transformed--his goal was coming into sight; he was gripped with confidence and hope. The whole nation now talked of his freedom--he could finally believe in its reality. Years of struggle, blood sacrifice, and the heavy toil of organization were climaxed with a spectacular March on Washington in 1963 to proclaim this conviction and faith.

But from that glowing summit, for the ordinary black man, nothing seemed to change in the succeeding year. In the sweltering ghettoes the daily life of the Negro was untouched by any perceptible improvement. The glittering promises became dim and distant. Then, in July 1964, Negroes witnessed the seizure of a major party by arrogant, mocking segregationists. The nomination of Goldwater was the proclamation of a counter-revolution. They beheld the transformation of a party into a white supremacist movement with its sharp cutting edge pressed against their pulsing hopes.

Frustration was hard enought to bear, but a declaration of war was unendurable. Although the vast majority of Negroes were able still to maintain their discipline, a fringe element, never subject to constructive leadership, erupted in violence. The ninety-nine percent of Negroes who could not participate in nor condone rioting nevertheless felt an identity with the enraged few. They were externalizing an inner rage every Negro felt. Oppression had been acknowledged extensively; it was analyzed and reanalyzed in depth, but in practice it was treated with detached and olympian superficiality.

The dignity of personality Negroes so persistently sought was crushed not alone by discrimination and prejudice. The hammer blows of an inescapable poverty fragmented their dignity by consigning them to decaying ghettoes whose conditions corrupted generation after generation. The Negro is distinctive not alone for his color. He is distinctive because he is the poorest American. He is walled in by two concentric circles of imprisonment--color and poverty.

It has taken a long time for Americans to accept the truth that color is not a logical basis for discrimination of people. Now, another truth has begun its growth. In an expanding economy prosperity should radiate to all strata and a hopeless poverty should afflict none. Negroes have observed that upward social mobility has been accessible for most Americans and affluence has been available only for some. For the ghettoed Negro neither opportunity filtered through the hard walls. Persistent poverty and shattered hopes were the explosive charges which flamed into riots.

The violence has presently subsided or been subdued. Some few looters will serve a jail term and in many cities the episode will be closed. But millions of Negroes who were by-standers because violence was not their way of protest are still awaiting the significant changes that make a structure of freedom.

Several decades ago when an economic crisis struck with unprecedented fury it cast into the sea of the poor millions of new victims. Early in the thirties they were told that Government never had assumed any responsibility for employment nor even relief. They were left to cope with starvation and wrecked lives in their own way. This was termed "rugged individualism" and "the American way", and it was posed against unemployment insurance proposals, employment projects and social security for the aged.

A vast social upheaval gripped the nation. Violence attended mass demonstrations; strikes of desperate severity spread across the land and a new kind of embattled farmer drove foreclosure sheriffs from auction blocks sometimes at the point of a gun or the several points of a pitchfork. A new administration headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in an historic one hundred days passed revolutionary legislation and put the nation on a new course from which it has never departed. The nation ascended to new heights of economic progress. The measures which had halted the catastrophe became stabilizers and strengthened the economy and social structure. Yet, though the poor receded from one-third of the nation to one-fifth, these social reforms remained imbedded in the roots of our society.

It required widespread misery and a threat of violent revolution to create constructive change thirty years ago. Today, the nation is far wiser for this experience and far richer as a consequence of the solutions that were applied. We should not now have to repeat the bitter past to cope with the same problem today.

Color discrimination and poverty are both an anachronism. They have been outlawed by the logic of experience which has proved they can yield to an earnest will to end them.

Negroes cannot be content with a long gradualism when they have seen the whole shape of the nation change in a single decade, but not for them. Glistening towers of glass and steel easily seen from the ghetto spring up almost overnight. Jet liners speed over the ghettoes at six hundred miles an hour; satellites streak through outer space and reveal details of the moon. But ninety percent of the nation is ignorant of the details of ghetto life on earth. While we exalt the scientific miracles of the twentieth century millions of Negro and white children are now living in rat-infested buildings constructed in the 19th century. Even the unlettered now know that science can reach and master poverty as well as the moon.

As these frustrations stimulated a small number of Negroes to senseless violence a great deal of discussion ensued about the attachment of Negroes to non-violence. Important officials lectured Negroes to adhere to it as if they had invented it. One Mayor of a troubled city offered as a principal solution the use of prayer.

It is important to recall that the Negro himself created the theory of non-violence and its application to American conditions. For years they fought within their own ranks to achieve its acceptance. It had not been easy to establish its victory over those who charged it was the coward's solution. Only after dozens of Birminghams, large and small, was it acknowledged that it took more courage to employ non-violent direct action than impetuous force. The theory had to overcome the ridicule that it counseled love for murderers and hate mongers. I always remember in this connection a Negro doctor who assailed me for the absurdity of advocating love for one's enemies. When I pointed out that he would risk his life in an epidemic to treat the sick whatever their ideology might be, indeed without asking what it was, he began to understand the subject in a new light. He saw that all of us cherish life and fight for its preservation; that this is love of life and distinct from judgment of conduct.

The struggle for the supremacy of non-violent direct action over other forms of response was accomplished by 1963. Although more Negroes demonstrated in more American cities than in all history virtually no violence attended these massive and tension filled months.

Yet perhaps because Negroes had themselves contributed the theory and proved capable of self-discipline a distorted understanding of it began to emerge among white leaders. They failed to perceive that non-violence can only exist in a context of justice. There is a direct relationship between the effectiveness of non-violence and the quantity of justice it evokes. When the white power structure calls upon Negroes to reject violence, but does not impose upon itself the task of creating necessary social change, they are in fact asking for submission to injustice. Nothing in the theory of non-violence counsels this suicidal course.

The simple fact is that there cannot be non-violence and social tranquillity without significant reforms of the evils that had endangered the peace in the first place. It has been the effort of the power structure to benefit from non-violence without yielding meaningful change which is responsible for the rise of elements who would discredit it.

American is fortunate that as Negro protest has come of age and acquired a sturdy strength its militancy was tempered with responsibility. This advantage can be dissipated if some current myths are not eliminated. One myth is that the Negro has waited so long any improvement will satisfy his wants; that token changes will serve to right all wrongs. A beginning sincerely made is one thing, but a token that is an end in itself is quite another thing and Negroes will not be deluded into accepting one for the other.

The newest myth is central to the justification of the white backlash. Among many white Americans who have recently achieved middle class status or believe themselves headed toward it a belief prevails that Negroes are moving too fast and their speed imperils the security of whites. They refer to their own experience concluding that they waited long for their chance, while the Negro is expecting advantages and government favor to leap forward.

While it is true many white Americans struggled through hardship to attain security it is a hard fact that none had the experience of Negroes. No one else endured slavery on American soil. No one else suffered discrimination in the intensity or for the duration of Negroes. In one or two generations the conditions of life of white Americans has altered. For Negroes after three centuries wretchedness and misery still afflicts the majority.

But more important than all of these facts are the alarming developments of the present. The gap between Negroes and whites is not narrowing as so many believe. It is growing wider. The current technological revolution expressed in automation and cybernetics is gradually edging the Negro and certain poor whites into a socially superfluous role, into permanent uselessness, and hopeless impoverishment. The tragic feature of the present is that as millions advance to a fuller life a beggared class is being created at the bottom of the social scale for whom there is no future and in the truest sense no place except as human refuse.

In 1964 the year in which production has hit historic heights, U.S. Government statistics reveal that the unemployment rate of Negro youth is 25%. One of every four young Negroes who are just beginning their lives are already economic corpses. Because this is a national average it obscures an even greater calamitous condition. In some of the northern ghettoes the rate of unemployment for youth is 50%. This sheds some light on the high proportion of young people whose despair made them active participants in the riots. These figures of unemployment dwarf even those of the depression of the thirties. The New York Times estimates that the total average unemployment figure taking in those who are no longer looking for work is not less than 33-1/3%. The prospect is not for a diminishing of these figures but a worsening. Technological developments continue to advance and the human slag heap will grow.

The tragedy of the present is that the new prosperous American contemplates that the unemployable Negro shalllive out his life in rural and urban slums hopefully in silence and apathy. In a modern context this is a repetition of the social patterns of the middle ages. It is, however, a vain hope that such extensive distress will exist hushed and inaudible. These are not the middle ages. The oppressed have learned the lesson of social revolution, and the more privileged are not today devoid of conscience. Walter Lippmann has summed up the dilemma in these words,

> "The Negro minority is too large to be subdued. For another reason Negro grievances are too real, their cause too just to allow the great white majority to acquiesce in the kind of terrorism and brutality that would be needed to silence them."

This is the tenacious problem of the second half of the twentieth century. Federal, state and municipal governments toy with meager and inadequate solutions while the alarm and militancy of the Negro rises. A section of the white population perceiving Negro pressure for change misconstrues it as a demand for privileges rather than as a desperate quest for existence. The white backlash intimidates government officials already too timorous and a paralysis ensues when the crisis demands vigorous measures.

In consequence two groups of extremists surface from each contending force and confront each other with attitudes of desperation and fierce emotionalism. The white racists urge terror and the mailed fist. They know that ninety percent with a fascist ideology can conquer ten percent. They presently have no means of persuading the ninety percent to accept their anti-human program but they are bent on trying it. Among Negroes the impasse affects a group which though it knows ten percent cannot win victory it can dislocate and destroy social peace. They cannot at present win a majority of Negroes to a course of violence, but they too will try and seek amid the confusion to find new adherents whose despair makes desperate measures acceptable.

Each group seeks a leader of effective ability. Racists have rallied to the banner of Goldwater, while Negroes listen to the exhortations of Black Nationalists and other splinter groups.

Is the dilemma impossible of resolution? Is it inevitable that the Negro will be convinced that he is alone and must confront the white majority, all of whom, from liberal to conservative, oppose him implacably?

It is less difficult of resolution than it appears. The simple truth is that there is no hard choice between extremes. The best course for the Negro happens to be the best course for whites as well and for the nation as a whole.

There must be an alliance of Negro and white consisting of the vast majorities of each group with the objective of eradicating social evils which oppress both. The unemployment which afflicts one-third of Negro youth also affects over twelve and one-half percent of white youth. The problem may be worse for the Negro but it is not exclusively his. It is not only more moral for both to work together but more logical.

It has been argued that the shortage of jobs creates a natural climate of competition which has tended to divide not unify Negro and White. If those who need jobs intend to treat them as bones thrown to hungry animals a destructive competition is inevitable. However, the premise that a shortage of jobs is a permissible condition needs challenging. The Negro certainly does not want nor could he find the path to freedom by taking jobs from the white man. Instead they want the white man to collaborate with them in making new jobs. This is the nub of the point. Our economy, our resources are well able to provide full employment. Politically our government will acc pt this as a responsibility when the demand for it is powerful enough. A united movement of unemployed, Negro and white, is just that powerful. The problem will yield when that type of alliance is forged.

It has also been argued that while alliances for economic advancement can be achieved there are "subjective questions" which will be more stubborn. Resistance to integration in schools and housing is of a more pronounced character. The answer here is that the resistance is more a myth than a reality. Just as Negroes would be foolish to seek to overcome ninety percent of the population by organizing their ten percent in hostile combat, whites would be equally foolish to think that the same ten percent is capable of crowding the schools and neighborhoods of ninety percent. We know from experience that the diffusion of Negroes among the white population even while prejudice still exists is not necessarily abrasive or difficult. The problem arises when the artificial encasement of Negroes in a ghetto results in equally artificial attempts to resolve the problem. Thus in housing in some places a strong influx of Negroes has appeared.

Impelled by a desperation to get out of the ghetto Negroes have, spontaneously flowed into the few limited knots of dwellings when a crevice appeared. If Negroes could migrate with freedom and if slums simultaneously were replaced with twentieth century housing two results would occur. First many Negroes would disperse among the general population in random fashion and with little confusion or hostility. The second result would come as a surprise to many whites. If the slums were rehabilitated possibly a majority of Negroes would remain where they were. A ghetto is a social institution with two main features. Buildings deteriorated beyond the point of human habitation plus barriers that effectively inhibit egress. Eliminate both evils and the area becomes a normal neighborhood. Like all other minorities many Negroes will choose to live among their own people. Common tastes, common history, ethnic compatability, and pride are adhesive elements which have bound other communities together and will no less affect Negroes when artificial and insulting restraints and unlivable conditions are removed. When there is freedom to move there will be choice to stay.

A similar condition will occur with respect to schools. Negroes are demanding both an improvement in the quality in schools as well as the freedom to select schools. When the difference in quality of education between Negro and white schools is eliminated and the level of both is raised many Negro families will choose to send their children to schools with a high percentage of Negro students. Without choice they are under duress and this in itself is discriminatory.

Negro and white therefore have every sound reason to develop an alliance for improved housing and schools. Both will benefit and neither will find his interests compromised. It is a fact that to the degree that existing Negro-White alliances have acted toward these ends significant progress has been made. In many cities starting with the pressure for desegregation of schools a searching examination was conducted into the total operation of school systems. Out of it came plans for significant improvement in the quality of education generally which benefitted schools populated largely by whites as well as those which were partially integrated. Educational weaknesses that were long ignored came to light and had to be corrected for all. In addition certain new creative concepts of education were stimulated, such as the proposed educational parks. The expansion of remedial courses, psychological guidance, health and scholarship aid were other advances which strengthen education for everyone, but none of which might have been developed except under the pressures of an alliance.

In the political realm a strong alliance would be a weapon against the reactionary force that has blocked and limited social welfare for all over the generations. The alliance of southern Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans has been a dominant force in Congress since the Civil War. They represent a minority of the nation but control the key committees of Congress. When the Negro vote swells in the South it will not isolate itself as a bloc against the larger white voters. Among the white electorate are millions whose needs are almost as acute as those of Negroes. Their unity can destroy the domination of the racists and bring a genuine democracy into being.

The main obstacle to an alliance within the white population is the myth that the submerged status of the Negro is necessary for the maintenance of their own progress. Among Negroes the myth that inhibits them is the belief that an alliance with whites is necessarily a retreat or a compromise.

Are all the confusions in the present situation the sole product of white error or evil? Not entirely. Negroes have contributed to the faults. The weight of guilt is heaviest for the whites to bear but it would be both unwise and unjust to gloss over Negro culpability.

The most popular explanation for the "white backlash" is that it is a response to Negro "aggressiveness" and "excessive demands." It is further attributed to an overzealous government which is charged with so favoring Negro demands that it has stimulated them beyond reason.

There are largely half truths and as such whole lies. A multitude of polls conducted during the past two years reveals that a majority of Americans favor the demands Negroes have sought. In the entire period of the buildup of the "white backlash" the American people overwhelmingly supported the Civil Rights Bill. In opinion polls they also supported additional reforms not embodied in the bill.

Yet is it possible to state that no significant resentments were developed--that the "white backlash" is a myth? Unfortunately it is not a myth and it is a danger for the whole nation.

It can be said that white resentments are not directed to the essential elements of Negro demands. They are pointed to distortions occurring in the struggle and to confusions that attend them. The high point of white support occurred at the time of the historic March on Washington. This was built up during a period of wide mass action of unprecedented scope and militancy. Significantly there was no "white backlash" when more than a million Negroes were in the streets of American cities and towns. Instead there was support which grew and manifested itself in substantial white participation in Washington. It is therefore demonstrable that action and militancy are not the basis for white resentment on a mass scale. Something happened after the summer of 1963 which must explain the backlash. It is here that Negro acts of commission and omission contributed to the ugly result now expressing itself in various communities.

In the first place it must be admitted that the principal Negro leadership in effect abdicated abruptly though not intentionally. Because for many years Negro actions had a sporadic quality, leadership was oriented toward a start and stop mode of operation. It did not plan ahead nor maintain itself at the helm on a day to day basis. All leaders including myself, objectively, refrained from any assertion of leadership during this period commensurate with the needs of the Movement, though we continued to work vigorously. When the peak was reached we had no plan for the next stage. Into this vacuum there flowed less experienced and frequently irresponsible elements. For months after month the initiative was held by these people and the response of the main leadership was either a negative reaction or a form of disdain.

The irresponsibles were free to initiate a new form of action different in concept and objective from those of the movement of 1963. A principal departure was the substitution of small unrepresentative forces for the huge mass total community movements we had always organized. Our reliance on mass demonstrations was a key element in our tactics. It not only united all forces in the Negro community but it reflected to the white majority of the country that Negroes in large numbers were committed and united. We also designed in each case a concrete program toward which our efforts were directed and which was expressed in clear terms so that it might stand the test of examination. We sought to express the needs of the Negro and to demand redress that was practical and just.

In contrast the sporadic fragmentary forays of the new groups had no perceptible objectives except to disrupt the lives of all Negroes and whites including whites who were our friends and allies. A striking case was the planned stall-ins at the opening of the World's Fair. It was in sharp contrast to the first school boycott in New York in which all Negro leadership participated and which was massively supported by the Negro population joined for the first time by the Puerto Ricans and included as supporters whites from both public and private schools. The boycott did not evoke resentment. It was a mass expression which educated and persuaded the previously unconvinced. On the other hand when a mere handful of well intentioned but tragically misguided young people blocked the doorways to the Board of Education or slept in the Mayor's office it seemed to the general public as if a caricature of non-violent direct action was being conducted by unrepresentative groups.

On reflection it was insufficient, at that time, for the principal leadership to merely withhold support of such conduct and perversion of our aims and methods. We were under a duty to attack it boldly and vigorously. Action is not in itself a virtue; its goals and its forms determine its value.

Non-violent direct action is intended to isolate and expose the evil-doer by the mass presence of the victims. In these irresponsible actions the mass movement became isolated and discredited by a few. It took years to organize, discipline and educate Negroes to participate in overwhelming numbers in action. When a few self elected activists charged into the streets to spread garbage, to halt traffic on bridges they were reducing the imposing grandeur of the movement to cheap chaos. The mass movement of millions of adherents and supporters was overnight exposed to ridicule and debasement.

When a movement attains imposing power it acquires the necessity for discipline and clear direction. If the white population expected this from us, in this it was not unreasonable. We needed a plan for the period. We were required to demonstrate our keen sense of responsibility, but we fell short. It is necessary to admit our weakness and move to cure it. This is as important as militancy.

In a period of turbulence mistakes, which under other circumstances might have been contained, are frequently made worse by unexpected developments. This occurred when on the heels of the earlier unwise actions some elements who had never been a part of the civil rights movement erupted in violence in the subways and on the streets in New York. The swollen headlines of a sensation seeking press enlarged essentially small events to the level of war catastrophes.

These exaggerations obscured the fact that crime lives in the heart of all large cities of the world. The train of irritating events by civil rights forces followed by senseless violence in which the perpetrators were Negro were sufficient for the two phenomena to merge. For a large section of the population Negroes became a menace. The physical safety of people who must use the streets and subways is without question closer to them than the abstract questions of justice for a minority however appalling its grievances. Both passion and sympathy for civil rights can vanish rapidly if a population feels itself imperiled in a direct physical sense by those who have been presented as abused and maltreated. Because civil rights leaders cannot control crime, indeed deplore it more than white people because it is an expression of their oppression, they have to be more alert to distortions of civil rights actions so that irresponsibility in one is not equated with the evil of the other.

The whole subject of crime among Negroes has always been superficially treated, and the confusions of this period are one of its consequences. Negroes are not more prone to crime than any other people---they have more of the conditions that nurture and breed it. Consequently they do have higher crime rates. This has been fairly well known and acknowledged. What has not been admitted is the degree to which there is white culpability in the specific organization of crime.

The gravest crime that infests Negro ghettoes is not only the product of slum life but the fact it is organized in its worst manifestations by whites for their profit. The insidious and ubiquitous rackets, numbers gambling, narcotics traffic, prostitution are white owned business. The white police, warriors when Negroes riot, are curiously impotent to apprehend the serious criminals who abound in the ghettoes. Even worse, it is rare that the white kingpins at the top of the criminal syndicates are arrested. Law enforcement seems to halt at the levels beyond which the color of the criminal changes from black to white. The roots of Negro resentment toward police are far too pervasive to be explained alone by brutality. Every Negro knows the police are not in their community to protect them, but to contain them. Even more, almost without embarrassment, many of the police force expose their connections with racketeers daily. The vast majority of law abiding Negroes know that their children can witness the unholy connection between police and crime almost any day on the streets.

The ghetto has hidden many things from whites and not the least of these is the rampant racketeering that has a protected sanctuary in the slums and corrupts its already miserable life. The Mayors of troubled cities who look only into Negro excesses for the causes of unrest would do well to look critically into their own law enforcement agencies.

If there is any lesson the present period teaches it is that Negro militancy in and of itself does not engender tensions. Instead it is that stresses, which are complex and have always existed below the surface, are revealed when conflict occurs. This truth does not have to be a source of insoluble problems. It can as much be a source of learning and understanding if each side is not trying to conceal its weaknesses.

For the overwhelming majority of white Americans there are not basic conflicts of interest between themselves and Negroes. There are far more points of unity. To eradicate crime, to educate everyone under equal quality standards, to meet the problems of automation and technological unemployment will benefit everyone.

The majority of Negroes want an alliance with white Americans to tackle the social injustices that afflict both of them. If a few Negro extremists and white extremists each split their own group then the tragic result will see the ascendancy of extreme reaction which exploits the whole people. For some Americans deluded by myths the candidacy of a Goldwater seems a solution for their ills. For more than a decade many Europeans marched in battalions behind the banners of hate. In the worst war humanity has ever known they reaped its terrifying harvest and millions of them died victims of their mistakes.

The other path—a Grand Alliance to eradicate evils—is spiritually and materially ennobling, a course more consistent with the promises of American democracy than a debauchery of hate.

It is important not to over simplify. An alliance of sweet good-will will not of itself deal with the hard, knotty problems of this period. The rehabilitation of Negro life is enormously complex. The long past has bequeathed a multitude of deeply imbedded evils. Beyond that the white American poor have only lately begun to reveal itself. The anti-poverty bill of President Johnson is barely a marker of a direction. America must mature to the point where it need not wait for an economic holocaust to stimulate reforms on a high scale. That day of learning by total calamity should be over. It is now when the economy is rising that the boldness to undertake substantial public works to deal with unemployment must be summoned. Now is the time to face the truth that millions of our young people, more of them white than Negro, face a bleak future because their limited skills can be replaced by machines that think to their level of capacity. Their brain, inadequately trained, can be supplanted by technology just as their grandfathers' brawn was replaced by motors driven by steam and electricity.

The statesmanship for such a creative program will call for a high order of national leaders. Even more it will call for an alert people who want to make security and justice a national goal. When this nation began in a war for independence on a narrow strip of the eastern seaboard with wilderness stretching three thousand miles west, the problems were far greater than those we have today. The descendants of those who solved those problems have the capacity to solve those of the present.

MARTIN LUTHER KING
NOBEL PEACE PRIZE - 1964

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Mr. Rustin

at a reception
on Friday, the fourth of December
from six to eight o'clock

R.S.V.P.
Yu 6-2424
Extension 355

United States Mission
799 United Nations Plaza

Community Salute

to

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Nobel Peace Prize Winner

369th Regiment Armory, 142nd St. & Fifth Ave.

New York City

Thursday, December 17, 1964 at 8:30 P.M.

Chairman	Treasurer	Coordinator
MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH	**MR. JACKIE ROBINSON**	**COMM. CLEVELAND ROBINSON**
Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	Chairman of the Board Freedom Nat'l Bank	Secretary-Treasurer District 65

Entertainment

7:30 P.M.

Lionel Hampton & Orchestra

David Dunson

Joe Williams

Billie Poole

Billy Rowe
Master of Ceremonies

Jim Randolph

Brock Peters

Haryou Cadet's Band

Piano Courtesy Baldwin Piano Co.

Sponsors

Associated Community Teams

AME Ministers Association

Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N. Y. and Vic.

Beauty Culturists League, State of New York

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO

Congress of Racial Equality

Guardians Association

Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited-ACT

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of F. & A.M. N. Y. State Jurisdiction

N.A.A.C.P.

Nat'l Council of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs

Nat'l Council of Negro Women

Negro American Labor Council

Protestant Council of City of New York (Upper Manhattan)

The Grand Lodge of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.

The Grand Temple of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.

United Catholic Parishes and Organizations of Harlem

United Council of Harlem Organizations

Uptown Chamber of Commerce

Urban League of Greater New York

Program

NATIONAL ANTHEM	Miss Janette Brown *Faith Temple Choir*
INVOCATION	The Very Rev. Monsgr. Gregory L. Mooney *Director Kennedy Community Center*
INTRODUCTION OF CHAIRMAN	Commissioner Cleveland Robinson *Secy. Treas. Dist. 65 AFL-CIO*
OPENING REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN	A. Phillip Randolph *Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL-CIO* *Nat'l President Negro Amer. Labor Council*
REMARKS	Rev. William E. Gardiner *Pres. Baptist Ministers Conference of* *Greater N. Y. and Vicinity*
REMARKS	Rabbi Max Schenk *Pres. N. Y. Board of Rabbis*
REMARKS	Hon. Robert F. Wagner *Mayor, New York City*
SELECTION	Faith Temple Choir *Conductor – Prof. Herman Stevens*
REMARKS	Roy Wilkins *Exec. Secy. N.A.A.C.P.*
REMARKS	Jackie Robinson *Chairman of the Board, Freedom Nat'l Bank*
REMARKS	Whitney Young *Exec. Dir. Nat'l Urban League*
SOLOIST	Camilla Williams, *Concert Artist*
DRAMATIC PRESENTATION	Ossie Davis & Ruby Dee *Stars of Stage & TV*
REMARKS	Ralph Beaton, *representing Youth of the* *Community and HARYOU-ACT*
REMARKS	James Farmer, *Nat'l Director* *Congress of Racial Equality*
REMARKS	Hon. Nelson Rockefeller *Governor, State of New York*
SELECTION	Faith Temple Choir
INTRODUCTION OF HONOREE	Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey *Vice President-elect of the U. S.*
HONOREE	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. *Nobel Peace Prize Winner* *Pres. Southern Christian Leadership Conference*
PRESENTATION TO HONOREE	Miss Dorothy Height *Pres. Nat'l Council of Negro Women*
'WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED'	Lead by Faith Temple Choir
BENEDICTION	Father M. Moran Weston, *St. Philips Church*

Coordinator, Commissioner Cleveland Robinson

Adgangskort

til

Nobelforedraget i Universitetets Aula

Fredag 11. desember 1964 kl. 19.

Plass er reservert inntil kl. 18,50.

In honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Ambassador of the United States of America
requests the honor of the company of
Mr. Rustin
at a Reception
on Friday, December eleventh
at 2045-2230 o'clock

R.S.V.P.

Nobelsgate 28

In honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Ambassador of the United States of America
requests the honor of the company of
Mr. Rustin
at an informal buffet
on Wednesday, December ninth
at 8:00 o'clock p.m.

R.S.V.P.

Nobelsgate 28

THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER
The Mayor of the City of New York

CORDIALLY INVITES YOU AND YOUR GUESTS TO A CEREMONY

IN HONOR OF

REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Thursday, December 17, 1964
COUNCIL CHAMBERS — CITY HALL
12 NOON

RICHARD C. PATTERSON, JR.
Commissioner
Department of Public Events

DET NORSKE STORTINGS NOBELKOMITÉ

NOBELS FREDSPRIS

1964

TORSDAG 10. DESEMBER 1964
KL. 13,15

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart:
Ouverture til «Idomeneo».

Tale av Nobelkomitéens formann
Direktør Gunnar Jahn.

Utdeling av diplom og medalje.

George Gershwin:
Fra «Porgy and Bess».

Tale av *Martin Luther King.*

Rikard Nordraak:
Purpose.

Musikknumrene utføres av Kringkastingsorkesteret.
Dirigent: *Øivind Bergh.*

Publikum anmodes om ikke å forlate sine plasser før medlemmer av Nobelkomitéen er kommet tilbake, etter å ha fulgt de kongelige ut.

KAJ ERIK LINDQVIST
Programsekretær v. Danmarks Radio
cand. jur.

Radiohuset
Rosenørnsallé 22,
København V
Telf. 35 06 47

Privat:
Gøgevang 31
Hørsholm
Telf 86 22 27

BARON ROBERT VAN HEECKEREN

„DE VELDHOEK"

RUURLO
HOLLAND

Det Norske Stortings Nobelkomité

gir seg den ære å innby

Hr. Bayard Rustin

til å overvære
utdelingen av Nobels Fredspris 1964
i Universitetets Aula

Torsdag den 10de desember 1964 kl. 13.

Kortet gjelder som adgangstegn

Formiddagsantrekk

10 – 12 Min.

Sit in South

Hotel Viking

Mahatma Gandhi

Jorma Ludwig Kaukonen

Labor Attaché

Embassy of the United States of America

RE. 1-7941

ARTHUR PRÉVOST

JOURNALISTE

LE PETIT JOURNAL

Petit does not means small, but Tabloid

5460 AVE ROYALMOUNT
MONTRÉAL 9

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT

DECEMBER 6TH, 1964

3.15 P.M. EVENSONG AND SERMON

PSALM xxxvii—*Apud Dominum* ... ... *Chant* 119

23. The Lord ordereth a | good man's | going : and maketh his way ac- | cepta-ble | to him- | self.

24. Though he fall he shall | not be . cast a- | way : for the Lord up- | holdeth . him | with his | hand.

25. I have been young and | now am | old : and yet saw I never the righteous forsaken * nor his | seed | begging . their | bread.

26. The righteous is ever | merci-ful and | lendeth : and | — his | seed is | bless-ed.

27. Flee from evil and do the | thing . that is | good : and | dwell for | ever- | more.

28. For the Lord loveth the | thing . that is | right : he forsaketh not his that be godly * but | they are . pre- | serv'd for | ever.

29. The un- | righteous . shall be | punish'd : as for the seed of the ungodly | it . shall be | rooted | out.

30. The righteous shall in- | herit . the | land : and | dwell there- | in for | ever.

31. The mouth of the righteous is exer- | cis'd . in | wisdom : and his | tongue . will be | talking . of | judgement.

32. The law of his God is | in his | heart : and his | goings | shall not | slide.

33. The ungodly | seeth . the | righteous : and | seeketh . oc- | casion . to | slay him.

34. The Lord will not | leave him . in his | hand : nor con- | demn him | when . he is | judg-ed.

35. Hope thou in the Lord and keep his way * and he shall promote thee that thou shalt pos- | sess the | land : when the ungodly shall | perish | thou shalt | see it.

36. I myself have seen the ungodly in | great | power : and | flourish-ing | like a . green | bay-tree.

37. I went by and | lo . he was | gone : I sought him but his | place could | no-where . be | found.

38. Keep innocency * and take heed unto the | thing . that is | right : for that shall bring a man | peace | at the | last.

39. As for the transgressors they shall | perish . to- | gether : and the end of the ungodly is * they shall be | rooted | out . at the | last.

40. But the salvation of the righteous | cometh . of the | Lord : who is also their | strength . in the | time of | trouble.

41. And the Lord shall | stand by . them and | save them : he shall deliver them from the ungodly and shall save them * because they | put their | trust in | him.

GLORIA.

LESSONS—Isaiah v. 18—end; II Timothy iii. 14—iv. 8.

MAGNIFICAT AND NUNC DIMITTIS ... ... *Gibbons* (Second Service)

ANTHEM ... ... *Mozart*

Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvet sæclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus!

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit, et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?

Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

That day, the day of anger, must
Prove old prophetic warning just
And burn away the world to dust.

A quaking ground, a reeling sky
Will wait the certain scrutiny
Of him who comes our cause to try.

When the trump's unearthly tone
Wakes within the grave the bone
And gathers all before the throne.

Though Death recoils and Natures cries,
Yet the creature shall arise
To answer at the last assize.

The book, once open, will rehearse
Deeds that merit bliss or curse
In all the summoned universe.

So the hidden will be plain
When judgement shall our souls arraign,
And no unrighted wrong remain.

Alas, then, how am I to speak,
What shielding advocate to seek
Where innocence herself is weak?

O King of fear and majesty,
Saving whom thou savest free,
Fount of pity, pity me.

PRAYERS

Hymn 251 (*A.M.R.*), *tune* 282.

Father of mercies, in thy word
What endless glory shines!
For ever be thy name adored
For these celestial lines.

Here springs of consolation rise
To cheer the fainting mind,
And thirsting souls receive supplies,
And sweet refreshment find.

O may these heavenly pages be
My ever dear delight,
And still new beauties may I see,
And still increasing light.

Divine instructor, gracious Lord,
Be thou for ever near;
Teach me to love thy sacred word,
And view my Saviour here.

SERMON

Preacher: The Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, D.D.,
Baptist Minister, Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The Collection, to be taken during this next hymn, will be for the maintenance of the Cathedral and its Services.

Hymn 563 (*E.H.*)

Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Offering each the bloom or blight—
And the choice goes by for ever
'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with truth is noble,
When we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit,
And 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside,
Till the multitude make virtue
Of the faith they had denied.

By the light of burning martyrs,
Christ, thy bleeding feet we track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever
With the Cross that turns not back.
New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Though the cause of evil prosper,
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong:
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be wrong—
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above his own.

The Blessing

Members of the congregation are asked to replace their hassocks on the hooks provided.

WEDNESDAY, December 9th.

6.0 p.m. **Service for Human Rights Day. Preacher: The Bishop of Chichester. The Cathedral Choir will sing, and Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, accompanied by Miss Hephzibar Menuhin, will play César Franck's Sonata for violin and pianoforte. No tickets required.**

The collection at this service next Sunday will be for the Royal School of Church Music.

Leaflets giving details of CHRISTMAS-TIDE SERVICES may be taken from the tables at the West end.

TO OUR VISITORS

The Dean and Chapter offer you a warm welcome to the Cathedral. If you would care to keep in touch with us by becoming a FRIEND OF ST. PAUL'S, please write to the Secretary, The Chapter House, St. Paul's Churchyard, London, E.C.4.

The regular services of the Cathedral are:—

SUNDAYS

8.0 a.m.	**Holy Communion.**
10.30 a.m.	**Mattins and Sermon.**
11.30 a.m.	**Holy Communion (sung).**
3.15 p.m.	**Evensong and Sermon.**
6.30 p.m.	**Evening Service and Sermon.**

WEEKDAYS

8.0 a.m.	**Holy Communion.**
10.0 a.m.	**Mattins (Holy Communion sung on Saints' days).**
12.30 p.m.	**Midday Service (Wednesdays and Fridays).**
12.50—1.20 p.m.	**Organ Music (Wednesdays).**
4.0 p.m.	**Evensong.**

A Priest is here daily, at times shown on the notice-board, to see anyone in need of spiritual help.

London Hilton HYDe Park 8000

I want to say how much my family, my colleagues and I have enjoyed our stay in Great Britain. I have been to London on numerous occasions since 1958 and I have thus developed a deep affection for the British people as the result of the pleasant and creative experiences I have always had here.

It is out of that respect and that affection that I sincerely urge all people who love peace and freedom to do all possible to eradicate the early indications of segregation and discrimination that is emerging toward the colored peoples who have immigrated to this great country.

Unless such a struggle is waged now and now soon, this nation will be plagued in the near future by the kinds of social conflict and psychological discord that you have quite rightly deplored in others.

Beyond this, I wanr to appeal to the people of Great Britain to work vigorously for a total boycott of South African goods. I am fully confident that there exists no other nonviolent method to bring freedom to that country, excepting as the entire freedom loving world, including Britain, commits its economic power to the eradication of apartheid. I want to assure you that on my return to the United States, I shall do all in my power to urge similar action on my government.

In conclusion, may I express my deep appreciation for the sympathy and encouragement that you have always given me, and the faith that you have expressed in the objectives of our cause and the method of nonviolence we have embraced to achieve its ends.

As I depart for Oslo, I repeat that by faith and by the dedication of millions of people of good will (black, white, yellow and brown)
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
we can achieve brotherhood and peace throughout the world.

I want to say how delighted my family, my colleagues and I are to be in Sweden.

This is, for most of us, our first trip to Sweden and we look forward to making many new friends here.

We feel that we have much to learn from Sweden's democratic socialist traditions and especially the manner in which you have overcome so many of the problems of poverty, housing, medical care for your people, etc

which still plague far more powerful and affluent nations.

I bring you greetings from many Americans of goodwill, Negro and white who are committed to the struggle for brotherhood and to the crusade for world peace

~~I want to assure you that [illegible] [illegible] having received the Nobel Peace Prize has [illegible] deepened my~~

My I conclude by saying that I ~~[illegible]~~ am happy to have received the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of all people of goodwill in America and especially for the Negro and white people who are ~~[illegible]~~ active in ~~[illegible]~~ the civil Rights movement.

~~I pledge~~

This great honor has caused me to ~~deepen~~ deepen my commitment not only to brotherhood for all men but also to ~~[illegible]~~ work more vigorously for that day when world peace will come

①

I want to say how delighted my family, my colleagues and I are to be in Norway.

This is, for most of us, our first trip to Scandanavia and we look foward to making many new friends while here and in Sweden

We feel we have much to learn from Scandanavia's democratic socialist traditions and from the manner in which you have overcome many of the social and economic problems that still plague far ~~[illegible]~~ more powerful and affluent nations

I bring you greetings from many, many Americans ~~people~~ of goodwill, Negro and white, ~~on whose behalf~~ who are

~~I have come as a trustee to accept the Nobel Peace Prize for I am certain that it has been awarded because of their deep~~ committed ~~commitment~~ to the struggle for brotherhood and to the crusade for world peace.

On their behalf I have come to gladly accept the Nobel Peace Prize

Lunch with gov.
Gov. app. on 5th Ave

Dr. & Mrs,
& Mrs Rockefeller
Col. [illegible]
12:00

H

1664

NEW YORK CITY'S SALUTE

to

REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER
Mayor of the City of New York

COUNCIL CHAMBERS — CITY HALL
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1964
12:00 NOON

REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Program

PRESIDING	Hon. Richard C. Patterson, Jr. *Commissioner, Department of Public Events*
NATIONAL ANTHEM	Department of Sanitation Band, City of New York John Celebre, *Conducting*
INVOCATION	Very Rev. Msgr. Gregory L. Mooney *Director, Lt. Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Memorial Center*
READING FROM SCRIPTURES	Rabbi Max Schenk *President, New York Board of Rabbis*
ADDRESS AND PRESENTATION OF AWARD	Hon. Robert F. Wagner *Mayor, City of New York*
RESPONSE	Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. *President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference*
BENEDICTION	Rev. William E. Gardner *President, Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York*

THE CITY OF NEW YORK MEDALLION OF HONOR

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Presented to

REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

INSPIRED AUTHOR, HEROIC HUMANITARIAN,
NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER,
CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

by

ROBERT F. WAGNER
Mayor of the City of New York

DECEMBER 17, 1964

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LONDON PROGRAMME FOR

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

5th - 8th DECEMBER 1964

Sat 5th 8.35 a.m.	Arrives London Airport by Alitalia Flight No. 633. Prepared statement to Press if required. Private discussion on engagements. Proceed in three hired cars to London Hilton Hotel, Park Lane. ~~Sunday Times to photograph on arrival.~~
4 p.m.	Mary Benson (for The Observer) to call on Dr. King at hotel.
5 p.m.	Leave hotel by car with Miss Myddelton.
5.30 p.m.	Due at BBC Lime Grove Studios (approach via Goldhawk Rd) for 30-minute television interview for "Encounter" - for possible transmission on 23rd December. Producer: David Webster. Probably followed by short interview for BBC Radio Newsreel, "Eye Witness" and possibly North American service.

BAY 724

Sun 6th 9 a.m.	Breakfast with Mr. Shastri, Prime Minister of India, at residence of High Commissioner for India, Kensington Palace Gardens.
11 a.m	United Press (Mr Fried)
11.30	Kenneth Harris to discuss this evening's ATV programme } at hotel
~~1 p.m.~~	~~Lunch with Canon Collins and the Bishop of London at 2 Amen Court.~~
3 p.m.	Dr. King to pose on steps of St. Pauls for photographs.
3.15 p.m.	Dr. King preaches at St. Paul's Cathedral.
4.30 p.m.	Press Conference for Dr. King at the Chapter House, St. Paul's Churchyard. Last 20 minutes until 5.40 individual short interviews for BBC overseas services (Caribbean and East Africa).

continued ....

Sun 6th

5.40 p.m. ~~Leave for Associated Television Studio at Britallion House, Foley Street, W.1. for 20-minute tele-recording for ATV's "About Religion" - for probable transmission on Sunday 13th Dec. Recording and preliminary discussion will take from 6 p.m. until 7.30 p.m.~~

7.45 p.m. Due at Canon Collins residence, 2 Amen Court, E.C.4. for reception and buffet.
Car will return Dr. & Mrs. King to hotel when required.

M.C
R.J
M.L
Andy [illegible]

10 p.m. ~~(Provisional only) 10 minute interview and photograph for Daily Mail (Mr. Archer). At hotel.~~

Mon 7th

9 a.m. ~~At Hilton Hotel (in special room provided) tele-recording for Granada Television's "World in Action" (30 minutes). Producer: Mr. Pitts.~~

10 a.m. Receive at hotel delegation of international students (organised by National Union of Students through Student Affairs Officer at U.S. Embassy Mr. Michael Pistor). This is due to end at 10.30 a.m.

11 a.m. Receive at hotel delegation from African, West Indian and Indian organisations.

12.45 p.m. Due at Friends House, Euston Road, for lunch organised by the Society of Friends Peace Movement.

3.30 p.m. Due at House of Lords, Westminster, for meeting with the Lord Chancellor.

M
R.
C

4 p.m. Due at House of Commons to meet members of British - American group. Hon Sec: Sir Howard D'Egville.

M
R.
C

M+C
R+J
Andy
Dora
Bernard

continued ....

[illegible]

R Ad.
G. David
B.

Minister

5.30 p.m. Due at British Council of Churches, 10 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. for informal tea party - Gen Sec of BCC: The Rev. Kenneth Slack.

~~6.15 p.m. (Approx) Private meal with Mr. & Mrs. Slack.~~

7.30 p.m. Dr. King addresses public meeting at City Temple Hall, Holborn Viaduct.

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

November 27, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

This is the first draft of the Nobel lecture. We would appreciate your comments and recommendations by Monday. If there is anything you feel should be added or deleted, please include this in your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Andy

Andrew J. Young
Executive Assistant to Dr. King

Yg

Encl.

NOBEL LECTURE BY
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
AULA OF THE UNIVERSITY,
OSLO, NORWAY
DECEMBER 11, 196

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BEGIN THIS LECTURE WITHOUT AGAIN EXPRESSING MY DEEP APPRECIATION TO [illegible] THE NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT FOR BESTOWING UPON ME AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES SUCH A GREAT HONOR. OCCASIONALLY IN LIFE THERE ARE THOSE MOMENTS OF UNUTTERABLE FULFILLMENT WHICH CANNOT ~~BE~~ COMPLETELY be EXPLAINED BY THOSE SYMBOLS CALLED WORDS. THEIR MEANING CAN ONLY BE ARTICULATED BY THE INAUDIBLE LANGUAGE OF THE HEART. SUCH IS THE MOMENT I AM PRESENTLY EXPERIENCING. I EXPERIENCE THIS HIGH AND JOYOUS MOMENT NOT FOR MYSELF ALONE BUT FOR THOSE DEVOTEES OF NONVIOLENCE WHO HAVE MOVED SO COURAGEOUSLY AGAINST THE RAMPARTS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE AND WHO IN THE PROCESS HAVE ACQUIRED A NEW ESTIMATE OF THEIR OWN HUMAN WORTH. MANY OF THEM ARE YOUNG AND CULTURED. OTHERS ARE MIDDLE AGEed AND MIDDLE CLASS. THE MAJORITY ARE POOR AND UNTUTORED. BUT THEY ARE ALL UNITED IN THE QUIET CONVICTION THAT IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER IN DIGNITY THAN TO ACCEPT SEGREGATION IN HUMILIATION. THESE ARE THE REAL HEROES OF THE FREEDOM

STRUGGLE: THEY ARE THE NOBLE PEOPLE FOR WHOM I ACCEPT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

I would like to try it [illegible] happy reason that many who have neutral [illegible]

~~THIS EVENING~~ (sat) I WOULD LIKE TO USE THIS LOFTY AND HISTORIC PLATFORM TO DISCUSS WHAT APPEARS TO ME TO BE THE MOST PRESSING PROBLEM CONFRONTING MANKIND TODAY. MODERN MAN HAS BROUGHT THIS WHOLE WORLD TO AN AWE-INSPIRING THRESHOLD OF THE FUTURE. HE HAS REACHED NEW AND ASTONISHING PEAKS OF SCIENTIFIC SUCCESS. HE HAS PRODUCED MACHINES THAT THINK AND INSTRUMENTS THAT PEER INTO THE UNFATHOMABLE RANGES OF INTERSTELLAR SPACE. HE HAS BUILT GIGANTIC BRIDGES TO SPAN THE SEAS AND GARGANTUAN BUILDINGS TO KISS THE SKIES. HIS AIRPLANES AND SPACE SHIPS HAVE DWARFED DISTANCE, PLACED TIME IN CHAINS AND CARVED HIGHWAYS THROUGH THE STRATOSPHERE. THIS IS A DAZZLING PICTURE OF MODERN MAN'S SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS.

YET, IN SPITE OF THESE SPECTACULAR STRIDES IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND STILL UNLIMITED ONES TO COME, SOMETHING BASIC IS MISSING. THERE IS A SORT OF POVERTY OF THE SPIRIT WHICH STANDS IN GLARING CONTRAST TO OUR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ABUNDANCE. THE RICHER WE HAVE BECOME MATERIALLY, THE POORER WE HAVE BECOME MORALLY AND SPIRITUALLY. WE HAVE LEARNED TO

[illegible] to [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] ask as they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

also like to say a word
about the cont. given me
by people of Norway. –
I shall long remember
the continuing wonder
and and especially the
(press) ? about the world
I want to thank him
to make justice Brotherhood
+ reality in America

FLY THE AIR LIKE BIRDS AND SWIM THE SEA LIKE FISH, BUT WE HAVE NOT LEARNED THE SIMPLE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER AS BROTHERS.

EVERY MAN LIVES IN TWO REALMS, THE INTERNAL AND THE EXTERNAL. THE INTERNAL IS THAT REALM OF SPIRITUAL ENDS EXPRESSED IN ART, LITERATURE, MORALS AND RELIGION. THE EXTERNAL IS THAT COMPLEX OF DEVICES, TECHNIQUES, MECHANISMS AND INSTRUMENTALITIES BY MEANS OF WHICH WE LIVE. OUR PROBLEM TODAY IS THAT WE HAVE ALLOWED THE INTERNAL TO BECOME LOST IN THE EXTERNAL. WE HAVE ALLOWED THE MEANS BY WHICH WE LIVE TO OUTDISTANCE THE ENDS FOR WHICH WE LIVE. SO MUCH OF MODERN LIFE CAN BE SUMMARIZED IN THAT ARRESTING DICTUM OF THE POET, THOREAU: "IMPROVED MEANS TO AN UNIMPROVED END." THIS IS THE SERIOUS PREDICAMENT, THE DEEP AND HAUNTING PROBLEM CONFRONTING MODERN MAN. IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE TODAY, OUR MORAL AND SPIRITUAL "LAG" MUST BE ELIMINATED. ENLARGED MATERIAL POWERS SPELL ENLARGED PERIL, IF THERE IS NOT PROPORTIONATE GROWTH OF THE SOUL. WHEN THE "WITHOUT" OF MAN'S NATURE SUBJUGATES THE "WITHIN", DARK STORM CLOUDS BEGIN TO FORM IN THE WORLD.

~~THIS~~ The PROBLEM OF SPIRITUAL AND MORAL LAG, WHICH CONSTITUTES MODERN MAN'S CHIEF DILEMMA, EXPRESSES

ITSELF IN THREE LARGER PROBLEMS WHICH GROW OUT OF MAN'S ETHICAL INFANTILISM. EACH OF THESE PROBLEMS, WHILE APPEARING TO BE SEPARATE AND ISOLATED, IS INEXTRICABLY BOUND TO THE OTHER. I REFER TO RACIAL INJUSTICE, POVERTY AND WAR.

THE FIRST PROBLEM THAT I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION IS RACIAL INJUSTICE. THE STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE THE EVIL OF RACIAL INJUSTICE CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE MAJOR STRUGGLES OF OUR TIME. THE PRESENT UPSURGE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES GROWS OUT OF A DEEP AND PASSIONATE DETERMINATION TO MAKE FREEDOM AND EQUALITY A REALITY "HERE" AND "NOW." IN ONE SENSE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES IS A SPECIAL AMERICAN PHENOMENON WHICH MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND DEALT WITH IN TERMS OF THE AMERICAN SITUATION. BUT ON ANOTHER AND MORE IMPORTANT LEVEL, WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS A RELATIVELY SMALL PART OF A WORLD DEVELOPMENT.

WE LIVE IN A DAY, SAYS THE PHILOSOPHER ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD, "WHEN CIVILIZATION IS SHIFTING ITS BASIC OUTLOOK: A MAJOR TURNING POINT IN HISTORY WHERE THE PRE-SUPPOSITIONS ON WHICH SOCIETY IS STRUCTURED ARE BEING ANALYZED, SHARPLY CHALLENGED, AND PROFOUNDLY

CHANGED." WHAT WE ARE SEEING NOW IS A FREEDOM EXPLOSION, THE REALIZATION OF "AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME," TO USE VICTOR HUGO'S PHRASE. THE DEEP RUMBLING OF DISCONTENT THAT WE HEAR TODAY IS THE THUNDER OF DISINHERITED MASSES, RISING FROM DUNGEONS OF OPPRESSION TO THE BRIGHT HILLS OF FREEDOM. IN ONE MAJESTIC CHORUS THE RISING MASSES are SINGING, IN THE WORDS OF OUR FREEDOM SONG, "AIN'T GONNA LET NOBODY TURN US AROUND." ALL OVER THE WORLD, LIKE A FEVER, THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IS SPREADING IN THE WIDEST LIBERATION IN HISTORY. THE GREAT MASSES OF PEOPLE ARE DETERMINED TO END THE EXPLOITATION OF THEIR RACES AND LAND. THEY ARE AWAKE AND MOVING TOWARD THEIR GOAL LIKE A TIDAL WAVE. YOU CAN HEAR THEM RUMBLING IN EVERY VILLAGE, STREET, ON THE DOCKS, IN THE HOUSES, AMONG THE STUDENTS, IN THE CHURCHES AND AT POLITICAL MEETINGS. HISTORIC MOVEMENT WAS FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES THAT OF THE NATIONS AND SOCIETIES OF WESTERN EUROPE OUT INTO THE REST OF THE WORLD IN "CONQUEST" OF VARIOUS SORTS. THAT PERIOD, THE ERA OF COLONIALISM, IS AT AN END. EAST IS MEETING WEST. THE EARTH IS BEING RE-DISTRIBUTED. YES, WE ARE "SHIFTING" OUR BASIC OUTLOOKS.

THESE DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD NOT SURPRISE ANY STUDENT OF HISTORY. OPPRESSED PEOPLE CANNOT REMAIN OPPRESSED FOREVER. THE YEARNING FOR FREEDOM EVENTUALLY

MANIFESTS ITSELF. THE BIBLE TELLS THE THRILLING STORY OF HOW MOSES STOOD IN PHARAOH'S COURT CENTURIES AGO AND CRIED, "LET MY PEOPLE GO." THIS IS A KIND OF OPENING CHAPTER IN A CONTINUING STORY. THE PRESENT STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES IS A LATER CHAPTER IN THE SAME UNFOLDING STORY. SOMETHING WITHIN HAS REMINDED THE NEGRO OF HIS BIRTHRIGHT OF FREEDOM, AND SOMETHING WITHOUT HAS REMINDED HIM THAT IT CAN BE GAINED. CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY, HE HAS BEEN CAUGHT UP BY THE ZEITGEIST, AND WITH HIS BLACK BROTHERS OF AFRICA AND HIS BROWN AND YELLOW BROTHERS IN ASIA, SOUTH AMERICA AND THE CARRIBEAN, THE UNITED STATES NEGRO IS MOVING WITH A SENSE OF GREAT URGENCY TOWARD THE PROMISED LAND OF RACIAL JUSTICE.

FORTUNATELY, SOME SIGNIFICANT STRIDES HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE STRUGGLE TO END THE LONG NIGHT OF RACIAL INJUSTICE. WE HAVE SEEN THE MAGNIFICENT DRAMA OF INDEPENDENCE UNFOLD IN ASIA AND AFRICA. JUST THIRTY YEARS AGO THERE WERE ONLY THREE INDEPENDENT NATIONS IN THE WHOLE OF AFRICA. BUT TODAY THIRTY-FIVE AFRICAN NATIONS HAVE RISEN FROM COLONIAL BONDAGE. IN THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE WITNESSED THE GRADUAL DEMISE OF THE SYSTEM OF RACIAL SEGREGATION. THE SUPREME COURT'S

DECISION OF 1954 OUTLAWING SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS GAVE A LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEATHBLOW TO THE WHOLE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATE BUT EQUAL. THE COURT DECREED THAT SEPARATE FACILITIES ARE INHERENTLY UNEQUAL AND THAT TO SEGREGATE A CHILD ON THE BASIS OF RACE IS TO DENY THAT CHILD EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW. THIS DECISION CAME AS A great BEACON LIGHT OF HOPE TO MILLIONS OF DISINHERITED PEOPLE. THEN CAME THAT GLOWING DAY A FEW MONTHS AGO WHEN A STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS BILL BECAME THE LAW OF the OUR LAND. THIS BILL, WHICH WAS FIRST RECOMMENDED AND PROMOTED BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS PASSED BECAUSE OF THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT AND PERSEVERANCE FROM MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, NEGRO AND WHITE. IT CAME AS A BRIGHT INTERLUDE IN THE LONG AND SOMETIMES TURBULENT STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS: THE BEGINNING OF A SECOND EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION PROVIDING A COMPREHENSIVE LEGAL BASIS FOR EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THIS BILL WE HAVE SEEN SOME ENCOURAGING AND SURPRISING SIGNS OF COMPLIANCE. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT, BY AND LARGE, COMMUNITIES ALL OVER THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES ARE OBEYING THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW AND SHOWING REMARKABLE GOOD SENSE IN THE PROCESS.

ANOTHER INDICATION THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE WAS FOUND IN THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE UNITED STATES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REVEALED GREAT MATURITY BY OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTING A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WHO HAD BECOME IDENTIFIED WITH EXTREMISM, RACISM, AND ~~RETROGRESS~~ gression. THE VOTERS OF OUR NATION RENDERED A TELLING BLOW TO THE RADICAL RIGHT. THEY DEFEATED THOSE ELEMENTS IN OUR SOCIETY WHICH SEEK TO PIT WHITE AGAINST NEGRO AND LEAD THE NATION DOWN A DANGEROUS FASCIST PATH.

LET ME NOT LEAVE YOU WITH A FALSE IMPRESSION. THE PROBLEM IS FAR FROM SOLVED. WE STILL HAVE A LONG, LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE THE DREAM OF FREEDOM IS A REALITY FOR THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES. TO PUT IT FIGURATIVELY IN BIBLICAL LANGUAGE, WE HAVE LEFT THE DUSTY SOILS OF EGYPT AND CROSSED A RED SEA WHOSE WATERS HAD FOR YEARS BEEN HARDENED BY A LONG AND PIERCING WINTER OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE. BUT BEFORE WE REACH THE MAJESTIC SHORES OF THE PROMISED LAND, THERE IS A FRUSTRATING AND BEWILDERING WILDERNESS AHEAD. WE MUST STILL FACE PRODIGIOUS HILLTOPS OF OPPOSITION AND GIGANTIC MOUNTAINS OF RESISTANCE. BUT WITH PATIENT AND FIRM DETERMINATION WE WILL PRESS ON UNTIL EVERY VALLEY OF

DESPAIR IS EXALTED TO NEW PEAKS OF HOPE UNTIL EVERY MOUNTAIN OF PRIDE AND IRRATIONALITY IS MADE LOW BY THE LEVELING PROCESS OF HUMILITY AND COMPASSION; UNTIL THE ROUGH PLACES OF INJUSTICE ARE TRANSFORMED INTO A SMOOTH PLANE OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY; AND UNTIL THE CROOKED PLACES OF PREJUDICE ARE TRANSFORMED BY THE STRAIGHTENING PROCESS OF BRIGHT-EYED WISDOM.

~~THAT~~ What THE MAIN SECTIONS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ARE SAYING IS THAT THE DEMAND FOR DIGNITY, EQUALITY, JOBS AND CITIZENSHIP WILL NOT BE ABANDONED OR DILUTED OR POSTPONED. IF THAT MEANS RESISTANCE AND CONFLICT WE SHALL NOT FLINCH. WE SHALL NOT BE COWED. WE ARE NO LONGER AFRAID.

THE WORD THAT SYMBOLIZES THE SPIRIT AND THE OUTWARD FORM OF OUR ENCOUNTER IS NONVIOLENCE, AND IT IS DOUBTLESS THAT FACTOR WHICH MADE IT SEEM APPROPRIATE TO AWARD A PEACE PRIZE TO ONE IDENTIFIED WITH STRUGGLE. BROADLY SPEAKING, NONVIOLENCE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE HAS MEANT NOT RELYING ON ARMS AND WEAPONS ~~OF~~ For STRUGGLE. IT HAS MEANT NON-COOPERATION WITH CUSTOMS AND LAWS WHICH ARE INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF A REGIME OF DISCRIMINATION AND ENSLAVEMENT. IT HAS MEANT DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF MASSES IN PROTEST, RATHER THAN RELIANCE ON INDIRECT METHODS WHICH FREQUENTLY DO NOT INVOLVE

MASSES IN ACTION AT ALL.

NONVIOLENCE HAS ALSO MEANT THAT MY PEOPLE IN THE AGONIZING STRUGGLES OF RECENT YEARS HAVE TAKEN SUFFERING UPON THEMSELVES INSTEAD OF INFLICTING IT ON OTHERS. IT HAS MEANT AS I SAID, THAT WE ARE NO LONGER AFRAID, AND COWED. BUT IN SOME SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE IT HAS MEANT THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO INSTILL FEAR IN OTHERS OR INTO THE SOCIETY OF WHICH WE ARE A PART. THE MOVEMENT DOES NOT SEEK TO LIBERATE NEGROES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE HUMILIATION AND ENSLAVEMENT OF WHITES. IT SEEKS NO VICTORY OVER ANYONE. IT SEEKS TO LIBERATE AMERICAN SOCIETY AND TO SHARE IN THE SELF-LIBERATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

VIOLENCE AS A WAY OF ACHIEVING RACIAL JUSTICE I am convinced IS BOTH IMPRACTICAL AND IMMORAL. I AM NOT UNMINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT VIOLENCE OFTEN BRINGS ABOUT MOMENTARY RESULTS. NATIONS HAVE FREQUENTLY WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE IN BATTLE. BUT IN SPITE OF TEMPORARY VICTORIES, VIOLENCE NEVER BRINGS PERMANENT PEACE. IT SOLVES NO SOCIAL PROBLEM: IT MERELY CREATES NEW AND MORE COMPLICATED ONES. VIOLENCE IS IMPRACTICAL BECAUSE IT IS A DESCENDING SPIRAL ENDING IN DESTRUCTION FOR ALL. IT IS IMMORAL BECAUSE IT SEEKS TO HUMILIATE THE OPPONENT RATHER THAN WIN HIS UNDERSTANDING: IT SEEKS TO ANNIHILATE RATHER

THAN CONVERT. VIOLENCE IS IMMORAL BECAUSE IT THRIVES ON HATRED RATHER THAN LOVE. IT DESTROYS COMMUNITY AND MAKES BROTHERHOOD IMPOSSIBLE. IT LEAVES SOCIETY IN MONOLOGUE RATHER THAN DIALOGUE. VIOLENCE ENDS UP DEFEATING ITSELF. IT CREATES BITTERNESS IN THE SURVIVORS AND BRUTALITY IN THE DESTROYERS.

IN A REAL SENSE NONVIOLENCE SEEKS TO REDEEM THE SPIRITUAL AND MORAL LAG THAT I SPOKE OF EARLIER AS THE CHIEF DILEMMA OF MODERN MAN. IT SEEKS TO SECURE MORAL ENDS THROUGH MORAL MEANS. NONVIOLENCE IS A POWERFUL AND JUST WEAPON. INDEED, IT IS A WEAPON UNIQUE IN HISTORY, WHICH CUTS WITHOUT WOUNDING, AND ENNOBLES THE MAN WHO WIELDS IT.

I BELIEVE IN THIS METHOD BECAUSE I THINK IT IS THE ONLY WAY TO RE-ESTABLISH A BROKEN COMMUNITY. IT IS THE METHOD WHICH SEEKS TO IMPLEMENT THE JUST LAW BY APPEALING TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE GREAT DECENT MAJORITY WHO THROUGH BLINDNESS, FEAR, PRIDE AND IRRATIONALITY HAVE ALLOWED THEIR CONSCIENCES TO SLEEP.

THE NONVIOLENT RESISTORS CAN SUMMARIZE THEIR MESSAGE IN THE FOLLOWING SIMPLE TERMS: WE WILL TAKE DIRECT ACTION AGAINST INJUSTICE DESPITE THE FAILURE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL AGENCIES TO ACT FIRST.

WE WILL NOT OBEY UNJUST LAWS OR SUBMIT TO UNJUST PRACTICES. WE WILL DO THIS PEACEFULLY, OPENLY, CHEERFULLY BECAUSE OUR AIM IS TO PERSUADE. WE ADOPT THE MEANS OF NONVIOLENCE BECAUSE OUR END IS A COMMUNITY AT PEACE WITH ITSELF. WE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE WITH OUR WORDS, BUT IF OUR WORDS FAIL, WE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE WITH OUR ACTS. WE WILL ALWAYS BE WILLING TO TALK AND SEEK FAIR COMPROMISE, BUT WE ARE READY TO SUFFER WHEN NECESSARY AND EVEN RISK OUR LIVES TO BECOME WITNESSES TO TRUTH AS WE SEE IT.

THIS APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM ~~OF RACIAL INJUSTICE~~ IS NOT AT ALL WITHOUT SUCCESSFUL PRECEDENT. IT WAS USED IN A MAGNIFICENT WAY BY MOHANDAS K. GANDHI TO CHALLENGE THE MIGHT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND FREE HIS PEOPLE FROM THE POLITICAL DOMINATION stet ~~AND ECONOMIC~~ EXPLOITATION INFLICTED UPON THEM FOR CENTURIES. HE STRUGGLED ONLY WITH THE WEAPONS OF TRUTH, SOUL FORCE, NON-INJURY AND COURAGE.

IN THE PAST TEN YEARS UNARMED GALLANT MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE GIVEN LIVING TESTIMONY TO THE MORAL POWER AND EFFICACY OF NON-VIOLENCE. BY THE THOUSANDS, FACELESS, ANONYMOUS, RELENTLESS YOUNG PEOPLE, BLACK AND WHITE, HAVE TEMPORARILY LEFT THE IVORY TOWERS OF LEARNING TO

THE BARRICADES OF BIAS. THEIR COURAGEOUS AND DISCIPLINED ACTIVITIES HAVE COME AS A REFRESHING OASIS IN A DESERT SWELTERING WITH THE HEAT OF INJUSTICE . THEY HAVE TAKEN OUR WHOLE NATION BACK TO THOSE GREAT WELLS OF DEMOCRACY WHICH WERE DUG DEEP BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS IN THE FORMULATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. ONE DAY ALL OF AMERICA WILL BE PROUD OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS.

I AM ONLY TOO WELL AWARE OF THE HUMAN WEAKNESSES AND FAILURES WHICH EXIST, THE DOUBTS ABOUT THE EFFICACY OF NONVIOLENCE, AND THE OPEN ADVOCACY OF VIOLENCE BY SOME. BUT I AM STILL CONVINCED THAT NONVIOLENCE IS BOTH THE MOST PRACTICALLY SOUND AND MORALLY EXCELLENT WAY TO GRAPPLE WITH THE AGE-OLD PROBLEM OF RACIAL INJUSTICE.

A SECOND EVIL WHICH PLAGUES THE MODERN WORLD IS THAT OF POVERTY. LIKE A MONSTROUS OCTOPUS, IT PROJECTS ITS NAGGING, PREHENSILE TENTACLES IN LANDS AND VILLAGES ALL OVER THE WORLD. ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD GO TO BED HUNGRY AT NIGHT. THEY ARE UNDERNOURISHED, ILL-HOUSED AND SHABBILY CLAD. MANY OF THEM HAVE NO HOUSES OR BEDS TO SLEEP IN. THEIR ONLY BEDS ARE THE SIDEWALKS OF THE

CITIES AND THE DUSTY ROADS OF THE VILLAGES. MOST OF THESE POVERTY STRICKEN CHILDREN OF GOD HAVE NEVER SEEN A PHYSICIAN OR A DENTIST. THIS PROBLEM OF POVERTY IS NOT ONLY SEEN IN THE CLASS DIVISION BETWEEN THE HIGHLY DEVELOPED INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AND THE SO-CALLED UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS: IT IS SEEN IN THE GREAT ECONOMIC GAPS WITHIN THE RICH NATIONS THEMSELVES. TAKE MY OWN COUNTRY FOR EXAMPLE. WE HAVE DEVELOPED THE GREATEST SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION THAT HISTORY HAS EVER KNOWN. WE HAVE BECOME THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD. OUR NATIONAL GROSS PRODUCT THIS YEA R WILL REACH THE ASTOUNDING FIGURE OF ALMOST 650 BILLION DOLLARS. YET, AT LEAST ONE-FIFTH OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS--SOME TEN MILLION FAMILIES, COMPRISING ABOUT FORTY MILLION INDIVIDUALS--ARE BOUND TO A MISERABLE CULTURE OF POVERTY. IN A SENSE THE POVERTY OF THE POOR IN AMERICA IS MORE FRUSTRATING THAN THE POVERTY OF AFFICA AND ASIA. THE MISERY OF THE POOR IN AFRICA AND ASIA IS SHARED MISERY, A FACT OF LIFE FOR THE VAST MAJORITY; THEY ARE ALL POOR TOGETHER AS A RESULT OF YEARS OF EXPLOITATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT. IN SAD CONTRAST, THE POOR IN AMERICA KNOW THAT THEY LIVE IN THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD, AND THAT EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE PERISHING ON A LONELY ISLAND OF POVERTY THEY ARE SURROUNDED BY A VAST OCEAN OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY. GLISTENING TOWERS

OF GLASS AND STEEL EASILY SEEN FROM THEIR SLUM DWELLINGS SPRING UP ALMOST OVERNIGHT. JET LINERS SPEED OVER THEIR GHETTOES AT SIX HUNDRED MILES AN HOUR; SATELLITES STREAK THROUGH OUTER SPACE AND REVEAL DETAILS OF THE MOON. PRESIDENT JOHNSON, IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, EMPHASIZED THIS CONTRADICTION WHEN HE HERALDED THE UNITED STATES' "HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE WORLD;" AND DEPLORED THAT IT WAS ACCOMPANED BY "DISLOCATION, LOSS OF JOBS AND THE SPECTOR OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY."

Mo. Date
when?

SO IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IF MAN IS TO REDEEM HIS SPIRITUAL AND MORAL "LAG" HE MUST GO ALL OUT TO BRIDGE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GULF BETWEEN THE "HAVES" AND THE "HAVE NOTS" OF THE WORLD. POVERTY IS ONE OF THE MOST URGENT ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF MODERN LIFE.

THERE IS NOTHING NEW ABOUT POVERTY. WHAT IS NEW, HOWEVER, IS THAT WE HAVE THE RESOURCES TO GET RID OF IT. MORE THAN A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO PEOPLE BEGAN TO BE DISTURBED ABOUT THE TWIN PROBLEMS OF POPULATION AND PRODUCTION. A THOUGHTFUL ENGLISHMAN NAMED MALTHUS WROTE A BOOK THAT SET FORTH SOME RATHER FRIGHTENING CONCLUSIONS. HE PREDICTED THAT THE HUMAN FAMILY WAS GRADUALLY MOVING TOWARD GLOBAL STARVATION, BECAUSE THE WORLD WAS PRODUCING PROPLE FASTER THAN IT WAS PRODUCING FOOD AND MATERIAL TO

SUPPORT THEM. LATER SCIENTISTS, HOWEVER, DISPROVED THE CONCLUSION OF MALTHUS, AND REVEALED THAT HE HAD VASTLY UNDERESTIMATED THE RESOURCES OF THE WORLD AND THE RESOURCEFULNESS OF MAN.

NOT TOO MANY YEARS AGO, DR. KIRTLEY MALTHER, A HARVARD GEOLOGIST, WROTE A BOOK ENTITLED ENOUGH AND TO SPARE. HE SET FORTH THE BASIC THEME THAT FAMINE IS WHOLLY UNNECESSARY IN THE MODERN WORLD. TODAY, THEREFORE, THE QUESTION ON THE AGENDA MUST READ, WHY SHOULD THERE BE HUNGER AND PRIVATION IN ANY LAND, IN ANY CITY, AT ANY TABLE WHEN MAN HAS THE RESOURCES AND THE SCIENTIFIC KNOW-HOW TO PROVIDE ALL MANKIND WITH THE BASIC NECESSITIES OF LIFE. ¶ EVEN DESERTS CAN BE IRRIGATED AND TOP SOIL CAN BE REPLACED. WE CANNOT COMPLAIN OF A LACK OF LAND, FOR THERE ARE TWENTY-FIVE MILLION SQUARE MILES OF TILLABLE LAND, OF WHICH WE ARE USING LESS THAN SEVEN MILLION. WE HAVE AMAZING KNOWLEDGE OF VITAMINS, NUTRITION, THE CHEMISTRY OF FOOD, AND THE VERSATILITY OF ATOMS. THERE IS NO DEFICIT IN HUMAN RESOURCES; THE DEFICIT IS IN HUMAN WILL. THE WELL-OFF AND THE SECURE HAVE TOO OFTEN BECOME INDIFFERENT AND OBLIVIOUS TO THE POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION IN THEIR MIDST. THE POOR IN OUR COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN SHUT OUT OF OUR MINDS, AND DRIVEN FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF OUR SOCIETIES, BECAUSE WE HAVE ALLOWED THEM TO BECOME INVISIBLE. JUST AS NONVIOLENCE EXPOSED THE UGLINESS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE SO MUST THE INFECTION AND SICKNESS OF POVERTY BE EXPOSED AND HEALED -- NOT ONLY ITS SYMPTOMS BUT ITS BASIC CAUSES. THIS, TOO, WILL BE A FIERCE STRUGGLE BUT WE MUST NOT BE AFRAID TO PURSUE THE REMEDY NO MATTER HOW FORMIDABLE THE TASK.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR AN ALL-OUT WORLD WAR AGAINST POVERTY. THE RIGH NATIONS MUST USE THEIR VAST RESOURCES OF WEALTH TO DEVELOP THE UNDERDEVELOPED, SCHOOL THE UNSCHOOLED, AND FEED THE UNFED. ULTIMATELY A GREAT NATION IS A COMPASSIONATE NATION. NO INDIVIDUAL OR NATION CAN BE GREAT IF IT DOES NOT HAVE A CONCERN FOR "THE LEAST OF THESE." DEEPLY ETCHED IN THE FIBER OF OUR RELIGIOUS TRADITION IS THE CONVICTION THAT MEN ARE MADE IN THE IMAGE OF GOD; AND THAT THEY ARE SOULS OF INFINITE METAPHYSICAL VALUE, THE HIERS OF A LEGACY OF DIGNITY AND WORTH. IF WE FEEL THIS AS A PROFOUND MORAL FACT, WE CANNOT BE CONTENT TO SEE MEN HUNGRY, TO SEE MEN VICTIMIZED WITH STARVATION AND ILL-HEALTH WHEN WE HAVE THE MEANS TO HELP THEM. THE WEALTHY NATIONS MUST GO ALL OUT TO BRIDGE THE GULF BETWEEN THE RICH MINORITY AND THE POOR MAJORITY.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE RICH MUST NOT IGNORE THE POOR BECAUSE BOTH RICH AND POOR ARE TIED Together IN A SINGLE GARMENT OF DESTINY. ALL LIFE IS INTERRELATED, AND ALL MEN ARE INTERDEPENDENT. THE AGONY OF THE POOR DIMINISHES THE RICH, AND THE SALVATION OF THE POOR ENLARGES THE RICH. WE ARE INEVITABLY OUR BROTHERS' KEEPER BECAUSE OF THE INTERRELATED STRUCTURE OF REALITY. JOHN DONNE INTERPRETED THIS TRUTH IN GRAPHIC TERMS WHEN HE AFFIRMED:

> "NO MAN IS AN ILAND, INTIRE OF ITS SELFE: EVERY MAN IS A PEECE OF THE CONTINENT, A PART OF THE MAINE: IF A CLOD BEE WASHED AWAY BY THE SEA, EUROPE IS THE LESSE, AS WELL AS IF A PROMONTORIE WERE, AS WELL AS IF A MANNOR OF THY FRIENDS OF OR THINE OWNE WERE: ANY MANS DEATH DIMINISHES ME, BECAUSE I AM INVOLVED IN MANKINDE: AND THEFORE NEVER SEND TO KNOW FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS: IT TOLLS FOR THEE."

A THIRD GREAT EVIL CONFRONTING OUR WORLD IS THAT OF WAR. RECENT EVENTS HAVE VIVIDLY REMINDED US THAT NATIONS ARE NOT REDUCING BUT RATHER INCREASING THEIR ARSENALS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THE BEST BRAINS IN THE HIGHLY DEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE DEVOTED TO MILITARY TECHNOLOGY. THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS NOT BEEN HALTED, IN SPITE OF THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY. ON THE CONTRARY, Ret THE DETONATION OF AN ATOMIC DEVICE BY THE FIRST NON-WHITE, NON-WESTERN AND SO-CALLED UNDERDEVELOPED POWER, NAMELY THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, OPENS NEW VISTAS OF EXPOSURE OF VAST MULTITUDES, THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY, TO INSIDIOUS TERRORIZATION BY THE EVER-PRESENT THREAT OF ANNIHILIATION. THE FACT THAT MOST

OF THE TIME HUMAN BEINGS PUT THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NATURE AND RISKS OF THE NUCLEAR WAR OUT OF THEIR MINDS BECAUSE IT IS TOO PAINFUL AND THEREFORE NOT "ACCEPTABLE," DOES NOT ALTER THE NATURE AND RISKS OF SUCH a WAR. THE DEVICE OF "REJECTION" MAY TEMPORARILY COVER UP ANXIETY, BUT IT DOES NOT BESTOW PEACE OF MIND AND EMOTIONAL SECURITY.

SO MAN'S PRONESS TO ENGAGE IN WAR IS STILL A FACT. BUT WISDOM BORN OF EXPERIENCE SHOULD TELL US THAT WAR IS OBSOLETE. THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A TIME WHEN WAR SERVED AS A NEGATIVE GOOD BY PREVENTING THE SPREAD AND GROWTH OF AN EVIL FORCE, BUT THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF MODERN WEAPONS ELIMINAT~~ED~~S EVEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT WAR MAY SERVE AS A NEGATIVE GOOD. IF WE ASSUME THAT LIFE IS WORTH LIVING AND THAT MAN HAS A RIGHT TO SURVIVE, THEN WE MUST FIND AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR. IN A DAY WHEN VEHICLES HURTLE THROUGH OUTER SPACE AND GUIDED BALLISTIC MISSILES CARVE HIGHWAYS OF DEATH THROUGH THE STRATOSPHERE, NO NATION CAN CLAIM VICTORY IN WAR. A SO-CALLED "LIMITED WAR" WILL LEAVE LITTLE MORE THAN A CALAMITOUS LEGACY OF HUMAN SUFFERING, POLITICAL TURMOIL, AND SPIRITUAL DISILLUSIONMENT. A WORLD WAR--GOD FORBID!--WILL LEAVE ONLY SMOULDERING ASHES AS A

MUTE TESTIMONY OF A HUMAN RACE WHOSE FOLLY-LED INEXORABLY TO ULTIMATE DEATH. SO IF MODERN MAN CONTINUES TO FLIRT UNHESITATINGLY WITH WAR, HE WILL TRANSFORM HIS EARTHLY HABITAT INTO AN INFERNO SUCH AS EVEN THE MIND OF DANTE COULD NOT IMAGINE.

THEREFORE, I VENTURE TO SUGGEST TO ALL OF YOU AND ALL WHO HEAR AND MAY EVENTUALLY READ THESE WORDS, THAT THE PHILOSOPHY AND STRATEGY OF NONVIOLENCE BECOME IMMEDIATELY A SUBJECT FOR STUDY AND FOR SERIOUS EXPERIMENTATION IN EVERY FIELD OF HUMAN CONFLICT, BY NO MEANS EXCLUDING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS. IT IS, AFTER ALL, NATION-STATES WHICH Make MADE WAR, WHICH HAVE PRODUCED THE WEAPONS WHICH THREATEN THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND, AND WHICH ARE BOTH GENOCIDAL AND SUICIDAL IN CHARACTER.

? HERE ALSO WE HAVE ANCIENT HABITS TO DEAL WITH, VAST STRUCTURES OF POWER INDESCRIBABLY COMPLICATED PROBLEMS TO SOLVE. BUT UNLESS WE ABDICATE OUR HUMANITY ALTOGETHER AND SUCCUMB TO FEAR AND IMPOTENCE IN THE PRESENCE OF THE WEAPONS WE HAVE OUTSELVES CREATED, IT IS IMPERATIVE AND URGENT TO PUT AN END TO WAR AND VIOLENCE BETWEEN NATIONS AS IT IS TO PUT AN END RO RACIAL INJUSTICE. EQUALITY WITH WHITES WILL HARDLY SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF EITHER WHITES OR NEGROES IF IT MEANS EQUALITY

IN A SOCIETY UNDER THE SPELL OF TERROR AND A WORLD DOOMED TO EXTINCTION.

I DO NOT WISH TO MINIMIZE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS THAT NEED TO BE FACED IN ACHIEVING DISARMANENT AND PEACE. BUT I THINK IT IS A FACT THAT WE SHALL NOT HAVE THE WILL, THE COURAGE AND THE INSIGHT TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS UNLESS IN THIS FIELD WE ARE PREPARED TO UNDERGO A MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL RE-EVALUATION A CHANGE OF FOCUS WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO SEE THAT THE THINGS WHICH SEEM MOST REAL AND POWERFUL ARE INDEED NOW UNREAL AND HAVE COME UNDER THE SENTENCE OF DEATH. WE NEED TO MAKE A SUPREME EFFORT TO GENERATE THE READINESS, INDEED THE EAGERNESS, TO ENTER INTO THE NEW WORLD WHICH IS NOW POSSIBLE, "THE CITY WHICH HATH FOUNDATIONS, WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD."

WE WILL NOT BUILD A PEACEFUL WORLD BY FOLLOWING A NEGATIVE PATH. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY "WE MUST NOT WAGE WAR." IT IS NECESSARY TO LOVE PEACE AND SACRIFICE FOR IT. WE MUST CONCENTRATE NOT MERELY ON THE NEGATIVE EXPULSION OF WAR, BUT ON THE POSITIVE AFFIRMATION OF PEACE. THERE IS A FASCINATING LITTLE STORY THAT IS PRESERVED FOR US IN GREEK LITERATURE ABOUT ULYSSES AND THE SIRENS. THE SIRENS HAD THE ABILITY TO SING SO SWEETLY THAT SAILORS COULD NOT RESIST STEERING TOWARD THEIR ISLAND. MANY SHIPS WERE LURED UPON THE ROCKS AND MEN

FORGOT HOME, DUTY AND HONOR AS THEY FLUNG THEMSELVES INTO THE SEA TO BE EMBRACED BY ARMS THAT DREW THEM DOWN TO DEATH. ULYSSES, DETERMINED NOT TO BE LURED BY THE SIRENS, FIRST DECIDED TO TIE HIMSELF TIGHTLY TO THE MAST OF HIS BOAT AND HIS CREW STUFFED THEIR EARS WITH WAX. BUT FINALLY HE AND HIS CREW LEARNED A BETTER WAY TO SAVE THEMSELVES: THEY TOOK ON BOARD THE BEAUTIFUL SINGER ORPHEUS WHOSE MELODIES WERE SWEETER THAN THE MUSIC OF THE SIRENS. WHEN ORPHEUS SANG, WHO BOTHERED TO LISTEN TO THE SIRENS?

SO WE MUST FIX OUR VISIONS NOT MERELY ON THE NEGATIVE EXPULSION OF WAR, BUT UPON THE POSITIVE AFFIRMATION OF PEACE. WE MUST SEE THAT PEACE REPRESENTS A SWEETER MUSIC, A COSMIC MELODY THAT IS FAR SUPERIOR TO THE DISCORDS OF WAR. SOMEHOW WE MUST TRANSFORM THE DYNAMICS OF THE WORLD POWER STRUGGLE FROM THE NEGATIVE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE WHICH NO ONE CAN WIN TO A POSITIVE CONTEST TO HARNESS MAN'S CREATIVE GENIUS FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING PEACE AND PROSPERITY A REALITY FOR ALL OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. IN SHORT, WE MUST SHIFT THE ARMS RACE INTO A "PEACE RACE." IF WE HAVE THE WILL AND DETERMINATION TO MOUNT SUCH A PEACE OFFENSIVE WE WILL UNLOCK HITHERTO TIGHTLY SEALED DOORS OF HOPE AND TRANSFORM OUR IMMINENT COSMIC ELEGY INTO A PSALM OF CREATIVE FULFILLMENT.

ALL THAT I HAVE SAID BOILS DOWN TO THE POINT OF AFFIRMING THAT MANKIND'S SURVIVAL IS DEPENDENT UPON MAN'S ABILITY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE, POVERTY AND WAR; THE SOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS IS IN TURN DEPENDENT UPON MAN SQUARING HIS MORAL PROGRESS WITH HIS SCIENTIFIC PROCESS, AND LEARNING THE PRACTICAL ART OF LIVING IN HARMONY. SOME YEARS AGO A ~~FAMOUS~~ NOVELIST DIED. AMONG HIS PAPERS WAS FOUND A LIST OF SUGGESTED STORY PLOTS FOR further ~~FUTURE~~ STORIES, THE MOST PROMINANTLY UNDERSCORED BEING THIS ONE: "A WIDELY SEPARATED FAMILY INHERITS A HOUSE IN WHICH THEY HAVE TO LIVE TOGETHER." THIS IS THE GREAT NEW PROBLEM OF MANKIND. WE HAVE INHERITED A BIG HOUSE, A GREAT "WORLD HOUSE" IN WHICH WE HAVE TO LIVE TOGETHER--BLACK men AND WHITE men, EASTERNERS AND WESTERNERS, GENTILES AND JEWS, CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS, MOSLEMs AND HINDUs. A FAMILY UNDULY SEPARATED IN IDEAS, CULTURE AND INTERESTS-WHO, BECAUSE WE CAN NEVER AGAIN LIVE WITHOUT EACH OTHER, MUST LEARN, SOMEHOW, IN THIS ONE BIG WORLD house, TO LIVE WITH EACH OTHER.

THIS MEANS THAT MORE AND MORE OUR LOYALTIES MUST BECOME ECUMENICAL RATHER THAN SECTIONAL. WE MUST NOW GIVE AN OVERRIDING LOYALTY TO MANKIND AS A WHOLE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE BEST IN OUR INDIVIDUAL

SOCIETIES.

THIS CALL FOR A WORLDWIDE FELLOWSHIP THAT LIFTS NEIGHBORLY CONCERN BEYOND ONES' TRIBE, RACE, CLASS AND NATION IS IN REALITY A CALL FOR AN ALL-EMBRACING AND UNCONDITIONAL LOVE FOR ALL MEN. THIS OFT MISUNDERSTOOD AND MISINTERPRETED CONCEPT SO READILY DISMISSED BY THE NIETZSCHES OF THE WORLD AS A WEAK AND COWARDLY FORCE--HAS NOW BECOME AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MAN. WHEN I SPEAK OF LOVE I AM NOT SPEAKING OF SOME SENTIMENTAL AND WEAK RESPONSE, WHICH IS LITTLE MORE THAN EMOTIONAL BOSH. I AM SPEAKING OF THAT FORCE WHICH ALL OF THE GREAT RELIGIONS HAVE SEEN AS THE SUPREME UNIFYING PRINCIPLE OF LIFE. LOVE IS SOMEHOW THE KEY THAT UNLOCKS THE DOOR WHICH LEADS TO ULTIMATE REALITY. THIS HINDU-MOSLEM-CHRISTIAN-JEWISH-BUDDHIST BELIEF ABOUT ULTIMATE REALITY IS BEAUTIFULLY SUMMED UP IN THE FIRST EPISTLE OF SAINT JOHN:

> LET US LOVE ONE ANOTHER: FOR LOVE IS OF GOD: AND EVERYONE THAT LOVETH IS BORN OF GOD AND KNOWETH GOD. HE THAT LOVETH NOT KNOWETH NOT GOD; FOR GOD IS LOVE. IF WE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, GOD DWELLETH IN US, AND HIS LOVE IS PERFECTED IN US.

LET US HOPE THAT THIS SPIRIT WILL BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY. AS ARNOLD TOYNBEE SAYS: "LOVE IS THE ULTIMATE FORCE THAT MAKES FOR THE SAVING CHOICE OF LIFE AND GOOD AGAINST THE DAMMING CHOICE OF DEATH AND EVIL. THEREFORE THE FIRST HOPE IN OUR INVENTORY MUST BE THE HOPE THAT LOVE IS GOING TO HAVE THE LAST WORD." WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO WORSHIP THE GOD OF HATE OR BOW BEFORE THE ALTARS OF RETALIATION. THE OCEANS OF HISTORY ARE MADE TURBULENT BY THE EVER-RISING TIDES OF HATE. HISTORY IS CLUTTERED WITH THE WREAKAGE OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS THAT PURSUED THIS SELF-DEFEATING PATH OF HATE. LOVE IS THE KEY TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE WORLD.

LET ME CLOSE BY SAYING THAT I HAVE THE PERSONAL FAITH THAT MANKIND WILL SOMEHOW RISE UP TO THE OCCASION AND GIVE NEW DIRECTIONS TO AN AGE DRIFTING RAPIDLY TO ITS DOOM. IN SPITE OF THE TENSIONS AND UNCERTAINTIES OF THIS PERIOD SOMETHING PROFOUNDLY MEANINGFUL IS TAKING PLACE. OLD SYSTEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION ARE PASSING AWAY AND OUT OF THE WOMBS OF A FRAIL WORLD NEW SYSTEMS OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY ARE BEING BORN. DOORS OF OPPORTUNITY ARE GRADUALLY BEING OPENED TO THOSE AT THE BOTTOM OF SOCIETY. THE SHIRTLESS AND BAREFOOT PEOPLE OF THE LAND ARE DEVELOPING A NEW SENSE OF SOMEBODINESS AND CARVING A TUNNEL OF HOPE

THROUGH THE DARK MOUNTAIN OF DESPAIR. "THE PEOPLE WHO SAT IN DARKNESS HAVE SEEN A GREAT LIGHT." HERE AND THERE AN INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP DARES TO LOVE, AND RISES TO THE MAJESTIC HEIGHTS OF MORAL MATURITY. SO IN A REAL SENSE THIS IS A GREAT TIME TO BE ALIVE. THEREFORE, I AM NOT YET DISCOURAGED ABOUT THE FUTURE. GRANTED THAT THE EASY GOING OPTIMISM OF YESTERDAY IS IMPOSSIBLE. GRANTED THAT THOSE WHO PIONEER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM WILL STILL FACE UNCOMFORTABLE JAIL cells ~~TERMS~~, PAINFUL THREATS OF DEATH: THEY WILL STILL BE BATTERED BY THE STORMS OF PERSECUTION LEADING THEM TO THE NAGGING FEELING THAT THEY CAN NO LONGER BEAR SUCH A HEAVY BURDEN, AND THE TEMPTATION OF WANTING TO RETREAT TO A MORE QUIET AND SERENE LIFE. GRANTED THAT WE FACE A WORLD CRISIS WHICH LEAVES US STANDING SO OFTEN AMID THE SURGING MURMUR OF LIFE's RESTLESS SEA. BUT EVERY CRISIS HAS BOTH ITS DANGERS AND ITS OPPORTUNITIES. IT CAN SPELL EITHER SALVATION OR DOOM. IN A DARK CONFUSED WORLD THE KINGDOM OF GOD MAY YET REIGN IN THE HEARTS OF MEN.

ACCEPTANCE STATEMENT BY

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE CEREMONY
AULA OF THE UNIVERSITY
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1964
OSLO, NORWAY

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice. I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham, Alabama, our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday in Philadelphia, Mississippi, young people seeking to secure the right to vote were brutalized and murdered. And only yesterday more than 40 houses of worship in the State of Mississippi alone were bombed or burned because they offered a sanctuary to those who would not accept segregation. I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

Therefore, I must ask why this prize is awarded to a movement which is beleagured and committed to unrelenting struggle; to a movement which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essense of the Nobel Prize.

After contemplation, I conclude that this award which I receive on behalf of that movement is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time -- the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression. Civilization and violence are antithetical concepts. Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo bears witness to this truth. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are travelling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new Civil Rights Bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a super highway of justice as Negro and white men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problems.

I accept this award today with an abiding faith in America and an audacious faith in the future of mankind. I refuse to accept despair as the final response to the ambiguities of history. I refuse to accept the idea that the "isness" of man's present nature makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal "oughtness" that forever confronts him. I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsom and jetsom in the river of life unable to influence the unfolding events which surround him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality.

I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. This is why right temporarily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. I believe that even amid today's motor bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow. I believe that wounded justice, lying prostrate on the blood-flowing streets of our nations, can be lifted from this dust of shame to reign supreme among the children of men. I have the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits. I believe that what self-centered men have torn down men other-centered can build up. I still believe that one day mankind will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and nonviolent redemptive good will proclaimed the rule of the land. "And the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid." I still believe that We Shall overcome!

This faith can give us courage to face the uncertainties of the future. It will give our tired feet new strength as we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom. When our days become dreary with low-hovering clouds and our nights become darker than a thousand midnights, we will know that we are living in the creative turmoil of a genuine civilization struggling to be born.

Today I come to Oslo as a trustee, inspired and with renewed dedication to humanity. I accept this prize on behalf of all men who love peace and brotherhood. I say I come as a trustee, for in the depths of my heart I am aware that this prize is much more than an honor to me personally.

Every time I take a flight, I am always mindful of the many people who make a successful journey possible -- the known pilots and the unknown ground crew.

So you honor the dedicated pilots of our struggle who have sat at the controls as the freedom movement soared into orbit. You honor, once again, Chief Luthuli of South Africa, whose struggles with and for his people, are still met with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man. You honor the ground crew without whose labor and sacrifices the jet flights to freedom could never have left the earth. Most of these people will never make the headline and their names will not appear in Who's Who. Yet when years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we live -- men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization -- because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners -- all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty -- and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

oooOooo

Not to be published before 3 p.m., Thursday 10th Dec., 1964.

Gunnar Jahn: Speech in the Oslo University festival hall, on the occasion of the presentation of the 1964 Nobel peace prize.

Not many years have passed since the name Martin Luther King became known all over the world. Nine years ago, as leader of the coloured people in ~~his home town of~~ Montgomery in the state of Alabama, he launched a campaign to secure for negroes the right to use public transport on an equal footing with whites.

But it was not because he led a racial minority, treated as inferior to the whites, in their struggle for equality, that Martin Luther King achieved fame. Many others have done the same, and their names have been forgotten.

Martin Luther King's name will endure for the way in which he has waged his struggle, personifying in his conduct the words that were spoken to mankind :

> 'Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek,
> turn to him the other also!

Fifty thousand negroes obeyed this commandment in December 1955, and won a victory. This was the beginning. At that time Martin Luther King was only twenty-six years old; he was a young man, but nevertheless a mature one.

His father is a clergyman, who made his way in life unaided, and provided his children with a good home, where he tried to shield them from the humiliations of racial discrimination. Both as a member of theNational Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and as a private citizen, he has been active in the movement to end such discrimination, and his children have followed in his footsteps. As a boy Martin Luther King soon learnt the role played by economic inequality in the life of the individual and of the community.

From his childhood years this left its indelible mark on him, but there is no evidence to suggest that already as a boy he had made up his mind to devote his life to the struggle for negro rights.

He spent his student years in the Northern States, where the laws provided no sanction for the discrimination he had encountered in the South, but where, nevertheless, coloured and white did not mix in their daily lives. Yet living in the Northern States - especially in a university milieu - was like a breath of fresh air. At Boston University,where he took a doctor's degree in philosophy, he met Coretta Scott, who was studying singing. She was a negress, from his own state of Alabama, a member of the coloured middle class which also exists in the South.

The young couple were faced with a choice: should they remain in the North, where life offered greater security and better conditions, or return to the South? They elected to go back to Montgomery, where Martin Luther King was installed as minister of a Baptist congregation.

Here he lived in a society where a sharp barrier existed between negroes and whites. Worse still, the coloured community in Montgomery was itself divided, its leaders at loggerheads and the rank and file paralysed by the passivity of its educated members. As a result of their apathy, few of them were engaged in the work of improving the status of the negro. The great majority were indifferent; those who had something to lose were afraid of forfeiting the little they had achieved.

Nor, as Martin Luther King discovered, had all the negro clergy tackled the social problems of their community; many of them were of the opinion that ministers of religion had no business getting involved in secular movements aimed at improving people's social and economic conditions. Their task was 'to preach the gospel and keep men's minds centered on the heavenly.'

Early in 1955 an attempt was made to unite the various groups of coloured people. The attempt failed. Martin Luther King says that 'the tragic division in the Negro community could be cured only by some divine miracle.'

The picture he gives us of conditions in Montgomery is not an inspiring one; even as late as 1954 the negroes accepted the existing status as a fact, and hardly anyone opposed the system actively. Montgomery was a peaceful town.

But beneath the surface discontent smouldered. Some of the coloured clergy, in their sermons as well as in their personal attitude, championed the cause of negro equality, and this had given many fresh confidence and courage.

Then came the bus boycott of December the Fifth, 1955.

It almost looks as if the boycott was the result of a mere coincidence. The immediate cause was the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. She was in the section reserved for negroes, and was occupying one of the seats just behind the section set aside for whites, which was full up.

The arrest of Mrs. Parks not only aroused great resentment, but provoked direct action, and it was in this way that Martin Luther King was to become the central personality in the negroes' struggle for human rights.

In his book "Stride towards Freedom" he has described not only the actual bus conflict, but also how, on December the Fifth, after the strike had been started, he was elected chairman of the organisation formed to conduct the struggle.

He tells us that the election came as a surprise to him; had he been given time to think things over he would probably have said No. He ~~would probably~~ had supported the boycott when asked to do so on the Fourth, but he was beginning to doubt whether it was morally right, according to Christian teaching, to start a boycott. Then he remembered David Thoreau's "Essay on Civil Disobedience." which he had read in his earlier years, and which had made a profound impression on him. A sentence of Thoreau's came back to him: 'We can no longer lend our cooperation to an evil system.'

But he was not convinced that the boycott would attain its object. As late as the evening of Sunday December the Fourth he believed that if sixty per cent of the negroes co-operated, they would prove successful.

During the morning of December the Fifth, as bus after bus without a single negro passenger passed his window, he realised that the boycott had proved a hundred per cent effective.

But final victory had npt yet been won, and as yet no one had announced that the campaign was to be conducted in accordance with the slogan: ' Thou shalt no requite violence with violence.' This message was given to the negroes by Martin Luther King in the speech he made to thousands of his people on the evening of December the Fifth, 1955. He calls this speech the most decisive he ever made.

Here are his own words:

> 'We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were being treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from the patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice.'
>
> 'But,' he continues,'our method shall be that of persuasion not coercion. We will say to our people "Let your conscience be your guide". Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you".

He concludes as follows:

> 'If you will protest courageously and yet with Dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written, the historians will say: "There lived a great people - a black people - who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilisation". This is our challenge and overwhelming responsibility.'

This battle-cry - for such it was - was enthusiastically received by the audience. This was 'Montgomery's historic moment', as Martin Luther King calls it.

The battle-cry rallied the overwhelming majority of negroes during their active struggle for human rights. All round the South, inspired by this slogan, they declared war on the discrimination between negro and white in eating places, shops,schools, public parks and playgrounds.

Despite laws passed by Congress and judgments given by the American Supreme Court, this struggle has not proved successful everywhere, since these laws and judgments have been sabotaged, as anyone who has followed the course of events subsequent to 1955 will know.

Despite sabotage and imprisonment, the negroes have continued their unarmed struggle. Only on rare occasions have they violated the letter of their slogan and requited violence with violence, even though for many of us this would have been the immediate reaction. What are we to say of the young students who sat down in an eating place reserved for whites? They were not served, but remained seated. White teen-agers mocked and insulted them, and stubbed their lighted cigarettes out on their necks. The negro students sat unmoved, without retaliating. They possessed the strength that only the belief can give that they are fighting in a just cause, and that their struggle will be crowned with success. precisely because it is being waged with peaceful means.

Martin Luther King's belief is rooted first and foremost in the teaching of Christ, but no one can really understand him without the knowledge that he has been influenced by the great thinkers of the past and the present. He has been inspired above all by Mahatma Gandhi, whose example convinced him that it is possible to achieve victory in an unarmed struggle. Before he had read about Gandhi he had almost accepted that the teaching of Jesus could only be put into practice as between individuals, but after making a study of Gandhi he realised that he had been mistaken.

> 'Gandhi', he says,'was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force.'

In Gandhi's teaching he found the answer to a question that had long troubled him: how does one set about carrying out a social reform?

'I found', he tells us,'in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.'

Martin Luther King has been attacked from many quarters. Apart from the resistance he encountered from white fanatics, moderate whites - and even the more prosperous members of his own race - consider that he is proceeding too fast, that he should wait, and let time work for him and weaken the opposition.

In an open letter to the press eight clergymen reproached him for this and other aspects of his campaign. Martin Luther King answered these charges in a letter written in Birmingham Jail in the spring of 1963, from which I should like to quote a few lines:

> 'Actually time itself is neutral. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts of men, willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation.'

In answer to the charge that he has omitted to negotiate, he replies:

> 'You are quite right in calling for negotiation. This is the very purpose of direct action. Non-violent action seeks to foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate, is forced to confront an issue.'

He reminds them that the negroes have not won a single victory for civil rights without struggling persistently to achieve it in a lawful way without recourse to violence. When reproached for breaking the laws in the course of his struggle, he replies as follows:

> 'There are two types of laws: just and unjust. An unjust law is a code which is out of harmony with the moral law......
> 'A law is unjust, for example, if the majority group compels a minority group to obey the statute but does not make it binding on itself......
> 'One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly and with a willingness to accept the penalty.'

Martin Luther King also takes the church to task. Even during the bus conflict in Montgomery he had expected that white clergy and rabbis would prove the negroes' staunchest allies. But he was bitterly disappointed. 'All too many ~~others~~', he recalls,'have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent and secure behind stained-glass windows.'

It is not difficult to understand Martin Luther King's disappointment with the white church, profoundly religious as he is. Nor must we ignore the fact that he is the minister of a negro church, or the importance of their church to the negro population. It is the only hallowed spot where they can be raised above the problems of every-day. Besides, how could such wide-spread agreement to spurn the use of violence have been reached, unless the negroes had been so deeply religious?

Yet even if victory is won in the fight against segregation, discrimination will still persist in the economic field and in social intercourse. Realistic as he is, Martin Luther King knows this. In his book "Strength to Love" he writes:

> 'Court orders and federal enforcement agencies are of inestimable value in achieving desegregation, but desegregation is only a partial, though necessary, step towards the final goal which we seek to realise, genuine intergroup and interpersonal living.....
> 'But something must touch the hearts and souls of men so that they will come together spiritually because it is natural and right....
> 'True integration will be achieved by true neighbours who are willingly obedient to unenforcable obligations.'

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Martin Luther King's unarmed struggle has been waged in his own country; its result has been that an obdurate, centuries-old and traditional conflict is now nearing its solution.

Is it possible that the road he and his people have charted will bring a ray of hope to other parts of the world, a hope that conflicts between races, nations and political systems can be solved, not by fire and the sword, but in a spirit of true brotherly love?

It sounds like the dream of a remote future; but life would not be worth living unless we cherished our dreams and had a chance of working to make them come true.

To-day, now that mankind is in possession of the atom bomb, the time has come to lay our weapons and armaments aside and listen to the message Martin Luther King has given us through the unarmed struggle he has waged on behalf of his race. His eyes, too, gaze beyond the frontiers of his own country. He says:

> 'More than before, my friends, men of all races and nations are to-day challenged to be neighbourly.....No longer can we afford the luxury of passing by on the other side. Such folly was once called moral failure; to-day it will lead to universal suicide....
> If we assume that mankind has a right to survive then, we must find an alternative to war and destruction. In our days of space vehicles and guided ballistic missiles, the choice is either non-violence or non-existence.'

Though Martin Luther King has not personally committed himself to the internationalconflict, his own struggle is a clarion call to all who work for peace.

He is the first person in the western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence. He is the first to make the message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle, and he has proclaimed a message to all men, to all nations and races.

To-day we pay our tribute to Martin Luther King, the man who has never abandoned his faith in the unarmed struggle he is waging, who has suffered for his faith, been imprisoned on many occasions, whose home has been subject to bomb attacks, whose life and those of his family have been threatened, and who nevertheless has never faltered.

To this undaunted champion of peace the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting has awarded the Peace Prize for the year 1964.

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STATEMENT BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. - DECEMBER 11, 1964

I have learned that the charges against the 19 Mississippians involved in the death of Cheyney, Swerner and Goodman have been summarily dismissed by action of the U.S. Commissioner in Meridian, Miss.

While I am deeply disturbed, I am not surprised. The use of legal technicalities, maneuvers and tricks has been the lot of Negroes seeking justice in the Southern courts for over a century. This dismissal is further evidence of the lawlessness and callousness of those who would preserve segregation and discrimination.

This miscarriage of justice will revolt the American people and will alienate people of good will around the world. It will discredit the image of America.

While I am dedicated to due process and fair trial for all men, this travesty reveals again the absence of justice in the state of Miss., where Negroes are concerned. I strongly urge that the Federal Government unrelentingly pursue those who make a mockery of law and justice in our nation.

In the event that the judicial process is further circumvented by the deliberate refusal of the State of Mississippi to seek justice in this tragic murder and the denial of conscience among the people of Mississippi, the people of this great nation must demonstrate their contempt of this dastardly situation by withdrawing their economic support from all products and commodities which keep this state solvent in order that they may continue their persecution and exploitation of Negroes.

My staff in Atlanta has been doing research in this matter for some time. I have long hoped that Mississippi would show signs of change and that economic withdrawal would be unnecessary. But unless the Federal Government or the State of Mississippi can find methods of maintaining justice for all men in that state, I will have no alternative but to call upon the forces of good will of the nation to effect a complete boycott of the Mississippi products, as an attempt to demonstrate the revolt of the national conscience against this acceptance of murder and attempts to absolve persons whom the Government seeks to indict for murder.

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GUEST LIST FOR THE AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION AT THE RESIDENCE
FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1964, 20:45 - 22:30.

In Honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

List of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Party:

Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dr. and Mrs. Ralph D. Abernathy
Rev. Richard Battles
Mrs. Septima Clark
Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
Mrs. Christine Farris
Miss Carole Hoover
Mrs. Lillie Hunter
Rev. Logan Kearse
Rev. A. D. King
Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.
Rev. Bernard Lee
Mrs. Marion Logan
Mr. Louis Martin
Mr. Noel Marder
Miss Rita McClain
Miss Dora McDonald
Mrs. Nina Miller
Dr. Lawrence Reddick
Rev. Milton Reid
✓ Mr. Bayard Rustin
Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wachtel
Mr. Wyatt Walker
Rev. Andrew Young
Atty. Chauncey Eskridge
Dr. Charles Ireland
Mr. Monita Sleet
Mr. Charles Sanders
Rev. D. M. Hoover
Mr. Robert Mitchell
Rev. Richard Dixon
Mrs. Freddye Hendersen
Bishop and Mrs. Smallwood Williams
Mr. William L. Rowe
Rev. Gordon

OTHER GUESTS:

H.E. the Prime Minister and Mrs. Einar Gerhardsen
H.E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mrs. Halvard Lange
H.E. the Minister of Defense, Dr. Gudmund Harlem
H.E. the Minister of Church and Education and Mrs. Helge Sivertsen
H.E. the Minister of Finance and Mrs. Andreas Cappelen
H.E. the Minister of Justice and Police and Mrs. Oscar G. Gundersen
H.E. the Minister of Municipal and Labor Affairs and Mrs. Jens Haugland
H.E. the Minister of Social Affairs and Mrs. Olav Gjaerevoll
H.E. the Minister of Commerce and Shipping, Trygve Lie
H.E. the Minister of Fisheries and Mrs. Magnus Andersen
H.E. the Minister of Industry and Mrs. Karl Trasti
H.E. the Minister of Agriculture and Mrs. Leif Granli

(cont.)

Other Guests (cont.):

H.E. the Minister of Communications and Mrs. Eric Himle
H.E. the Minister of Family and Consumer Affairs and Mr. Kurt Jonas Bjerkholt
H.E. the Minister of Prices and Wages and Mrs. Idar Norstrand
H.E. the President of the Storting and Mrs. Nils Langhelle
H.E. the Vice President of the Storting and Mrs. Alv Kjøs
H.E. the President of the Lagting and Mrs. Nils Hønsvald
H.E. the President of the Odelsting and Mrs. Per Borten
H.E. the Vice President of the Lagting and Mrs. Einar Hareide
H.E. the Vice President of the Odelsting and Mrs. Jakob Pettersen
H.E. the Secretary General and Mrs. Johan G. A. Raeder
H.E. the Under Secretary and Mrs. Jens M. Boyesen
H.E. the Under Secretary Dagfin Juel
H.E. the Mayor of Oslo and Mrs. Brynjulf Bull
Mr. and Mrs. Jens Evensen
Mr. and Mrs. Einar Ansteensen
Mr. and Mrs. Jahn N. Halvorsen
H.E. the Chief of Protocol and Mrs. Ditlef Knudsen
Mr. and Mrs. Tor Myklebost
Mr. and Mrs. Andreas Andersen
H.E. the Chief Justice and Mrs. Terje Wold
Mr. and Mrs. Terje Baalsrud
Mr. and Mrs. Erling Bergendahl
Mr. and Mrs. Rolf D. Bibow
Mr. and Mrs. Derek Blix
Mr. and Mrs. Hans Borgen
Mr. and Mrs. Trygve Bratteli
Mr. and Mrs. Christian A. S. Christensen
Mr. and Mrs. John M. Donovan
Mr. and Mrs. Torolf Elster
Mr. Harold Galloway
Mr. and Mrs. Gunnar Garbo
Dr. and Mrs. Tore Gjelsvik
Mr. and Mrs. Johan Hambro
Mr. and Mrs. Reidar Hirsti
Mr. and Mrs. Bjarne Høye
Mr. Gunnar Jahn
Mr. and Mrs. Torolv Kandahl
Mr. and Mrs. Birger Kildal
Reverend and Mrs. Myrus Knutson
Mr. and Mrs. Haakon Lie
Mr. and Mrs. Sjur Lindebraekke
Mr. and Mrs. Kurt Jonas Lionaess
Mr. and Mrs. Karl Lyche
Mr. and Mrs. John Daniel Lyng
Mr. and Mrs. Finn Moe
Mr. and Mrs. Otto Naes
Mr. and Mrs. Hans Fridtjof Nielsen
Mr. and Mrs. Konrad M. Nordahl
Dr. and Mrs. Nils Ørvik
Mr. and Mrs. Gunnar Natvig-Pedersen

(cont.)

Other Guests (cont.):

Reverend and Mrs. H. Picton
Mr. and Mrs. Bent Røiseland
Mr. and Mrs. Rognerud (Mrs. Berte)
Mr. and Mrs. August Schou
Dr. and Mrs. John Sannes
Mr. and Mrs. Rolf Semmingsen
Mr. and Mrs. Hans Kr. Schou
Mr. and Mrs. Gustav Søderland
Mr. and Mrs. Per Strand
Mr. and Mrs. Axel Strøm
Mrs. Willy Sveen
Mr. and Mrs. Arvid Sveum
Mr. and Mrs. Sverre Syversen
Mr. and Mrs. Jens Aage Tellefsen
Mr. and Mrs. Hans Jakob Ustvedt
Rektor and Mrs. Hans Vogt
Mr. and Mrs. Ragnar Vold
Mr. and Mrs. Erling Wickborg
Mr. and Mrs. George Anderson
Miss Beko
Mr. and Mrs. Carolan
Mr. and Mrs. Elliott
Mr. and Mrs. Flaata
Miss Ford
Mr. and Mrs. Goplen
Col. and Mrs. Goff
Mr. and Mrs. Griggs
Mr. and Mrs. Holm
Mr. and Mrs. Irons
Miss Jackson
Mr. and Mrs. Jorgensen
Col. and Mrs. Johnsen
Mr. Laase
Mr. Mansfield
Miss Massey
Mr. and Mrs. Mellor
Mr. and Mrs. Morley
Mr. and Mrs. O'Grady
Mr. and Mrs. Olsson
Mr. and Mrs. Leutrell Osborne
Captain and Mrs. Olson
Mr. and Mrs. Porter
Mr. and Mrs. Schilling
Mr. and Mrs. Sena
Mr. and Mrs. Schute
Mr. and Mrs. Tolf
Miss Weyres

FINAL ITINERARY
FOR
DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR. AND PARTY

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy; Rev. Andrew Young; Rev. Barnard Lee; Miss Dora McDonald; Mr. Bayard Rustin; Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wachtel; Rev. A.D.King

Thu.	Dec. 3	5:55 P.M.	Leave Atlanta via Delta flight 816
		7:37 P.M.	Arrive New York - No arrangements will be provided by Henderson Travel Service.
Fri.	Dec. 4	9:00 P.M.	Leave New York City via Alitalia flight 633
Sat.	Dec. 5	8:35 A.M.	Arrive London, England where you will be met by our representative and transferred to HILTON HOTEL
Tue.	Dec. 8	1:25 P.M.	Leave London via SAS flight 514. Lunch will be served on board.
		5:25 P.M.	Arrive Oslo, Norway -No arrangements will be provided by Henderson Travel Service, however your hotel is GRAND HOTEL.
Sat.	Dec. 12	1:30 P.M.	Leave Oslo via SAS flight 734
		3:00 P.M.	Arrive Stockholm, Sweden where meeting and transfer service will be provided by our representative and provided with transfers to the GRAND HOTEL.
Mon.	Dec. 14	9:40 A.M.	Leave Stockholm via SAS flight 551. No meal service on board.
		10:50 A.M.	Arrive Copenhagen, Denmark - You will be met by our representative and provided with transfers to the ROYAL HOTEL.
Tue.	Dec. 15	11:35 A.M.	Leave Copenhagen via SAS flight 565. Meal service on board.
		1:30 P.M.	Arrive Paris, France - You will be met by our representative and transferred to the HOTEL CLARIDGE.
Wed.	Dec. 16	4:00 P.M.	Leave Paris via TWA flight 801
		6:00 P.M.	Arrive New York City (The Air France flight originally scheduled has been cancelled)
		OPEN	NEW YORK/ATLANTA

You may make your own reservations back to Atlanta. It is included on your ticket.

TOTAL COST:

From Atlanta - $758.68

From New York - $654.40

PRICE INCLUDES:

Round trip airline ticket economy (or Tourist) Class
Meeting service at airports by our Multi-lingual representative
Porterage of two piece luggage. Private transfers from airport to hotels upon arrival and vice versa upon departure.
Twin bedded room at hotels with bath, except in Oslo
Continental breakfast at hotels in Paris, gratuities and hotel service charges for included hotel service.

NOT INCLUDED IN PRICE:

Airport taxes where levied, meals (except Continental breakfast in Paris), beverages, and transfers and hotels in New York and Oslo or any items of a personal nature. Tips for meals other than breakfast in Paris or hotel red caps.

TOUR MEMBERS PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN TO HENDERSON TRAVEL SERVICE - 931 Hunter Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314:

NAME____________________ PASSPORT NO.__________
STREET____________________ TELEPHONE__________
CITY______________ STATE________ ZIPCODE________

PERSON TO NOTIFY IN CASE OF EMERGENCY______________
ADDRESS ______________ TELEPHON____________
CITY______________ STATE________ ZIPCODE________

If you wish insurance, please return enclosed application blank with your check.

MARTIN
LUTHER
KING

Designed and Printed by Mountain and Molehill Ltd London E C 1

Theta Sigma Phi

Founded 1909
The National Fraternity for Women in Journalism
St. Louis Chapter

September 10, 1964

Dear Mrs. King,

Because we know you to be a woman of great wisdom and sound judgment, we write to ask for your help. Please? It means answering just one question--a question which has to do with peace in this world.

In August 1965, several hundred women journalists and students will be in St. Louis for the Theta Sigma Phi Convention. We plan, as the climax of this Convention, a program on World Peace. Not just pretty words, but a program so meaningful and practical that each member can return home prepared to take some specific step toward the attainment of universal peace.

This then, is the question we'd like you to answer:
"What do you believe is needed to achieve World Peace?"

We are asking this question of some two hundred women, all women of accomplishment, integrity, objectivity. We hope to publicize the replies through the press, radio and television; we hope further to compile a challenging number in a booklet which will be given to our members as well as appropriate individuals and institutions. May we assume your approval? Only through public awareness can these ideas bear fruit.

As members of this 55-year-old fraternity pledged to "the light of truth," and active in all fields of communications, we have a unique obligation to inform, to enlighten, to work intelligently and constructively with peace as our goal. By sharing your wisdom and perception with us, you can help us immeasurably. Do this, will you?

Let us have your reply by (December 10, 1964.) We will be deeply grateful. For your convenience, an addressed envelope is enclosed.

Check with Bayard + Husband

Sincerely yours,

Bea Adams

(Miss) Bea Adams
Chairman, 1965 National Convention
Theta Sigma Phi

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

November 5, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

By December 10, 1964, would you have any suggestions or ideas which would be of help to me in responding to the enclosed request from Theta Sigma Phi? This is something I feel I should try to do, but I need some assistance. If you can or cannot help in any way, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Shall I expect to see you on the 15th of November at Town Hall? You know how pleased I would be to have you there.

Sincerely,

Coretta S. King/B.H.S

(Mrs.) Coretta Scott King

Ks

Encl.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

November 13, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King
563 Jackson Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

Each year in early January the Peace Education Secretaries of the American Friends Service Committee meet for our annual Peace Roundup to consider problems which concern us in our work for peace, and to make decisions. This year the Roundup will be held at Pendle Hill near Philadelphia from January 2-10.

A subject of considerable concern to us, which we shall be considering at the Roundup, is whether nonviolence is relevant to international conflict. Today war is obsolete as a means of accomplishing rational national purpose. Human survival depends upon achieving a world without war. Even so, war persists and the war system persists. Military organization is assumed to be a characteristic of the state, and nations assume that they will deal with each other in a context of military power though, as Presisdent Kennedy said at the time of the Cuba crisis, in nuclear war "even victory would be ashes in our mouth."

We propose to hold a symposium on the relevance of nonviolence to international conflict at our Roundup. We hope that you will be a member of the symposium. We also are inviting a trade union leader (Ralph Helstein), a military officer or analyst (Col. Richard Kerr from the Pentagon), and a spokesman from the peace movement. Our tentative Roundup agenda schedules this symposium for the afternoon and evening of Monday, January 4, 1965. There would be an opening session beginning at 1:30 p.m. when you and the other members of the symposium would comment on nonviolence and international conflict, after which there would be questions and discussion from the members of the Roundup, followed by separation into small groups to formulate further questions. After dinner the discussion would resume with a plenary session to which the questions from the small groups would be brought.

During the past year we have had a working party preparing a report on the relevance of nonviolence to international conflict. The first draft of this group's report is now being typed and will be available to the members of the symposium prior to the Roundup. We would not want the discussion to be confined to the report but we believe that questions raised by the report will help stimulate a useful discussion. The Roundup symposium will be of help to us in further revising the report before publication.

more

I have discussed this entire matter with Bayard Rustin, who we hope very much can come with you and join in the symposium. He has expressed his interest and approval.

I would not want to end this letter without expressing my deep appreciation for all that you have done and my gratification that you soon will be receiving the Nobel Peace Award. That this award goes to you strongly suggests that the Award Committee feels that the connection between nonviolence and world peace needs now to be re-affirmed. We hope to do just this in the months that lie ahead and this symposium will be an important phase of our program development.

I do hope that you can be with us at Pendle Hill on January 4.

Sincerely yours,

Stewart Meacham
Peace Education Secretary

SM:vh
cc: Bayard Rustin

P.S. The group will be small (about 40) but select, composed mainly of active key people in the peace movement across the country who, as staff or committee members, are the core of the AFSC peace work.

COPY TO BAYARD RUSTIN.

Telephone: TERminus 4473/5
Peace News
5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1
N. AMERICAN OFFICE; C/O AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA

COPY

20th November 1964.

Rev. Martin Luther King,
563 Johnson Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta,
Georgia,
USA.

Dear Dr. King,

When Bayard Rustin was here in London last weekend, he met with Marion Glean and Michael Randle, two members of a recently organised race relations group called "Multi Racial Britain". I am also a member of the group, which, we hope, will become the British version of CORE.

Bayard suggested that our group might provide you with some basic information on the British Racial situation. I have come up with the task of assembling the information for you.

Since I realise the time you will have to study the British racial scene is limited, I will try to hold the information down to two brief documents both of which I will send next week. One will be a basic fact sheet which I hope to draw up in consultation with members of the Institute of Race Relations. The other will be a moral appeal for racial justice written by Walter Birmingham, a leading figure in Quaker race relations activity. You must have received by now a list of questions ~~[illegible]~~ I sent some weeks ago, and which you said you would be kind enough to answer for us. If there is any chance of letting us have these answers when you visit London in December, I would appreciate this very much.

Yours sincerely,

Theodore Roszak.
EDITOR.

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Sender's name and address: Theodore Roszak,

Peace News,

5 Caledonian Road,

Kings X. London N.1.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE ; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

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BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

6d
SIXPENCE·POSTAGE

Bayard Rustin,

Liberation,

Room 1029, 5 Beekman Street,

New York 38,

N.Y. U S A

CHRISTIAN ACTION

2 Amen Court,
LONDON. E.C.4.

20th November, 1964.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am very anxious that everything, so far as my responsibilities are concerned, for Dr. Martin Luther King's visit here next month shall go as smoothly as possible. I have been speaking to Peggy Duff this morning and she tells me that she thinks you are making all the necessary hotel arrangements etc. I am sorry to trouble you about this but I would be most grateful if you could confirm that there is nothing you want me to do about this.

It would also be very helpful if you could let me have, as early confirmation as possible that Dr. Luther King will be accepting the invitation of the Dean of St. Paul's to preach in the Cathedral on Sunday afternoon, December 6th. The Succentor of the Cathedral is anxious to get on with posters and we have not very much time to play with.

We are all greatly looking forward to your visit.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Freda Nuell

Freda Nuell

Secretary - Christian Action

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↑To open slit along here↑

Sender's name and address:

Christian Action,

2 Amen Court,

LONDON. E.C.4.

↑To open slit along here↑

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BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

5 15 PM
22 NOV

6d
SIXPENCE·POSTAGE

Bayard Rustin, Esq.,
War Resisters International,
Room 1025,
5, Beekman's Street,
NEW YORK 38 N.Y.
U.S.A.

CHRISTIAN ACTION

2 Amen Court,
London, E.C.4.

November 26th, 1964.

My dear Bayard Rustin,

I am terribly sorry to worry you, but there is a grave danger, if we are not careful, of the wires being crossed over Martin Luther King's visit. In accordance with our talk together, when you and Peggy came to see me, I have appointed - as I think we have already told you - a Public Relations Officer, and have told him to coordinate everything through me. But today I had a note from Peggy telling me the various things which she's arranged and, unfortunately, there is already a clash between one of these arrangements and one which I think is more important, namely an appearance on the B.B.C.

However, I have been in touch with Peggy and we will clear things up this end; but I would be extremely grateful if you would kindly be sure when you get into touch with Peggy Duff any time that she knows that arrangements made between you are subject to consultation with me, lest any further crossings of lines should occur. It would be a great help if you would also urge Peggy to be sure not to make arrangements through Kenneth Lee or anyone else without first consulting with me.

I have sent, under separate cover, a letter to Martin Luther King which I would be most grateful if you could ensure its delivery as quickly as possible.

With every best wish,

Yours very sincerely,

L. John Collins

Incidentally, I think the the present arrangements being made for Monday night to the [illegible] of Martin L. King is to be "fresh enough to do himself justice on the Monday evening meeting"!

Bayard Rustin, Esq.

The press and radio coverage will be chiefly centred on the preaching in St Paul's and the Monday evening meeting — so it is vital that he should be at his best on these two occasions. [illegible]

efn

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↑To open slit along here↑

Sender's name and address:

Canon L. John Collins,
2 Amen Court,
London, E.C.4.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE ; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

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PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON W.C.
9 45PM
26 NOV
1964
D

LONDON
STUDEN

6d
SIXPENCE·POSTAGE

Bayard Rustin, Esq.,
War Resisters International,
Room 1025, 5 Beekman's Street,
New York, 38,
N.Y.
U.S.A.

To open slit along here

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK
CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

REFERENCE

27 November 1964

Dear Bayard,

In response to the suggestion made by Dr. King through you, which you telephoned to my Secretary this afternoon, I am enclosing herewith the invitations to the persons mentioned, to be handed to them by you upon their arrival at the airport on Thursday, 3 December. We will now make it a buffer dinner.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph J. Bunche

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, N.Y.

346 W.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1964 NOV 20 PM 5 25

(351).

=NQB078 NBB388 SYE248 =

SY AGC254 LONG AG NEW YORK NY 20 428P EST
REV MARTIN LUTHER =KING, CARE BAYARD RUSTIN =
340 WEST 28 ST APT 9-J NYK :

=DELIGHTED YOU AND MRS KING ARE ABLE TO ATTEND U.S. MISSION =RECEPTION TO BE HELD IN YOUR HONOR DECEMBER 4TH, FROM SIX TO =EIGHT AT 799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA. = AS EVENT SCHEDULED ON EVE OF YOUR DEPARTURE FOR OSLO, =I HAVE ASKED AMBASSADOR SIVERT NIELSEN, NORWEGIAN REPRESENTATIVE =TO UNITED NATIONS, TO CO-HOST GATHERING. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS =HAS GIVEN ME A NUMBER OF NAMES TO BE INCLUDED AS YOUR GUESTS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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=PLEASE DON'T HESITVATE TO ADD OTHERS. I GREATLY LOOK FORWARD =TO SEEING YOU IN NEW YORK. AGAIN, MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS =ON THE NOBEL AWARD. WE ARE PROUD OF YOU =

ADLAI E STEVENSON =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK
CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

IN REPLY
PLEASE QUOTE NO.

12 November 1964

COPY COPIE

Dear Martin,

Thanks for yours of November 6th. I have been in touch with Bayard Rustin concerning U Thant's luncheon and the dinner at my house on Long Island, and I understand that Bayard has cleared the dates with you. So we are going ahead.

There will be an informal dinner at my house on Thursday December 3rd at 8:00 p.m. You could come directly to the house from Kennedy Airport, where Bayard tells me you are due to arrive from California on that date at about 6:30 p.m. Our home is only about 12 minutes drive, toward town, from Kennedy Airport, and if you come directly there from the airport you could clean up and rest a bit before the dinner. I do not know whether Coretta will be with you on the California trip but we do, of course, expect her at the dinner and will gladly arrange for her transportation from Manhattan out to Kew Gardens, Queens, if she will not be at the airport with you.

U Thant's lunch is scheduled for Friday December 4 at 1:15 p.m. in his personal suite on the 38th floor of the Secretariat building. The list of persons he is inviting is enclosed and the invitations will be going out within a day or two. My dinner list is not yet final.

U Thant and I are delighted that you and Coretta can be with us on these dates and we think you will find it interesting to meet some of the UN folks.

With warmest regards to you and Coretta, in which Ruth joins me,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph J. Bunche

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: Mr. Bayard Rustin

GUEST LIST FOR SECRETARY-GENERAL'S LUNCH FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING

Friday, 4 December 1964, at 1.15 p.m.

1. **U Thant**
2. **Martin Luther King**
3. **Mrs. King**
4. **Mr. Bunche**
5. **Mrs. Bunche**
6. **Mr. Narasimhan**, Chef de Cabinet
7. **Roy Wilkins**
8. **A. Philip Randolph**
9. **Whitney Young**
10. **Adlai Stevenson**, Permanent Representative of the US to the United Nation
11. **Nikolai Federenko** " " " " USSR " " " "
12. **Sievert Nielsen** " " " Norway " " " "
13. **Mrs. Nielsen**
14. **B.N. Chakravarty** " " " India " " " "
15. **Lord Caradon** " " " the UK " " " "
16. **Roger Seydoux** " " " France " " " ".
17. **Chief Adebo** " " " Nigeria " " " "
18. **Godfrey Amachree**, Under-Secretary, Department of Trusteeship, UN
19. **Mr. Rolz-Bennett**
20. **Bayard Rustin**

to
575 Madison

FINAL ITINERARY
FOR
DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR. AND PARTY

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy; Rev. Andrew Young; Rev. Barnard Lee; Miss Dora McDonald; Mr. Bayard Rustin; Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wachtel; Rev. A.D.King

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	7:37 P.M.	Arrive New York - No arrangements will be provided by Henderson Travel Service.
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	3:00 P.M.	Arrive Stockholm, Sweden where meeting and transfer service will be provided by our representative and provided with transfers to the GRAND HOTEL.
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	10:50 A.M.	Arrive Copenhagen, Denmark - You will be met by our representative and provided with transfers to the ROYAL HOTEL.
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	1:30 P.M.	Arrive Paris, France - You will be met by our representative and transferred to the HOTEL CLARIDGE.
Wed. Dec. 16	4:00 P.M.	Leave Paris via TWA flight 801
	6:00 P.M.	Arrive New York City (The Air France flight originally scheduled has been cancelled)
	OPEN	NEW YORK/ATLANTA

HENDERSON TRAVEL SERVICE
931 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

MAILING ADDRESSES
NORTHERN CAPITALS TOUR

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

All mail should be sent by AIR. Allowing 7 days prior to arrival in Europe. Cost of air-mail to Europe is 15¢ per half ounce.

To reach destination by:	Address care of
December 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	The London Hilton London, England
December 8, 9, 10, 11	Grand Hotel Oslo, Norway
December 12, 13	Grand Hotel Stockholm, Sweden
December 14,	Royal Hotel Copengagen, Denmark
December 15, 16	Hotel Claridge Paris, France

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The Norwegian Nobel Committee is, in conformity with the will of Dr. Alfred Nobel, of Nov. 27, 1895, entrusted with the distribution of one of the five prizes, the Nobel Peace Prize.

The other four prizes (Physics, Chemistry, Medicine and Literature) are awarded by Swedish institutions.

The task of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament is based on the following passage in Dr. Nobel's will: A committee of five persons to be elected by the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) is to distribute annually one share of the income of the Fund "to the person who shall have most or best promoted the fraternity of nations and the abolishment or reduction of standing armies, and the formation and extension of peace congresses". He declared it further to be his express desire that, in the awarding of prizes, no consideration whatever should be paid to the nationality of the candidates.

Candidates for the Peace Prize--as for all Nobel Prizes--must be proposed in writing before February 1st of each year, by a duly qualified person. Any of the following persons are held to be duly qualified to present candidates for the Peace Prize:

1. Members and former members of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, as well as the Advisers appointed by the Norwegian Nobel Institute.
2. Members of the Parliaments and Governments of any nation, as well as members of the Interparliamentary Union.
3. Members of the International Arbitration Court at The Hague.
4. Members of the Council of the Permanent International Peace Bureau at Geneva.
5. Members and Associates of the Institut de Droit International.
6. University professors of political science and of law, of history and philosophy.
7. Persons who have received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Direct personal applications for the prize cannot be taken into consideration.

Every written work, to qualify for the prize, shall have appeared in print. The grounds upon which the proposal of any candidate's name is made must be stated in writing and handed in along with the necessary documents.

The prize may be awarded to institutions or associations. A prize may be divided equally between two candidates.

No work shall have a prize awarded to it unless it has been proved by the test of experience, or by the examination of experts, to possess the pre-eminent excellence that is manifestly signified by the terms in Dr. Nobel's will. If it is deemed that none of the works attains to the standard of excellence referred to, the prize shall be withheld until the following year. Should it be found impossible even then to confer the prize, the amount in question shall be added to the main fund, provided, however, that four members of the Committee may not propose that two-thirds of the prize-sum shall instead be carried over to a special fund for the Committee.

The prize is distributed on the anniversary of the death of the founder, the 10th of December.

The first award of the Nobel Peace Prize took place in 1901. From 1901 till 1959 the prize has been awarded to 48 persons and 8 institutions. Fourteen prizes have not been distributed, viz, the prizes for 1914, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1923, 1924, 1928, 1932, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1948, 1955 and 1960.

The prizes for the years after 1929 have been awarded as follows:
1929: Frank B. Kellog; 1930: Nathan Søderblom, Archbishop of Sweden; 1931: Miss Jane Addams and Professor Nicholas Murray Butler; 1933: Sir Norman Angell; 1934: Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson; 1935: Carl von Ossietzky; 1936: Carlos Saavedra Lamas; 1937: Viscount Cecil of Chelwood; 1938: The Nansen Office, Geneva; 1944: Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, Geneva; 1945: Cordell Hull; 1946: Emily Green Balch and John Mott; 1947: American Friends Service Committee and Friends Service Council; 1949: Lord John Boyd Orr of Brechin; 1950: Ralph Bunche; 1951: Léon Jouhaux; 1952: Albert Schweitzer; 1953: George C. Marshall; 1955: Office of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees; 1957: Lester B. Pearson; 1958: Georges Pire; 1959: Philip Noel-Baker.

The amount of the Prize for 1959 was Swedish Kronor 220,678.14.

According to the statutes, the proceeds of the Special Fund may be employed to support international peace efforts.

The main Fund of the Nobel Foundation amounted in Dec. 1959 to Sw. Kr. 37,358,665.78.

Labor Law Project 6/78

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Submitted by Bayard Rustin

LABOR LAW REFORM

By skillfully using the filibuster weapon, an instransigent minority in the United States Senate has temporarily prevented the passage of the Labor Law Reform Act, a bill which enjoys clear majority support in the Senate, and which was overwhelmingly approved by the House of Representatives.

We in the black community are all too familiar with the filibuster as an instrument of legislative obstruction. Indeed, the unrelenting attack on the Labor Law Reform Act -- even the compromise version -- reminds us of the prolonged and bitter struggles which preceeded the enactment of virtually every piece of civil rights legislation. If Americans are to retain their trust and confidence in the democratic process, that process must not be used by a legislative minority to subvert and frustrate the will of the majority.

Rather than prolonging the parliamentary stalemate, Senator Majority Leader Robert Byrd wisely agreed to return the bill to the Human Resources Committee for further alterations. While some opponents have asserted that the bill will now simply die in committee, we are confident that Senator Byrd will honor his commitment to reintroduce the bill as soon as possible.

Because this legislation is so important to the future of thousands of minority workers, we urge the Human Resources Committee to release the bill promptly. Furthermore, we urge the Senate leadership to seek an immediate floor vote on the revised bill without another round of meaningless and obstructive debate.

202-637-5365 Terry or Cathy

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release Immediately
June 15, 1978

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

TIME VALUE TIME VALUE TIME VALUE

BLACK LEADERS DEMAND VOTE ON LABOR BILL

A group of prominent black leaders ~~have~~ HAS called for immediate passage of the Labor Law Reform Act. The bill, which was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives last year, is stalled in the Senate by a conservative filibuster.

The black leaders called the bill "a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system."

"Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low-income workers, and therefore we urge the Senate to approve the Labor Law Reform Act without crippling amendments," the statement declared.

Signers of the statement include Corretta Scott King, Vernon Jordan, Benjamin Hooks, and A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, a veteran civil rights activist initiated the statement.

"By resorting to the filibuster weapon, the same weapon used against so many civil rights bills, the opponents of labor law reform have shown their utter contempt for the will of the majority," Rustin declared.

"This bill," Rustin said, "is of the utmost importance for workers, but especially black workers. It is a proven fact that black workers who have an opportunity to join a union earn substantially more than black workers who must go cap-in-hand to employers who resist unions."

The full text of the statement follows:

STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM

Civil rights and economic opportunity are interdependent. Black Americans must successfully meet the challenge of securing fundamental economic rights if we are to survive. For us, these economic rights include job security, just wages, and protection from arbitrary managerial power.

In the struggle for economic rights, workers cannot -- and should not -- rely on employer or governmental benevolence. There is only one dignified and time-tested course of action: workers must have a fair opportunity to organize themselves into effective trade unions for the purpose of bargaining with their employers.

On this matter, we share the sentiments so eloquently expressed by *that great civil rights and labor leader, A. Philip Randolph. On the occasion of his 89th birthday, Mr. Randolph reminded us that "without a fair system of industrial jurisprudence as provided by a strong union contract, the worker -- whether black or white -- is little better than a slave in his relationship with management."*

We realize that the National Labor Relations Act guarantees all workers the right to organize. But for an increasing number of workers that guarantee has become a fraud. By exploiting weaknesses in the NLRA, some employers have successfully -- and profitably -- circumvented the intent of the law. Harrassment of workers, long election delays, and out-right refusal to bargain have now become widely-accepted -- but certainly illegal labor relations policies for a significant number of employers. Because of these unfortunate trends, it is necessary to strengthen our labor laws, and thereby reinforce the right of every worker to freely accept or reject union representation.

The United States Senate is presently considering the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 which was passed overwhelming by the House of Representatives last year. We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers, and therefore we urge the Senate to approve the Labor Law Reform Act without crippling amendments.

Other signers of the statement include:

Alexander J. Allen, Vice President, National Urban League, Inc.; Hazel N. Dukes, NYS Conference of Branches NAACP; Dr. James R. Dumpson, N.Y. Community Trust; Joseph A. Francis, D.D., S.V.D., Auxiliary Bishop Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark; Kenneth A. Gibson, Mayor, City of Newark; Leon L. Harris, President, Chelsea NAACP; Richard Gordon Hatcher, Mayor of Gary; Bishop Richard Hilderbrand, A.M.E. Church; C. J. McLin, Jr., Chairman, Ohio Black Political Caucus; Clarence Mitchell, Director Washington Bureau, NAACP and Chairman, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Frederick O'Neal, President, Associated Actors and Artists of America; James D. Rice, Nassau County Commission on Human Rights; William M. Ross, Executive Director, Recruitment and Training Program; Robert C. Weaver, Former Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

(partial list/ organization for identification only)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

MAY 22 1978

May 19, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I have your letter of May 12 inviting me to sign the statement on labor reform. I have read the statement and find it to be in order except for the very first sentence in the first paragraph. We suggest the following substitution:

> "Civil rights and economic opportunity are interdependent. Black Americans must successfully meet the challenge of securing fundamental economic rights if we are to survive. For us, these economic rights include job security, just wages, and protection from arbitrary managerial power."

Sincerely,

Benjamin L. Hooks
Executive Director

BLH:erb
Enclosure

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James E. Stewart, Sr.
Mrs. Jeanette B. Strong
Daniel Thomas, Jr.
Samuel W. Tucker, Esq.
Jesse H. Turner, Sr.
Thomas Turner
Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson

Suggested...

Substitution for the first paragraph of statement:

Civil rights and economic opportunity are interdependent. Black Americans must successfully meet the challenge of securing fundamental economic rights if we are to survive. For us, these economic rights include job security, just wages and protection from arbitrary managerial power.

GA

STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM

After years of struggling for basic political and civil rights, black Americans must now turn to the even more challenging task of securing fundamental economic rights. For us, these economic rights include job security, just wages, and protection from arbitrary managerial power.

In the struggle for economic rights, workers cannot -- and should not -- rely on employer or governmental benevolence. There is only one dignified and time-tested course of action: workers must have a fair opportunity to organize themselves into effective trade unions for the purpose of bargaining with their employers.

On this matter, we share the sentiments so eloquently expressed by that great civil rights and labor leader, A. Philip Randolph. On the occasion of his 89th birthday, Mr. Randolph reminded us that "without a fair system of industrial jurisprudence as provided by a strong union contract, the worker -- whether black or white -- is little better than a slave in his relationship with management.

We realize that the National Labor Relations Act guarantees all workers the right to organize. But for an increasing number of workers, that guarantee has become a fraud. By exploiting weaknesses in the NLRA, some employers have successfully -- and profitably -- circumvented the intent of the law. Harrassment of workers, long election delays, and out-right refusal to bargain have now become widely-accepted -- but certainly illegal -- labor relations policies for a significant number of employers. Because of these unfortunate trends, it is necessary to strengthen our labor laws, and thereby reinforce the right of every worker to freely accept or reject union representation.

The United States Senate is presently considering the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 which was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives last year. We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers, and therefore we urge the Senate to approve the Labor Law Reform Act without crippling amendments.

WE AGREE WITH THE ABOVE STATEMENT:

Wallace Baldwin
[illegible]
Australia K. Davidson
Willie J. Cullens, Sr.
Alex Grant

Mrs Lunercy Louise Buford
Ms. Pinces L. Mason
303 Thornton St., S.W.
Bernadette Lane
Malcolm S. Jones Sr.

WE AGREE WITH THE ABOVE STATEMENT:

CARL. A. JONES JR.

Hargon Reddick

Charles L. Henry III

Green P. Lewis

western union

Telegram

TIB359(1536)(1-017830A167)PD 06/16/78 1520
ICS IPMDCNA NYK
01185 (4-045199E167 1346 9164459533 06-16
ICS IPMYS31
TDRN SACRAMENTO CA 25 06-16 0145P EST
MR BAYARD RUSTIN DLR
260 PARK AVE SOUTH
NEWYORK NY

DEAR BAYARD
I AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM AND AUTHORIZE YOU
TO USE MY NAME WHEN AND IF THE STATEMENT IS PUBLISHED
MERVYN M DYMALLY LIEUTEANT-GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA
NNNN

SF-1201 (R5-69)

western union Telegram

YSA040(1108)(1-008265A166)PD 06/15/78 1106
TLX WU TELTEX NYK D
ZCZC 10134 TI NEWYORK NY 06-15
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TLX PD WASH DC JUNE 15 1978
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Betty

533 8000

CDJ 1253PF

MR BAYARD RUSTIN
A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK CITY

RE YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 7 WHICH ARRIVED TODAY JUNE 15.

JUN 19 1978

PLEASE LIST ME AS SIGNER OF STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM.
PLEASE NOTE YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 7 WAS SENT TO WRONG ADDRESS. OUR PRESENT ADDRESS IS SUITE 410, 733 FIFTEENTH ST NW, WASH DC 20005.
CLARENCE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON BUREAU, NAACP
AND CHAIRMAN, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

NAACPWABUR WSH

NNNN

MAILGRAM
JUNE 15, 1978 - BY TELEPHONE

BAYARD RUSTIN:

REGARDING YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 7 WHICH ARRIVED TODAY JUNE 15. PLEASE LIST ME AS SIGNER OF STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM. PLEASE NOTE YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 7 WAS SENT TO WRONG ADDRESS.

OUR PRESENT ADDRESS IS: SUITE 410 - 733 15TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

CLARENCE MITCHELL, DIRECTOR
WASHINGTON BUREAU
NAACP and CHAIRMAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Home: 807 LORENA RD. LUTZ, FLA. 33549 (813) 949-7729

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA • ST. PETERSBURG • FORT MYERS • SARASOTA

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620

813: 974-2492

June 17, 1978

JUN 22 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin

260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your letter of June 7th. Enclosed is the card authorizing the use of my signature in support of the statement that you sent.

I have also enclosed an editorial published in the Tampa Tribune which suggests that the many amendments have substantially watered down the bill. Is this true in your opinion, and if so, do you plan any further actions to prevent the passage of a near meaningless bill?

I have also enclosed an article about myself, along with a brochure for a workshop I was involved in. I am currently doing some summer consulting with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, still looking for the time and place to put all my efforts into contributing to the finding of a peaceful solution to the Middle East situation. As stated in the article, I taught a course at the U. of Haifa this March-April entitled "Communities in Conflict: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination." There were 5 Jewish students and 1 Arab. I guess you could call it a seminar. It was very fine - for me and for them, I believe, and I hope that I will be invited to come back there, or to Hebrew U.

I have a publication coming out this month in the Journal of Intergroup Relations entitled, "Inside the Melting Pot and the Pressure Cooker: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Racism and Ethnocentrism in America and Israel." I hope you get a chance to read it. I would really like to know your reactions.

I suppose I write these things to bring you up to date on what I've been doing, and also to express a bit of frustration. After I saw you last, I tried to make contacts that I thought might open some doors. I wrote to Andrew Young but this was right after the inauguration and I received a letter from him stating that he had not yet had a chance to evaluate his staff needs. Dick Cohen sent my resume to Allard Lowenstein of the Human Rights Commission and I received a letter from his aide stating that there was a freeze on hiring.

Has BASIC expanded any? Is there a speakers' bureau yet? Do you have any suggestions as to how I might perpetuate dialogue among and between people? Really, there is so much deep-seated anti-Israel feeling among segments, even here in Tampa! The Iranian students and the "Communist Youth Brigade" here on my campus are full of the hate rhetoric. People need to talk about the West Bank - the real sore spot. They need to try to understand the issues, the history, the geography before making irrational decisions.

I will close for now. Be well and please drop a line. I will greatly appreciate any suggestions on how I may become more useful to the cause of peace and brotherhood.

All the best, Sandy Garcia

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA IS AN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EQUAL OPPORTUNITY INSTITUTION

Tampa Tribune
6/17/78

Editorials

A Better Labor Bill — Or Not at All

THE FILIBUSTER which has tied up the Senate in almost three weeks of debate over labor law revision is doubly unusual.

If Majority Leader Robert Byrd calls for a sixth vote to shut off the debate (cloture) Tuesday or Wednesday, it will tie the record for such votes on a single issue, and be a new record for cloture efforts on a piece of legislation. The only other time six cloture votes were taken involved a dispute over seating Sen. John Durkin of New Hampshire in 1975.

Almost as rare is the fact that some Senators now supporting the filibuster are doing so not because they are dead set against enactment of a labor bill but because they hope for one more palatable than the present measure.

Supporters of the bill have mustered 58 votes to shut off debate in the last two roll calls. That is only two short of the 60 they need. One more amendment, on top of those already agreed to by the bill's supporters in the Senate, might end the filibuster.

* * *

Some observers say what is now before the Senate is an entirely new bill from that which organized labor and the Carter administration pushed through the House.

Amendments have already been made in four major areas: Equal access for labor organizers, compensation for workers whose collective bargaining rights were unlawfully refused by their employer, speeding up National Labor Relations Board elections, and debarment from government contracts of employers found to be in violation of the law.

The bill originally said that if an employer discussed a union organization effort on company time with his employees, so could union organizers. That has now been amended to exclude organizers from work areas and from talking to workers on company time.

to 35 days, from the original 21-30 day span. Critics say technicalities in the new proposal actually shorten the time, to the advantage of the unions.

The "so-called" blacklisting of labor law-violating employers from government contracts originally carried no specific provision for ever getting the employer off the debarred list. The revision **requires** the Secretary of Labor to remove the offending company from debarment when it has taken steps to reach compliance with the law.

Both supporters and opponents of the bill say the equal access provisions are the key to further compromise. Elimination of the equal access right altogether is considered enough to seal the end of the filibuster, since it would meet the objections of those who are sympathetic to labor but who feel the provision unconstitutionally permits trespass by organizers on private property.

Even a cloture vote will not guarantee quick enactment, though. Opponents have prefiled more than 1,000 amendments which could drag the process on indefinitely. That might leave the bill's fate up to the technique used to break the natural gas pricing debate last year, when Vice President Walter Mondale, in his constitutional role as presiding officer, ruled a long series of motions and amendments out of order.

* * *

It is almost inarguable that the NLRB needs stronger provisions to put an end to interminable stalling by some employers to fend off union organizing elections.

But it should be as inarguable that an employer has no obligation to open his property to organizers; the Supreme Court has held that the right to free speech and assembly does not obligate any second party to provide the forum for them. And for an appointed agency to determine what "back pay" an employer must pay his workers treads dangerously on the due process rights of that employer.

— Or Not at All

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Almost as rare is the fact that some Senators now supporting the filibuster are doing so not because they are dead set against enactment of a labor bill but because they hope for one more palatable than the present measure.

Supporters of the bill have mustered 58 votes to shut off debate in the last two roll calls. That is only two short of the 60 they need. One more amendment, on top of those already agreed to by the bill's supporters in the Senate, might end the filibuster.

* * *

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Amendments have already been made in four major areas: Equal access for labor organizers, compensation for workers whose collective bargaining rights were unlawfully refused by their employer, speeding up National Labor Relations Board elections, and debarment from government contracts of employers found to be in violation of the law.

The bill originally said that if an employer discussed a union organization effort on company time with his employees, so could union organizers. That has now been amended to exclude organizers from work areas and from talking to workers on company time.

As proposed by the NLRB, the bill would have provided severe back pay penalties for workers whose employers illegally refused to bargain. These have been watered down to the Bureau of Labor Statistics employment cost index, a considerably lower figure than that first proposed.

The time between notification that a union drive has begun and the election among the employees is held has been lengthened to 35 days, from the original 21-30 day span. Critics say technicalities in the new proposal actually shorten the time, to the advantage of the unions.

The "so-called" blacklisting of labor law-violating employers from government contracts originally carried no specific provision for ever getting the employer off the debarred list. The revision **requires** the Secretary of Labor to remove the offending company from debarment when it has taken steps to reach compliance with the law.

Both supporters and opponents of the bill say the equal access provisions are the key to further compromise. Elimination of the equal access right altogether is considered enough to seal the end of the filibuster, since it would meet the objections of those who are sympathetic to labor but who feel the provision unconstitutionally permits trespass by organizers on private property.

Even a cloture vote will not guarantee quick enactment, though. Opponents have prefiled more than 1,000 amendments which could drag the process on indefinitely. That might leave the bill's fate up to the technique used to break the natural gas pricing debate last year, when Vice President Walter Mondale, in his constitutional role as presiding officer, ruled a long series of motions and amendments out of order.

* * *

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But it should be as inarguable that an employer has no obligation to open his property to organizers; the Supreme Court has held that the right to free speech and assembly does not obligate any second party to provide the forum for them. And for an appointed agency to determine what "back pay" an employer must pay his workers treads dangerously on the due process rights of that employer.

The filibuster may, as is often the case, end up killing a bad bill; even some supporters of cloture are saying it is about time to move on to more important legislation. Or it may force the creation of a better bill, far better than that approved by the House.

In either case, Floridians should appreciate that their Senators Lawton Chiles and Richard Stone thus far have stood against cloture.

Council On Economic Development and Empowerment For Black People
225 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, FIFTH FLOOR
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003
(212) AL 4-0880

REV. ROY L. THOMPSON, EXECUTIVE ADMINISTRATOR

June 14, 1978

JUN 16 1978

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REV. H. EDWARD WHITAKER
VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. V. SIMPSON TURNER
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY
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REV. ROLAND L. TAYLOR
MR CLEVELAND THORNHILL
REV. M. L. WILSON

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I received your request concerning the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 and I am personnally in agreement with the statement which you have prepared and have signed the enclosed card to that effect. I am also planning to include this on the next agenda of our Council and I will appeal for an endossement from them also.

I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Herbert T, Miller, who served as our Executive Administrator, retired in 1976 and died in January 1977. Please remove his name from your mailing list.

For your further information the Council was organized by Black Pastors and laypersons from our Metropolitan Baptist Churches and we are seeking to help make our people sensitive to the economic needs which they face and to find ways to help in economic development and empowerment for Black People in Metro N.Y.

I am one of the founders of the Council. I am also a pastor but I have been serving as the part-time Administrator for the past six months. Whatever I can do in both of these capacities to assist I will be glad to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Roy L. Thompson

Roy L. Thompson

Encl.

Black Americans urge admission of the Indochinese refugees

Throughout non-Communist Asia, thousands of unfortunate refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia languish in make-shift camps. For most, the future offers frightening prospects: social ostracism in the countries to which they fled, endless unemployment, and — even worse — deportation to their homelands resulting in almost certain death.

As concerned citizens of the black community — a community which itself continues to endure widespread economic deprivation — we sympathize with our Asian brothers and sisters in the refugee camps. But our concern must transcend the safe boundaries of mere sympathy. We must move toward action.

Many well-meaning Americans have argued that action on this pressing problem is unworkable in economic terms and potentially explosive. We recognize the scandalous state of America's economy — especially its devastating manifestations in the black community — and we realize that any program to assist these refugees will entail modest economic costs. Yet, we oppose the dehumanizing tendency of placing price tags on the heads of Indochinese refugees.

In the past, America has displayed an uncanny ability to adapt to unusual and seemingly impossible situations. We believe that America can once again reach out to an embattled minority — these refugees — and offer safe haven and hope.

Thus, we call upon President Carter and the United States Congress to facilitate the entrance of these refugees into the United States in the same spirit that we have urged our country to accept the victims of South Africa's apartheid.

Through our arduous struggle for civil, political and economic rights in America, we have learned a fundamental lesson: the battle against human misery is indivisible. Our continuing struggle for economic and political freedom is inextricably linked to the struggle of Indochinese refugees who also seek freedom. If our government lacks compassion for these dispossessed human beings, it is difficult to believe that the same government can have much compassion for America's black minority, or for America's poor.

Affiliations listed for identification only

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy
President Emeritus, S.C.L.C.
Alexander J. Allen
Deputy Executive Director
National Urban League
Hon. Marion Barry
City Council, Washington, D.C.
Daisy Bates
NAACP
Howard E. Bennett
National Chairman
Dr. King Holiday Committee
Hon. Julian Bond
Georgia State Senator
William H. Bowe
Treas., NYC Central Labor Council
John A. Bowser
Exec. Dir., Phila. Urban Coalition
Kenyon Burke
Associate Director, NAACP
Berkeley Burrell
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Pres., National Conference
of Black Mayors
Merrill Cooper
President, Local 234, TWU
Alonzo A. Crim
Supt., Atlanta Public Schools
Gloster Current
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Walter G. Davis
Education Director, AFL-CIO
Leonard DePaur
Director, Community Relations
Lincoln Center
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James R. Dumpson
New York Community Trust
Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally
Lieutenant Governor, California
Dick Edwards
Senior Editor, News World
Charles Evers
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Joseph Fisher
Local 190, ILGWU
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Auxiliary Bishop, Newark Diocese
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James Parks
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Jasper Peyton
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William E. Pollard
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Vice President
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Yvonne Price
Exec. Ass't., Leadership
Conference on Civil Rights
A. Philip Randolph
Vice President Emeritus, AFL-CIO
Jessie Ratley
Chairman, National Council of Local
Black Elected Officials
Saunders Redding
Professor, Cornell University

William Ross
Exec. Dir., Recruitment &
Training Program
Willie Rudd
International Vice President
United Furniture Workers
Horace L. Sheffield
Pres., Detroit Chapter, Coalition
of Black Trade Unionists
George Shirley
Tenor
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As appearing in THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 19, 1978

Labor Law Reform—A Black Perspective

"It is no exaggeration to argue that the advances and setbacks of black workers are, in large measure, reflective of the victories and defeats of the trade union movement."

Throughout most of the post-war era, the closely related issues of civil rights and trade union rights have evoked more passion, more fear-mongering and more deliberate distortion than all other domestic issues combined. Each piece of civil rights legislation weathered a barrage of false accusations and artificially-created fears. And the debates preceeding the passage of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts were full of empty warnings about "labor bosses," and impending "labor domination" of American society.

Now, as the Senate considers the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978, we once again find ourselves in the midst of a debate characterized by frequent exaggeration, and widespread misinformation.

According to the opponents of the bill, the reform package is nothing more than a "power grab" by what they derisively call "big labor." For them, the bill is simply another piece of "special interest" legislation designed to benefit a small group, in this case the so-called labor bureaucracy. However, black people—especially those who toil for non-union employers at non-union wage rates—fully understand the immense importance of this bill. It is, in a very real sense, another civil rights act.

THE ECONOMICS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

From its earliest days, the civil rights movement fully understood the inseparable bond between political freedom and economic security. During the early 1960s, some perceptive activists were fond of saying: "Why integrate the luncheonette if a black man can't afford the price of a meal?" And during the great march on Washington in 1963, A. Philip Randolph expressed similar sentiments when he told the 200,000 demonstrators: "This civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

Just as blacks need a strategy to achieve full political and social rights, they also need a strategy to attain full economic rights. In both cases, blacks understand the importance, indeed the indispensability, of allies; in both instances the trade union movement, despite its faults, has stood head and shoulders above every other American mass institution as an ally in the struggle for black freedom. It is no exaggeration to argue that the advances and setbacks of black workers are, in large measure, reflective of the victories and defeats of the trade union movement.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND LABOR—A NATURAL AFFINITY

Let us examine this somewhat surprising proposition a bit more carefully. The black/labor alliance operates in two separate, though frequently overlapping, arenas: the economic arena and the political arena. In both cases, the alliance sustains itself through mutual self-interest, and in opposition to mutual adversaries. This affinity between the civil rights movement and the labor movement arises not from sentimentality, but from a basic socio-economic fact of life: the vast majority of black people are workers, and trade unions seek to advance the position of workers.

Within the economic arena, black trade unionists—and there are millions of them within the AFL-CIO—have lifted themselves from poverty or near-poverty. But escaping poverty is not enough, blacks must be able to maintain and gradually improve their standard of living. Some blacks, especially the tiny minority of black professionals and businessmen, have won their economic independence through high levels of educational attainment, and hard-fought capital accumulation. But the overwhelming mass of black people do not have the slightest hope of becoming "black capitalists." For black workers, the best hope is a union card.

BLACK ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Trade unions, unlike many American institutions, and "poverty projects" have a credible record as agents of black economic advancement. A number of recent empirical studies demonstrate a strong relationship between trade union membership and income levels of black workers. According to the most recent data, the median earnings for black union members was $169 per week in 1974. By contrast, blacks working for non-union employers had median earnings of only $124 per week, a difference of over 35 per cent. Of course, a union card is not a lucky charm that will transform a black worker's economic situation overnight. But without it, he will have a considerably more difficult time entering—and staying in—the economic mainstream.

Increased income by itself is no guarantee of economic freedom. It must be supported by job security and family stability. Trade unions, more than anything else, offer the possibility of a safe and secure job, a luxury enjoyed by few black workers. A union card is no sure guarantee of permanent employment, but trade union contracts go a long way in protecting black workers from discriminatory layoffs and dismissals. They provide at least a modicum of certainty in a field in which non-union workers can only expect uncertainty and sudden disaster.

Although black union members have made impressive economic gains, the overwhelming majority of black workers still lack trade union representation. There are good explanations for this situation, not the least of which is race. With the demise of "Jim Crow" laws and other overt forms of segregation, racism in America adapted to more subtle tactics. One of these subtle, and almost invisible, strategies has been the successful segmentation of America's industrial relations system into "open shop" and "union shop" states. Of course, some of the "right-to-work" states have few if any black workers, but the rest are southern states where the majority of black workers live.

The Labor Law Reform Act has nothing to do with "right-to-work" laws, but it does offer the possibility of moderating the devastating effects of a segmented industrial relations system. Because of the weakness of trade unions in the south—a weakness validly traced to "open shop" laws and few legal protections for union activists—employers in low-wage industries such as textiles, garments, food processing, and retailing have been able to fully exploit the existence of a large pool of unskilled, and immobile workers. These workers are, by and large, black. The proportion of blacks working as low-wage laborers and service workers is more than double the proportion of whites in the same occupations.

In effect, the opponents of labor law reform—especially those in the south—hope to preserve a system of occupational segmentation by keeping unions out of low-wage manufacturing and service enterprises. We do not mean to suggest that all opponents of labor law reform (or, for that matter, even a large minority) are motivated by racism. Instead, we are arguing that defeat of the reform package will have an especially adverse economic impact on black workers.

BLACK POLITICAL ACTION

The logic of the black/labor alliance is clear within the economic arena, but what of the political arena? Aren't the links weakening? Aren't black leaders reaching out to other potential allies, such as corporations and even conservative politicians?

Despite all the rumblings about a new black/conservative, or black/business alliance, one basic fact remains: the trade union movement is the only mass organization in America that has the same political and economic agenda as the civil rights movement. While some conservatives and corporate leaders may use the terminology of economic freedom, their agenda and programs will only insure continued economic stagnation, and reinforce persistent inequalities. Indeed, the current line-up on the issue of labor law reform indicates that the traditional opponents of civil rights are once again aligned with groups committed to the gradual weakening of the American collective bargaining system, a system which has benefitted blacks and other low-wage workers immensely.

THE REFORM PROPOSALS

Fewer than 25 years ago, the town of Baxley, Georgia had a novel, but amazingly successful, labor relations program. Union organizing was kept to a minimum because most organizers were unable to raise $1,000 for an "organizing license," nor could they afford the $500 "fee" levied on each signed union authorization card. Without violating a single letter of America's labor law, the employers in Baxley were able to circumvent the spirit of the law.

Although towns like Baxley no longer use such blatant anti-union devices as licenses and fees, many employers successfully—and profitably—violate the National Labor Relations Act. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall recently noted that America's labor laws have become ineffective because "employers have found that they can use delaying tactics to delay the representation election to keep those workers from making the choice they're guaranteed by law—sometimes it's as long as a year or more before they get a chance to vote—hoping, of course, in the meantime, that they can erode the union's support." The second problem, according to Marshall, "is that unfortunately some employers have found it cheaper to disobey the law than to obey it. And the penalties are too weak to deter people who have that conviction." The proposed reform package will remedy those two central problems in a fair and rational way.

For thousands of black workers in the Deep South, the Labor Law Reform Act can be a "Magna Carta." Without it, they will continue to be defenseless against companies like J.P. Stevens; the inequities will continue, and thousands of low-income blacks will continue to be denied their best chance for economic progress—a job covered by a strong union contract.

Bayard Rustin

BAYARD RUSTIN
PRESIDENT

Norman Hill

NORMAN HILL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A. Philip Randolph Institute

Reprinted from the NATIONAL JOURNAL
April 1, 1978

National Urban League, Inc.

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JUN 14 1978

June 13, 1978

Dear Bayard:

I am happy to enclose my signed card indicating agreement with the statement on labor law reform.

You understand, I hope, that this agreement is a personal expression and that any organizational references should be for identification purposes only.

Cordially yours,

Alexander J. Allen
Vice President
Administrative & Public
Affairs

AJA/jat
Enclosure

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Contributions to the National Urban League are tax deductible

The Antioch Baptist Church of Brooklyn
828 GREENE AVENUE • BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11221 • GLENMORE 5-7778
THE REVEREND GEORGE LAWRENCE, Pastor

JUN 22 1978

June 16, 1978

Dear Bayard,

Sorry this is late . . . I have just returned to the City after several speaking engagements. I know you will understand. I am with the struggle full-force. Use my name whenever and wherever needed. And please keep me informed.

Warmest personal regards!

Faithfully, your Friend,

George

GEORGE LAWRENCE

GL:mos
Card Enclosed

"The Church of Active Faith and Faith-Filled Action!"

July 17, 1978

Mrs. Jessie M. Rattley
2901 Jefferson Avenue
Newport,News, Virginia 23607

Dear Mrs. Rattley:

Thank you for endorsing the statement on labor law reform which we sent you.

Although the reform bill was withdrawn because of a filibuster by conservative forces, we plan to continue our fight for this desperately needed reform package.

If I or my staff can ever be of assistance to you or your organization, please contact us.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mr

July 17, 1978

Senator M. Morris Jackson
State House
Columbus, Ohio 43216

Dear Senator Jackson:

Thank you for endorsing the statement on labor law reform which we sent you.

Although the reform bill was withdrawn because of a filibuster by conservative forces, we plan to continue our fight for this desperately needed reform package.

If I or my staff can ever be of assistance to you or your organization, please contact us.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mr

July 17, 1978

Bishop Richard A. Hildebrand
A.M.E. Church
336 Pelham Road
Philadelphia, Pa.   19119

Dear Bishop Hildebrand:

Thank you for endorsing the statement on labor law reform which we sent you.

Although the reform bill was withdrawn because of a filibuster by conservative forces, we plan to continue our fight for this desperately needed reform package.

If I or my staff can ever be of assistance to you or your organization, please contact us.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mr

July 17, 1978

Mrs. Eleanor Holmes Norton
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
2401 "E" Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Eleanor:

Thank you for endorsing the statement on labor law reform which we sent you.

Although the reform bill was withdrawn because of a filibuster by conservative forces, we plan to continue our fight for this desperately needed reform package.

If I or my staff can ever be of assistance to you or your organization, please contact us.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mr

Sent
6/28/78

Dear _____________:

I drafted the enclosed statement for consideration by the Black Summit Meeting scheduled for June 27. That meeting, unfortunately, was canceled.

~~Because--~~

As you know, ~~time-is-running-out-for~~ those of us concerned with the fate of the Labor Law Reform ~~Bill~~ Act. ~~We-must-act-before-mid-July.~~ must act immediately to save the bill. Thus, I am requesting all members of the Summit to endorse the statement on an individual basis. If you agree with the statement, as I hope you will, please let me know as soon as possible. I think we can have a significant impact on the outcome of this battle.

Thank you for your ~~generous~~ continuing support ~~on-this matter,~~ and commitment on this matter.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

Submitted by Bayard Rustin

LABOR LAW REFORM

By skillfully using the filibuster weapon, an instransigent minority in the United States Senate has temporarily prevented the passage of the Labor Law Reform Act, a bill which enjoys clear majority support in the Senate, and which was overwhelmingly approved by the House of Representatives.

We in the black community are all too familiar with the filibuster as an instrument of legislative obstruction. Indeed, the unrelenting attack on the Labor Law Reform Act -- even the compromise version -- reminds us of the prolonged and bitter struggles which preceeded the enactment of virtually every piece of civil rights legislation. If Americans are to retain their trust and confidence in the democratic process, that process must not be used by a legislative minority to subvert and frustrate the will of the majority.

Rather than prolonging the parliamentary stalemate, Senator Majority Leader Robert Byrd wisely agreed to return the bill to the Human Resources Committee for further alterations. While some opponents have asserted that the bill will now simply die in committee, we are confident that Senator Byrd will honor his commitment to reintroduce the bill as soon as possible.

Because this legislation is so important to the future of thousands of minority workers, we urge the Human Resources Committee to release the bill promptly. Furthermore, we urge the Senate leadership to seek an immediate floor vote on the revised bill without another round of meaningless and obstructive debate.

Organizational Leaders participating in BLACK SUMMIT meetings:

DR. BERKELEY G. BURRELL
President
National Business League
c/o Booker T. Washington Foundation
2000 K Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone:
202-857-4800

JULIUS L. CHAMBERS
President
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730 E. Independence Plaza
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THE HONORABLE Dick ~~RICHARD~~ G. HATCHER
Mayor
City of Gary
Gary, Indiana 46402
Phone:
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MISS DOROTHY HEIGHT
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815 Second Avenue
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M. CARL HOLMAN
President
National Urban Coalition
1201 Connecticut Avenue, NW
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Executive Director
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1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10036
Phone:
212-245-2100

THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON
President
PUSH
930 East 50th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60615
Phone:
312-373-3366

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR
President
National Urban League
500 East 62nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10021
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212-644-6511

BLACK SUMMIT - #2

MRS. CORETTA SCOTT KING
President
Martin Luther King Center for Social Change
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Atlanta, Georgia 30314
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Joe

JOSEPH E. LOWERY
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 404-522-1420

THE HONORABLE PARREN J. MITCHELL
Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus
414 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515
Phone: 202-225-4741

Dear Brother

THE HONORABLE WALLACE D. MUHAMMAD
Chief Eman
World Community of Islam in the West
8752 South Cornell Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60617
Phone: 312-667-7200

MS JESSIE RATTLEY
Chairperson
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
2901 Jefferson Avenue
Newport News, Virginia 23607
Phone: 804-245-4915

BAYARD RUSTIN
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THE REVEREND LEON H. SULLIVAN
Director
Opportunities Industrialization Center
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Philadelphia, Pa. 19140
Phone: 215-BA 3-5460

EDDIE N. WILLIAMS
President
Joint Center for Political Studies
1426 H Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20005
Phone: 202-638-4477

5/24/78

~~act~~ Labor Law Project

Project:
Getting approx 200 signatures on
Labor Law Statement

Timetable: Before June 20th

Purpose: Build Support for Pro-Cloture
Votes

AFL-CIO Liason – Donald Slaiman
CC: Donny.
Kambes

Implementation:
Mailing I – 200 people.
Statement is written
Cover letter, signed by BR.
&, with Fill-ins
Signature card
National Journal article?
Put together list – Mike

Mailing II – thank you letters

Phone Calls. -

Telephone # research.

BR make follow up phone calls.

Contact
Hildebrand
Pollard
Wilkins
Mitchell

members — Group — Regional Rep.
↓
Executive Board

LLR

Memo to Donahue
cc: D. Slaiman

---

call Slaiman

National Coalition for Effective Affirmative Action

Commentary - ad 10/77
Labor + Human Rights

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN HILL, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
ON
H.R. 8410, LABOR LAW REFORM ACT OF 1977

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
JULY 27, 1977

My name is Norman Hill and I am executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. As most of you may know, the Institute, in existence since 1964 and with 180 chapters in 35 states, is dedicated to expanding the role of minority citizens and improving the quality of job opportunities, particularly by working with the labor movement. Our work is grounded in the belief, to which A. Philip Randolph's life gives eloquent testimony, that the attainment of civil rights is inextricably tied to equal economic opportunity.

The Labor Law Refrom Act of 1977 by more fully guaranteeing the fundamental rights of American workers will be an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity. The Wagner Act of 1935 established the labor relations policy of the nation as "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." Yet, in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weaknesses in the law which, in practice, discourage the practice of collective bargaining. The Congress now has a tremendous opportunity to make sure that our labor laws actually guarantee workers free choice to exercise the rights recognized and promised by the

Wagner Act.

Although the Wagner Act is usually viewed as Labor's Bill of Rights, it is often overlooked that it was, at the same time, a tremendous contribution to racial equality. By making possible the organization of workers in the mass production industries, the Wagner Act provided a major boost to the income of black workers and brought them to a level of approximate equality with white workers in those same industries. Studies by economists such as Orley Ashenfelter have found that there is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. Indeed, unionization has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) show that blacks in the trade union movement earned annually a full $2000 more than their non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of whites in the economy as whole, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In transportation it was 89.6 percent in durable goods 93 percent, and in metal trades 97 percent. Similarly, 1965 statistics show that while 14.3 percent of non-union black families had income below $3000, only 3.9 percent of black union households were in that category. In short, the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans. The reverse is equally true, barriers to unionization prevent black workers from making economic advances.

Labor law reform is needed to protect the rights of un-

organized workers, to guarantee that they are truly able to exercise freedom of choice. When the rights to organize and bargain collectively is effectively denied to millions of workers, black workers are special victims. They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities.

Workers in low wage industries suffer most from the inadequacies and abuses of current labor law. Earning very marginal incomes, they cannot afford to be fired unjustly and then wait indefinitely for the NLRB to rule on their cases. Twenty percent of all black workers are service workers, where the level of unionization is at a low 10.5 percent.

Other black workers are denied freedom of choice because they are concentrated in regions of the country where employers take pride in keeping unions out through illegal harrassment and because the National Labor Relations Act is virtually powerless to prevent employer abuses. A case in point in the Florida Steel Corporation. The December 1976 Staff Report on the National Labor Relations Act of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations summarized:

> The company uses the traditional anti-union

techniques of discharging the known union adherents in an effort to intimidate the others. In addition, it utilized the use of "race hate" to divide and conquer the workers. Thus, when the union organizing campaign began in Charlotte, it was blamed on the "black people." The Industrial Relations Manager told others that "the NAACP had petitioned the United Steelworkers to 'kick off' this campaign." Supervisors were told to emphasize in their discussions with the workers that "this would be a black union, and that it was going to be run by blacks."

In the first of many Florida Steel cases it was to hear, the National Labor Relations Board declared:

> The racial overtones in this case demonstrate Respondent's hostility to those of its black employees who were union adherents. Fourteen of the seventeen alleged dischargees were black. Testimony was adduced at the hearing the Respondent would not hire young black employees as they were viewed as likely union supporters, and the Administrative Law Judge specifically found appeals to racial prejudice in the Company's anti-union campaign....

The union persevered and won at two Florida Steel plants, but thus far, they have been unable to get a first contract. And although some of the workers were eventually reinstated with back pay, many were out of a job for a year and a half or longer.

To the extent that labor law frustrates the ability of

white and black workers to organize, it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice. In fact, the absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations.

In exercising their rights as workers, many blacks face barriers which, although they may be slightly more subtle, are no less formidable than they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. They face employer abuse and intimidation. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist, Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union activists. The ability of employers to defy the law with impunity has effectively robbed workers of their promised right of free choice. How can a choice be "free" when it may cost you your livelihood?

And, of course, the closer a worker is to the poverty line, the more expensive the risk becomes and the fewer real choices exist. It is not difficult to sympathize with the worker who decides that even a miserable and low-paying job is better than being fired for attempting to join a union, but one must have enormous respect for the courage of workers who decide to risk their jobs in order to exercise their rights. There is something wrong when a worker is required to be a hero in order to exercise his promised rights.

Whatever progress has been made, black people still comprise a disproportionately large percentage of this nation's

poor and marginal wage earners, those who cannot take chances if they wish to maintain a minimum living standard for themselves and their families.

Blacks are overwhelmingly a working people, so we have an enormous stake in proposals to make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and equitably. The A. Philip Randolph Institute believes that the Labor Law Reform Act, H.R. 8410, goes a long ways towards accomplishing those objectives. Several of the components of the bill are of special significance for black workers. Because black workers are especially prone to be pro-union, they face enormous risks of being fired for pro-union sentiments or activities. H.R. 8410 would remedy this situation by authorizing the National Labor Relations Board to award double backpay without mitigation to workers who were illegally discharged before the initial contract. Another important reform is that the Board should be authorized to prohibit a firm from obtaining Federal contracts for a period of three years, if the firm is found to have willfully and repeatedly violated NLRB orders. Equally important are the various measures designed to insure expeditious and meaningful elections and to streamline the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board and to reduce delays in the Board's operations. In addition, the Board should also be required to seek preliminary injunctions against certain unfair labor practices which interfere seriously with employee rights. These reforms would do

much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so.

The Institute believes that the Labor Law Reform Act is an important step towards economic and social justice. We hope that the Committee and Congress will agree.

A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute

BURLINGTON
CHAPTER

President
Billye Smith
Vice President
Mary Baker
Secretary
Fay Dean
Recording Secretaries
Laura Baker, Barbara Cooper
Treasurer
George Newman

September 24, 1977

Dear Congressman Leach,

I am employed at a profit hungry conglomerate, one of the many in this country. I have no quarrel with the company I work for or any other company making a profit. I am only disturbed when in order to satisfy their sometimes greedy needs we as employees are denied our rights. These companies will use every tricky, illegal method to manipulate the law until the law is ineffective to help the employees. I have seen it happen and have experienced some. I am writing urging you to support the Labor Law Reform Bill. It needs the strength it was created with. The weakening amendments made it practically worthless to the poor working class people. The majority of the working class are poor. More of us are living beyond our means, because our take home pay is far less than what it takes to run an average home.

The minimum wage and the Labor Law Reform Bill both need your support. Good faith bargaining will result from the Labor Law Reform, what could possibly be fairer. It is actually a human rights issue, giving the working class equal rights.

I am the President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute Chapter in Burlington, Iowa. I am sorry other commitments made it impossible for me to see you on your last visit here, but I would like to meet you and talk to you when you are in Burlington again. One of our Presidents will be seeing you in Washington soon on behalf of the State APRI. One of our main jobs as APRI people is to educate the working class on our Congressmen's voting records on important legislation, so it is of great importance that we let you know what we need.

I will close urging you to support the Labor Law Reform Bill that is so vitally needed for the human rights of all working Americans.

Sincerely,

Billye Smith, President
Burlington, Iowa Chapter APRI
Vice Pres. IAM LL 2303

The FLORIDA STAR

"FLORIDA'S STATEWIDE BLACK WEEKLY"

VOL.27 NO.20 SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 17-23, 1977 25 CENTS

A. Philip Randolph Institute To Hold Monthly Meeting

Mrs. Julia W. Burwell Ladies Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Mr. John Parrott APRI Executive Vice-President, will address the monthly meeting of the local A. Philip Randolph Institute, Wednesday night, September 21, 1977 at 8:00 P.M. in recognition of the contributions of A. Philip Randloph, founder and president of the institute bearing his name and President-Emeritus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union he built.

The month of September has been designated nationally by the AFL-CIO as the month of Labor Law Reform with activities of local unions focusing on a full employment economy. A. Philip Randloph, father of the civil rights revolution has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights. He believed that in a bread-and-butter world jobs were the passport to dignity.

Mrs . Burwell, delegate to the March on Washington Movement will focus her remarks to the address and agenda of A. Philip Randolph's message to the origional March on Washington Movement Converence of 1942 as it relates to today's agenda of : full employemnt for blacks, and minoritys, labor and the economy.

Mrs. Burwell's post Labor Day address will focus attention on the important work of the Institute, Mr. Randolph and the trade union movement is supporting and promoting those issues and goals which Mr. Randolph believed that the trade union movement offered the best way for the racially and socially oppressed to overcome and unjust and inequitable situtation. That faith has been justified, and that labor movement stands in the forefront of those institutions which struggle to achieve a better society.

BANKING, FINANCE AND
URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE
JOINT COMMITTEE
ON
DEFENSE PRODUCTION
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON AGING
STEERING COMMITTEE:
NORTHEAST-MIDWEST ECONOMIC
ADVANCEMENT COALITION

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DAVE EVANS
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INDIANAPOLIS INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46241
TELEPHONE: (317) 269-7364
TOLL FREE NUMBER:
OPERATOR-ENTERPRISE 7364

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
432 CANNON OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-2276

October 5, 1977

Ms. Cordelia Lewis
2943 N. Kenwood
Indianapolis, IN 46208

Dear Ms. Lewis:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning labor law reform legislation.

H.R. 8410 is designed to rationalize the administration and procedures of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), to speed up the handling of cases by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) by eliminating bureaucratic delays, and to strengthen penalties for violations of the Act. I want to emphasize that the vast majority of companies, which are law-abiding, have nothing to fear from the proposed changes. I think we all agree that these objectives are worthwhile.

The important provisions of the bill include: 1) Representation elections would be held within 15 to 75 days, depending on the circumstances. There is no reason why an election should not be held reasonably soon after the filing of an employees' petition. Delay in the holding of an election increases the chances that violations of the law will occur. 2) The NLRB would have to develop rules ensuring that employees would have a fair chance to hear both union and management views before an election is held. 3) Employees, illegally discharged during an organizational drive or before a first collective bargaining agreement is signed, would be entitled to reinstatement with double back pay. This uncomplicated formula should avoid questions of how much aggrieved employees would be due, as well as deter employers from resorting to the illegal action. 4) The NLRB would be authorized to award compensation to employees where an employer unlawfully refuses to bargain. 5) Willful and flagrant violators of the NLRA would be barred from receiving federal contracts for a period of three years. At present, companies found guilty of violating anti-discrimination laws lose government contracts. There is no reason why violators of the NLRA, be they unions or management, should be treated any differently.

The provisions of H.R. 8410 do not create any new rights; they simply amend the present law to assure implementation of previously existing rights. The provisions of the bill apply to unions as well as management.

I appreciate your views and will keep them in mind when I vote on this legislation.

Sincerely,

Dave Evans

DAVE EVANS
Member of Congress

DE/le

Wayne County A.Philip Randolph Institute

514 E. Pollock Street
Mount Olive, N.C. 28365
(919) 658-3304

Work Report

To: Norman Hill, Executive Director

From; Martha Nobles, President

This is to inform you of the work this chapter has done on the minimum wage issue as well as labor law reform.

Minimun Wage:

1. Sent mailgrams to Congressman Whitley and Senator Morgan.

Labor Law Reform:

1. Sent personal letter to Congressman Whitley.
2. Sent 25 letters to Congressman Whitley from chapter.
3. Worked with CLU in getting cards signed to send to Congressman. A total of 125 cards were signed.

I am enclosing copies of the mailgrams mentioned above. It would be greatly appreciated if you would return these to me. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Martha Nobles

Martha Nobles, President

The OMAHA STAR

Dedicated to the Service of the People that NO Good Cause Shall Lack a Champion and that Evil Shall Not Go Unopposed

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Rustin Calls For Labor Law Reform

"The most vulnerable and least secure members of society" are victimized by shortcomings in the nation's labor laws, declared Bayard Rustin, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in testimony before the Senate subcommittee on Labor on Sept. 23. Rustin said that millions of workers are denied the rights of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing.

The noted civil rights leader told the Senate panel, which is chaired by Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, that the purpose of the labor law reform bill is "simple justice." Rustin observed that the legislation, which is supported by President Carter, the AFL-CIO, and religious and civil rights groups, does not ask the Congress to establish new rights, but "merely seeks that rights already promised are made a reality." He said that reforms are needed so that workers could decide whether to join unions "without the threat of coercion, harassment, intimidation, or reprisal."

"When the rights to organize and bargain collectively are denied," Rustin declared, "black workers are special victims." He explained that blacks work in industries and regions where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions. He also noted that "the absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations."

On the basis of personal experience, Rustin said it was clear that "in exercising their rights as workers, many blacks face barriers which are almost as formidable as those they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union activists."

Rustin described the Labor Law Reform Act as an important part of the answer in closing the income gap between black and white Americans. He cited figures from the 1970 census showing that blacks in the trade union movement earned $2000 more a year than their non-union counterparts. There is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. "A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities."

Among the proposals in the Labor Law Reform Act, which Rustin described as particularly important are: double backpay for workers who are illegally discharged before the initial contract, prohibiting firms which violate labor laws from obtaining Federal contracts, and measures to insure expenditious and meaningful elections and to streamline the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board. Rustin said that these and other reforms in the bill "would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so."

Late Edition
Indiana Herald
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"The Sword of Truth Is Eternally Sharp"
OCTOBER 1-5, 1977
UPI, NNPA, Ind. Dem. Ed. Assn.

RUSTIN SAYS . . .

Reform Labor Law

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Rochester --- Niagara Region
The BUFFALO CRITERION
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Labor's National Viewpoint

(AFL-CIO Labor Comments)

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Hill, Randolph Institute request Labor Law reform

The Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 is "an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity," declared Norman Hill, excutive director of the A. philip Randolph Institute in testimony to the House subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations.

Hill said that black workers had a particular interest in reforming the nation's labor laws.

"They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions the service industries the South, and government employment."

Hill told the subcommittee, which is chaired by Congressman Frank Thompson of New Jersey, that "the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans."

He explained that there is substantially loss discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. More over, unionzation has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. Unionized black workers in manufacturing earned an median wage of 8 percent of the white median compared to black income at 60 percent of white income in the economy as a whole.

Labor law reform is needed, Hill said, to protect the rights of unorganized workers. The Wagner Act of 1935 had as its declared purpose "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing. "But ,"Hill declared, "in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weakness in the law which.. discourages the practice of collective bargaining." Hill's testimony observed that when weaknesses in the labor laws frustrate the abilities of workers to organize, "it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice."

In explaining the need to reform the nation's labor laws, Hill cited the similarity to civil rights legislation.

In exercising their rights as workers" Hill said, "many blacks face barriers which, although they may be slightly more subtle, are not less formidable than they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. They face employe abuse and intimidation. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union adherents.

Hill concluded his testimony by urging the passage of the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977, which is supported by President Carter and the AFL CIO. Hill said that the bill would make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and smoothly. The reforms in the bill, he declared, "would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and promt chance to do so."

THE Atlanta Inquirer

"To seek out the Truth and report it without Fear or Favor"

VOL. 17 NO. 1 AUGUST 6, 1977 TELEPHONE: (404) 523-6086

IMPORTANT FOR BLACKS

Hill, Randolph Institute Ask Labor Law Reform

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FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE of the need for labor law reform is provided at House hearings by four victims of the Darlington, S.C., mill closing 21 years ago. They are shown above with their congressman, John W. Jenrette, Jr. (D-S.C.), who said legislation is needed to prevent future injustices. At right, two civil rights leaders testify for the bill. Norman Hill, left, is director of the A. Philip Randolph Foundation; Clarence Mitchell is the NAACP Washington director and chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

BLACK LEADERS testify for labor law reform at Senate hearings. From left: Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP.

Employer Groups Mount Drive To Scuttle Labor Law Reforms

(Continued from Page 1)

a different type of coalition—made up of a broad array of public interest and civil rights organizations, religious leaders and women's groups that have joined the trade union movement in endorsing the Administration bill.

To Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP and chairman of the Civil Rights Leadership Conference, the legislation is "particularly important to black people" who are concentrated in occupations and regions of the country "where employer abuses of existing law have blocked collective bargaining."

Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, told the panel that blacks seeking to exercise their rights as workers often "face barriers which are almost as formidable as those they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights."

The legal right of workers to choose whether they want to be represented by a union is meaningless, Rustin stressed, when employers are able to "defy the law with near impunity."

The president of the National Council of Negro Women, Dorothy Height, was not impressed by employer arguments that labor law reform would make it easier to organize.

For both black and white women, she said, "unions are the most important ally they have in their fight for more adequate wages and better working conditions."

The Senate Subcommittee on Labor also heard from several panels of union witnesses, with testimony by others necessarily postponed by the 'round-the-clock floor battle over energy legislation.

Union testimony included:

- A demonstration by the Industrial Union Dept.'s general counsel, Elliot Bredhoff, that the token backpay awards to workers illegally fired for union activities represent to employers "a bargain price for union-busting." And, he reminded the panel, when an employer refuses to bargain "astonishingly, at present, the Labor Board's only remedy for a refusal to bargain is an order directing the employer to bargain."

- Paperworkers Vice President Arnold E. Brown submitted a four-page chronology of the delays the union encountered in first getting an election and then getting bargaining started for a unit of 29 Westvaca workers employed near Covington, Va.

On June 16, 1975, the union filed an election petition signed by 19 of the 29 workers. The election was not held until September 1975 and the union was not certified until March 1976.

A refusal to bargain charge was upheld by the NLRB in October 1976 and finally enforced in federal appellate court in July 1977. The first bargaining session was held on Aug. 29, 1977, and no contract has yet been negotiated.

- Furniture Worker witnesses Donald Riger of the UFWA staff and Gerald Wasik, a member of the union's bargaining committee at Donn Products, Westlake, Ohio, gave first-hand testimony to the type of unfair labor practices by an employer that make a fair election impossible, and the years of delay in a bargaining order still pending in federal court.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
Winston-Salem Chapter
1651 N. W. Blvd. #N
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27104
Phone 725-3203

October 7, 1977

Mr. Norman Hill, Exec. Dir.
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Brother Hill:

Enclosed are copies of letters that were mailed from our chapter to our congressman on Labor Law Reform. We mailed over 50 copies of these letters and about 1000 post cards. Another 500 were hand-carried to our congressman during the week of October 5th.

We did not send mailgrams because we felt the money could be better used to buy postage to send more letters from more people.

Letters and cards were also sent to a number of N.A.A.C.P. Chapters and they mailed them to their respective congressmen.

Postcards were also mailed and hand-carried by our chapters across the state.

James Andrews and I lobbied with all of our congressmen from North Carolina on Tuesday October 4 in Washington, D. C.

Sincerely

Avery Flynt

Avery Flynt
President

A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute

Winston-Salem A.P.R.I. Chapter
1651 N.W. Boulevard #N, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27104
(919) 725-3203-H

Avery Flynt, President

Honorable Stephen L. Neal
Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Neal:

With all the laws there are about union elections, bargaining agreements, what's legal and illegal, union representation elections are still drawn out and argued over. It takes months, even years, often times for a simple election to take place. Management tries to draw out the election process so that the workers will get frustrated and will cool off--- delay is their number one tactic to prevent us from being able to bargain collectively.

We want something done, now, so that union elections can be held quickly and without unnecessary delays. We support procedures which would require elections to be held in a certain amount of time. We need all the help we can get to stop the unfair employers from delaying the elections. Please help us and vote for Jimmy Carter's Labor Law Reform proposal.

Concerned,

A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute

Winston-Salem A.P.R.I. Chapter
1651 N.W. Boulevard #N, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27104
(919) 725-3203-H

Avery Flynt, President

The Honorable Stephen L. Neal
U. S. House of Representatives
Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Neal:

After 42 years of unfulfilled promises, American workers are demanding their fundamental rights. The 1935 Wagner Act guaranteed workers the right to decide for themselves, through a government-supervised election, if they want union representation. It also established fundamental protections against infringement of that right by their employers. What happened to these rights and protections?

The unfortunate answer is that the determined will of businessmen to deny workers their rights has been largely successful. Companies such as Dow Chemical, Monroe Auto Equipment and J. P. Stevens have repeatedly broken the labor laws. Union busting has become their specialty.

Stiffer penalties will serve as effective deterrents to those who conspire to violate our labor laws. The National Labor Relations Board should be able to enforce its own orders, streamline its procedures and handle complaints more quickly. We urge you to vote for labor law reform as proposed by President Jimmy Carter.

Sincerely yours,

A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute

Winston-Salem A.P.R.I. Chapter
1651 N.W. Boulevard #N, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27104
(919) 725-3203-H

Avery Flynt, President

The Honorable Stephen L. Neal
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Neal:

I'm a taxpayer and a union member, and I am writing this letter to you because I have serious doubts concerning equality and justice in America today.

Where is the American ideal of equality and justice under the law when unprincipled businessmen can continually and arrogantly break the law, knowing full well that the only punishment they will ever receive may be a relatively small fine sometime in the distant future? In order for a law to be effective, a strong deterrent is needed to back it up.

With regard to the present procedural operations of the National Labor Relations Board, a strong deterrent is non-existent due to delay and weakness. The length of time required to fully process a case through the NLRB, followed by court appeals, is unbearable and unnecessary. A simple and effective solution to the problem of delay can be accomplished by providing for discretionary Board review of cases.

In addition to discretionary review, stiffer penalties for defying Board orders are desperately needed. It is presently much cheaper for businesses to pay legal fees and fines for their calculated violations of the law than it is for them to comply with Board and court orders. Compliance would mean collective bargaining and decent wages for workers. Stiffer penalties are needed to provide incentive for obeying the law.

The suggestions I have mentioned in this letter are not unreasonable. If enacted, provisions in the law such as these will serve to support and perpetuate our economic system, for in the final analysis, fairness is essential to any organized society.

Respectfully yours,

A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute

BURLINGTON
CHAPTER

President
Billye Smith
Vice President
Mary Baker
Secretary
Fay Dean
Recording Secretaries
Laura Baker, Barbara Cooper
Treasurer
George Newman

October 8, 1977

Dear Senator Clark:

Just returned from the Iowa Federation of Labor Convention. During the Convention it was voted unanimously that we the delegates endorse you. We all think that you will support all legislation so vitally necessary for the good and welfare of the poor working people.

The Labor Reform Act is priority number one as I write this letter. It is truly a human rights issue. It is not all we need to correct some of the things that have happened by way of unfair labor practices, but it is a step in the right direction.

So I urge you to please help this reformation through the Senate, if it reaches the Senate. I am sure if Congressman Leach and Grassely have any luck at all it won't. Iowa does not need them at all.

Thank you for a job well done.

Sincerely,

Billye Smith, President
Burlington Chapter APRI

bc

ALAN CRANSTON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 28, 1977

JAN 18 1978

Mr. W.J. Billingsly
Business Manager
Local No. 73
Laborers' International Union of
North America
2841 East Myrtle Street
Stockton, California 95205

Dear Mr. Billingsly,

Many thanks for letting me know of your support for the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977. I appreciate your contacting me on behalf of the Laborers' International Union of North America.

I join you in your support for this measure, which is so very important for American workers. The major flaw of the National Labor Relations Board today is its failure to resolve disputes arising in the organizing and collective bargaining process quickly and fairly. In case after case, we see how anti-union employers take advantage of loopholes in the law to delay actions which the law requires to happen within a reasonable period of time. You may be sure that I'll do what I can to see that we enact the legislation to make laws governing labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly and equitably.

Thanks so much for writing! My warm regards to you and the members of Local No. 73.

Sincerely,

Alan

Alan Cranston

HAWKEYE GAZETTE

BURLINGTON, IOWA

On the Waterfront

BURLINGTON ON THE MISSISSIPPI

At the 8th national A. Philip Randolph convention held in Cherry Hills, New Jersey, I had the privilege to hear a rare speech by A. Philip Randolph. During the course of his speech he said, "As long as there is a breath in my body I will continue to fight for economic and social justice." Although the whole speech was wonderfully inspiring, that statement made a tremendous impression on me. This great 85- 84 year-old gentleman has spent a good deal of his life doing just that. He has opened many doors, not only for minorities but for the working people of all races. He is telling us we still have a struggle and that we are becoming too complacent. He warned us not to stop fighting for justice because he isn't going to and he will lead us until he can no more.

Now President Carter has promised us a Labor Law Reform. We who need the strengthening of the law will have to help. We can do this by writing our Congressmen and begging them to support the Labor Law Reform.

In a testimony to the House subcommittee on labor-management relations, Mr. Norman Hill, (national) executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute said, "Labor Law reform is needed to protect the rights of unorganized workers. The Wagner Act of 1935 had as its declared purpose, encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and as protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing. But Mr. Hill pointed out that these freedoms continued to be denied to millions of workers by weakness in the law." Mr. Hill also said that the bill would make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly and smoothly.

Many of us know of cases — labor law violations — that have been delayed for long periods of time until the law is almost useless. This reformation which President Carter proposed will change that situation considerably. I beg you all that read this article, to support the Labor Law reform. Write, call, or talk to your Congressmen and urge them to support the Labor Law reform.

"As long as there is a breath in my body I will fight for social and economic justice." I will join that fight also, Mr. Randolph. — BILLYE SMITH, President, Burlington Chapter, APRI, Vice President, IAM LL2303

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights adopted 11/18/77

STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM

Unionization, traditionally, has been one of the roads out of poverty for millions of minority Americans. Enactment of the Wagner Act, 42 years ago, gave new impetus to the organizing process and enabled many working Americans to surmount the barriers of discriminations based on nationality, race, sex and religion. In spite of the gains made under the Wagner Act we are discovering, today, loopholes and limitations in the law that have enabled some employers to thwart workers in their attempts to organize. It is no accident that the most horrendous examples of how employers have been able to use the act to delay and frustrate the aspirations of their workers come from those poorly paid industries that have large numbers of minorities and women in their labor forces. It is more than coincidence that a company like J. P. Stevens, which has been able to use the weaknesses in the present law to obstruct organizing drives for more than 14 years, is also notorious for its policies of racial discrimination.

The Labor Law Reform Bill (H. R. 8410, S. 1883), would go far toward stopping the use of the Wagner Act to block organizing efforts through delay and intimidation. As passed by the House of Representatives on October 6, the bill would help assure prompt union elections; prohibit illegal discharges and intimidation; and speed up National Labor Relations Board procedures.

We, the members of the Executive Committee of the LCCR, therefore, express our support of H. R. 8410, S. 1883 and urge our constituent organizations to join in the nation-wide drive to get the bill enacted. We believe this measure will strengthen the economic rights that we have long recognized to be essential if people are to enjoy the benefits and freedoms of the federal civil rights laws.

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STATEMENT ON LABOR LAW REFORM

-adopted by LCCR Executive Committee
November 18, 1977

Unionization, traditionally, has been one of the roads out of poverty for millions of minority Americans. Enactment of the Wagner Act, 42 years ago, gave new impetus to the organizing process and enabled many working Americans to surmount the barriers of discrimination based on nationality, race, sex and religion. In spite of the gains made under the Wagner Act we are discovering, today, loopholes and limitations in the law that have enabled some employers to thwart workers in their attempts to organize. It is no accident that the most horrendous examples of how employers have been able to use the act to delay and frustrate the aspirations of their workers come from those poorly paid industries that have large numbers of minorities and women in their labor forces. It is more than coincidence that a company like J. P. Stevens, which has been able to use the weaknesses in the present law to obstruct organizing drives for more than 14 years, is also notorious for its policies of racial discrimination.

The Labor Law Reform Bill (H. R. 8410 in the House, S. 1883 in the Senate), would go far toward stopping the use of the Wagner Act to block organizing efforts through delay and intimidation. As passed by the House of Representatives on October 6, the bill would help assure prompt union elections; prohibit illegal discharges and intimidation; and speed up National Labor Relations Board procedures.

We, the members of the Executive Committee of the LCCR, therefore, express our support of the Reform bill and urge our constituent organizations to join in the nation-wide drive to get the measure enacted. We believe this legislation will strengthen the economic rights that we have long recognized to be essential if people are to enjoy the benefits and freedomes of the federal civil rights laws.

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TESTIMONY OF BAYARD RUSTIN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
ON
S. 1883, LABOR LAW REFORM ACT OF 1977

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, SENATE COMMITTEE
ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
SEPTEMBER 23, 1977

My name is Bayard Rustin and I am President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. I appear here today in support of the President's proposals for reforming the National Labor Relations Act.

I believe that the Labor Law Reform Act is among the most important pieces of civil and human rights legislation to come before the Congress in many years. My primary concern is the positive affect that this legislation can have on the lives of millions of individuals and the important contribution it can make towards perfecting and strengthening our democracy. Democratic societies face moral crises when rights exist in name only or are denied to a section of the population. Just as the civil rights movement has been a response to the denial of rights to blacks and other minorities, the need to reform our labor laws is created by the discrepancy between rights and reality. The Labor Law Reform Act does not ask the Congress to establish new rights; it merely seeks to guarantee that rights already promised are made a reality.

The purpose of this bill is simple justice. It asks no more than that workers be free to exercise their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining without the threat of coercion, harassment, intimidation, or reprisal from their employers. The Wagner Act of 1935 established the labor relations policy of the nation as "encouraging the practices and prodecure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." But, in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by imperfections in the law which, in practice, discourage the practice of collective bargaining. The challenge before the Congress is to make sure that our labor law actually guarantees workers free choice to exercise the rights recognized and promised by the Wagner Act.

It is the most vulnerable and least secure members of society who are most seriously harmed by the shortcomings in the labor laws. Those who are most in need of protection are denied it. When the rights to organize and bargain collectively are denied to millions of workers, black workers are special victims. They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. Workers in low wage industries suffer most from the inadequacies and abuses of current labor law. Earning very marginal incomes, they cannot afford to be fired unjustly and then wait indefinitely for the National Labor Relations Board to rule on their cases.

Many black workers are denied freedom of choice because they are concentrated in regions of the country where employers take pride in keeping unions out through illegal harassment and because the National Labor Relations Act is virtually powerless to prevent employer abuses. The absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations. A case in point is the Florida Steel Corporation. The December 1976 staff report on the National Labor Relations Act of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations summarized the case:

"The company uses the traditional anti-union techniques of discharging the known union adherents in an effort to intimidate the others. In addition, it utilized the use of 'race hate' to divide and conquer the workers. Thus, when the union organizing campaign began in Charlotte, it was blamed on the 'black people.' The Industrial Relations Manager told others that 'the NAACP had petitioned the United Steelworkers to "kick off" this campaign.' Supervisors were told to emphasize in their discussions with the workers that 'this would be a black union, and that it was going to be run by blacks.'"

In the first of many Florida Steel cases it was to hear, the National Labor Relations Board declared:

"The racial overtones in this case demonstrate Respondents hostility to those of its black employees who were union adherents. Fourteen of the seventeen alleged discharges were black. Testimony was adduced at the hearing that the Respondent would not hire young black employees as they were viewed as likely union supporters, and the Administrative Law Judge specifically found appeals to racial prejudice in the Company's anti-union campaign. The union persevered and won at two Florida Steel plants, but thus far they have been unable to get a first contract, And although some of the workers were eventually reinstated with back pay, many were out of a job for a year and a half or longer."

Sadly, Florida Steel is not an isolated case. It is part of a pattern that has been repeated at plants belonging to the Bancroft Manufacturing Company, the plants of the J.P. Stevens company, and countless other workplaces, both large and small.

I would like to briefly share some experiences with the problems in the labor laws which are crying for correction. In the Spring of this year, I spent some time in Memphis, Tennessee assisting an organizing drive conducted by the United Furniture Workers. The union succeeded in winning the election at the Memphis Furniture Company on May 20, and although over two-thirds of the employees voted for the union, they have still not been able to obtain a contract. During the course of the union's recognition drive, many workers faced company harassment. Five employees were fired for their pro-union sentiments and only after long legal proceedings were they able to gain reinstatement. After reaching a settlement under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of the first worker fired, the company removed the notice which pledged not to harass. To make matters worse, the company distributed a handbill falsely informing its employees that backpay money would be received not by the worker in question, but by the union.

Before the representation election was held, the Industrial Relations Manager for the Company had written that the matter could best be determined by a secret ballot election, but after the election was held the company changed its tune. It filed a series of charges with the NLRB trying to overthrow the election. After filing the charges, the President of the Company said that if the NLRB dismissed the charges the Company would immediately enter into negotiations. The NLRB dismissed the company's charges but the Company has still refused to enter into negotiations.

My experience in Memphis has made it very clear to me that in exercising their rights as workers, many blacks face barriers which are almost as formidable as those they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union activists. The ability of employers to defy the law with near impunity has effectively robbed workers of their promised right of free choice. How can a choice be "free" when it may cost you your livelihood? How can it be free when it may take years to regain your job if you are unjustly fired?

The proposals embodied in the Labor Law Reform Act would do much to correct the abuses that currently plague our labor laws. If the National Labor Relations Board is empowered to order compensation to the employees for an illegal refusal to bargain after an election, delays like the one suffered under existing law can be prevented. A particularly important reform is to authorize the NLRB to award double backpay to workers who are illegally discharged before the initial contract. Another important reform is that the Board should be authorized to prohibit a firm from obtaining Federal contracts for a period of three years, if the firm is found to have willfully and repeatedly violated NLRB orders. Equally important are the various measures designed to insure expeditious and meaningful elections and to streamline the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board and to reduce delays in the Board's operations. In addition, the Board should also be required to seek preliminary injunctions against certain unfair labor practices which interfere seriously with employee rights. These reforms would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so.

I am sure that members of this committee are as deeply troubled by the August unemployment figures as I am. Black joblessness has jumped to 14.5 percent, matching the post-World War II record high of September 1975. Moreover, black unemployment is running considerably higher than its historic ratio of twice the white rate. Despite the important progress that has been made, black people still comprise a disproportionately large percentage of this nation's poor and marginal wage earners. The Labor Law Reform Act is not the complete answer to closing the income gap between black and white Americans, but it certainly is an important part. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) show that blacks in the trade union movement earned annually a full $2000 more than there non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of whites in the economy as a whole, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In short, the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans. There is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. To the extent that labor law frustrates the ability of white and black workers to organize it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/667-1780

DEC 2 1977

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November 30, 1977

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

RE: LABOR LAW REFORM

The enclosed statement on Labor Law Reform was adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee at its meeting on November 18. We believe the need for this legislation on the part of minorities and women is self-evident and urge our organizations to participate in the drive for its enactment.

Details about the bill, a list of the many organizations supporting it and other relevant background information can be obtained from Doris Hardesty, Americans for Justice on the Job, Suite 602, 815-16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006. Phone: (202) 637-5367.

Americans for Justice on the Job is a coalition in formation of national organizations working for the enactment of reforms in the National Labor Relations Act. It welcomes new members.

Please let us know what action you take in this matter.

#############

"For Full Equality In A Free, Plural Democratic Society"

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

Actors Equity
African Methodist Episcopal Church
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of America
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen
American Baptist Churches, U.S.A.—National Ministries
American Civil Liberties Union
American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, Inc.
American Council for the Blind
American Ethical Union
American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Federation of State County & Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Postal Workers Union
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
A. Phillip Randolph Institute
B'nai B'rith Women
Center for Community Change
Center for National Policy Review
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Church of the Brethren—World Ministries Commission
Church Women United
Citizens Lobby for Freedom & Fair Play
Communication Workers of America
Congress of Italian-American Organizations, Inc.
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Division of Homeland Ministries—Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
Episcopal Church—Public Affairs Office
Federation of Organizations for Professional Women
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Frontiers International Inc.
Frontlash
Hadassah
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union
Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks of the World
Industrial Union Department—AFL-CIO
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union of America
International Molders & Allied Workers Union
International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc.
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans
Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity
Labor Zionist Alliance
League for Industrial Democracy
League of Women Voters of the United States
Lutheran Church in America—Division for Mission in North America
Lutheran Human Relations Association
National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees
National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees—National Women's Auxiliary
National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Association of Community Health Centers
National Association of Human Rights Workers
National Association of Market Developers
National Association of Negro Business & Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc.
National Association of Social Workers
National Association of University Women
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.
National Bar Association
National Beauty Culturists' League, Inc.
National Business League
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Coalition of American Nuns
National Conference of Catholic Charities
National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches—Department of Social Justice
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc.
National Dental Association
National Education Association
National Farmers Union
National Federation of Settlements & Neighborhood Centers
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Funeral Directors and Morticians Association
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Legal Aid & Defender Association
National Medical Association
National Neighbors
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Organization for Women
National Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers & Group Leaders
National Rural Housing Coalition
National Sharecroppers Fund
National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa, Inc.
National Student Lobby
National Urban League
Newspaper Guild
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.
Opportunities Industralization Center—Government Relations Services (OIC)
Organization of Chinese Americans, Inc.
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc.
Pioneer Women, American Affairs
Potomac Institute
Presbyterian Interracial Council
Recruitment and Training Program
Retail Clerks International Association
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc.
Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Transport Workers Union of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association
Unitarian Universalists for Black and White Action
United Automobile Workers of America
United Church of Christ—Center for Social Action
United Church of Christ—Committee for Racial Justice Now
United Farm Workers of America
United Hebrew Trades
United Methodist Church—Board of Church and Society
United Mine Workers of America
United Presbyterian Church—Unit on Church & Race
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers of America
U.S. Catholic Conference—Division for Urban Affairs
United States National Student Association
United States Youth Council
United Steelworkers of America
United Synagogue of America
Washington Research Project
Women's Equity Action League
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
Workers Defense League
Workmen's Circle
Young Men's Christian Association of the USA, National Board
Young Women's Christian Association of the USA, National Board
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.

**A.
Philip
Randolph
Institute**

**Quad
Cities
Chapter**

January 3, 1978

Honorable Senator Dick Clark
Room 404 Russell Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Clark,

The Quad Cities Chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute is asking for your wholehearted support of Labor Law Reform S. 1883.

Workers rights to organize and bargain with their employers must be safeguarded. Employers, such as the J. P. Stevens Company must no longer be allowed to continually break the Labor Laws of this country at the expense of their workers.

As workers and Union members, we urge your support and vote for one of the most important Labor issues of our time.

Sincerely,

Carol A. Simmons, President

3300 East Kimberly Road
Bldg A5 Apt. 111
Davenport, Iowa 52807

A. Philip Randolph Institute
Quad Cities Chapter

January 9, 1978

Honorable Senator John Culver
344 Russell Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Culver,

The Quad Cities Chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute is asking for your wholehearted support of Labor Law Reform S. 1883.

Workers rights to organize and bargain with their employers must be safeguarded. Employers, such as the J. P. Stevens Company must no longer be allowed to continually break the Labor Laws of this country at the expense of their workers.

As workers and Union members, we urge your support and vote for one of the most important Labor issues of our time.

Sincerely,

Carol A. Simmons,President
3300 East Kimberly Road
Bldg A5 Apt. 111
Davenport, Iowa 52807

GAU

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

January 13, 1978

SENATE TO VOTE ON LABOR LAW REFORM
VERY SOON

TO: All A. Philip Randolph Institute Affiliates

FROM: Norman Hill, Executive Director

The Labor Law Reform Act, one of labor's top priorities is nearing its final hurdles. Passed by a strong margin in the House of Representatives it will come before the Senate soon after it reconvenes on January 20th. A well-financed campaign to defeat or weaken the bill has been mounted by big business and right wing forces. Millions of unorganized and exploited workers throughout the country are depending on you to let your Senators know how vital this legislation is.

Send letters, mailgrams, and postcards immediately to your Senators in Washington, D. C.

You will very shortly be receiving a package of postcards from the Task Force on Labor Law Reform. These cards need to be signed and mailed as soon as possible.. Get the cards signed by APRI members, fellow trade unionists, and people in your community. Send them directly to your Senators or in bulk to the :

Task Force on Labor Law Reform
815 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
(202) 637-5365

If you need additional cards, call the Task Force (collect if necessary). More cards may also be obtained from your AFL-CIO central body, state federation or regional office, or from your union.

Remember, time is of the greatest importance. Get those cards in right away. Your Senator's vote will be influenced by the number of postcards and other mail he receives in favor of Labor Law Reform Act. S. 1883.

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

Robert W. Gilmore
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Raymond Gray
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A. F. Grospiron
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Benny Jackson
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
Henry Lacayo
Herbert A. Levine
Dennis Lockhart
John H. Lyons
Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert McGlotten
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
Paul Montemayore
Emanuel Muravchik
Warren Pate
William Pollard
Robert Powell
Arch Puddington
S. Frank Raftery
Richard Ravitch
Howard Richardson
John P. Roche
Albert Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Donald Slaiman
Lorenzo Stephens
William Stodghill
Louis Stulberg
Joseph Tonelli
Thomas Turner
Gus Tyler
Barbara VanBlake
Walter Waddy
Roosevelt Watts
Hunter Wharton
Wilbert Williams
C. Vann Woodward
Andrew Young

Special Events Consultant
Lionel Hampton

Counsel
John C. Somers

Staff
E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the President
Harriette Siani
Administrative Director
Helen Toth
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A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

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Andrew Young

Special Events Consultant
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Counsel
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Staff
E. R. McKinney
Assistant to the President

Arch Puddington
Program Director

Leighton E. Wright
Controller

March 1, 1978

URGENT REQUEST FOR MAIL ON
LABOR LAW REFORMS

To: Selected A. Philip Randolph Institute Affiliates

From: Norman Hill, Executive Director

One or both Senators in your state may cast the deciding vote for cloture. We must deluge them with letters and cards now.

During the last several days, Bayard Rustin has written personal letters to over 20 U.S. Senators wavering on the all important labor law reform bill (S. 2467). The Institute has also mailed letters to all 100 Senators urging a yes vote on S. 2467.

But, mail generated within your state and from your own members and their families will be far more important than anything we can do from the national office.

Cards urging a yes vote on labor law reform can be obtained from your state or local central body. Or, if you prefer, make an immediate call (even collect) to the AFL-CIO Task Force on Labor Law Reform at (202) 637-5365.

We are in the closing days of this long and difficult struggle for a fair labor relations system. What you do between now and the Senate vote will determine the outcome.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

Bayard Rustin
President

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

Robert W. Gilmore
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Hal C. Davis
Walter Davis
Bernard Englander
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Angelo Fosco
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Floyd Gipson
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Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Benny Jackson
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Clarence Mitchell
Paul Montemayore
Emanuel Muravchik
Warren Pate
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S. Frank Raftery
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Administrative Director

Helen Toth
Assistant to the Executive Director

March 23, 1978

LABOR LAW REFORM ACTIVITIES DURING SENATE EASTER RECESS

TO: All APRI Affiliates

FROM: Norman Hill, Executive Director

Because of the lengthy debate on the Panama Canal treaties, the United States Senate will not consider the Labor Law Reform bill until sometime in mid-April at the earliest. This delay provide us with an opportunity to intensify our campaign for this important legislation.

A personal vist to your Senator during Easter recess (March 24-31) can have a tremendous impact. We urge you to contact the home office of each Senator from your state, and attempt to arrange a meeting. Call the APRI for the location of your Senator's local offices. By stating your case in person, you can demonstrate the high priority the black community places on this issue.

If you are unable to arrange a personal meeting, call your Senator and urge passage of S. 2467. We have enclosed a short guide on "Calling Your Senator."

Please report your Senator's response to the APRI national office.

This may well be our last chance to influence the Senate vote on Labor Law Reform!

CALLING YOUR SENATOR

1. Call one of your Senator's offices right in your state. Call the APRI if you have difficulty locating the phone number.

2. When you reach your Senator's office, identify yourself by name, union and hometown, and ask to speak to the person in charge. Also indicate that you are with the A.P.R.I.

3. If your Senator is not available, ask to speak with

(over)

an aide to the Senator.

4. Identify yourself to the Senator or aide and say that you are calling to urge support of:

> *S. 2467, the Labor Law Reform Bill, which would correct those employer abuses of the rights of workers to freely choose if they want to join a union. The bill would not effect established labor-management relations. Rather, it is a bill to protect the rights of unorganized workers from being illegally fired for supporting a union -- and to guarantee that elections will be held promptly and not delayed indefinitely.

5. Ask that your Senator, when the legislation is being discussed by the full Senate, vote to stop any filibuster that would deny a vote by the full Senate on Labor Law Reform.

6. Ask that your message be given directly to the Senator. Ask that the Senator write you to explain where he or she stands on these important issues.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

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President,

Frederick O'Neal
Vice-President

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Ernest Green
Matthew Guinan
Paul Hall
Alvin Heaps
Johnnie Henderson
Vivian Henderson
Velma Hill
Rachelle Horowitz
James T. Housewright
Mattie Jackson
Paul Jennings
James Jones, Sr.
Tom Kahn
Maida Springer Kemp
Leon Keyserling
Roy Kirkley
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Will Maslow
Benjamin E. Mays
Robert McGlotten
Isaiah Minkoff
Clarence Mitchell
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August 22, 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO: All APRI Groups

FROM: Norman Hill

RE: Labor Law Reform

The major immediate legislative goal of the AFL-CIO is now before the Congress. It is a broad package of reform of the nation's labor law, proposed by President Carter. The basic issue it addresses is, as AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland said, "the human rights of unorganized workers...the individual worker's right to seek to join a union."

The proposals, President Carter said in his message to Congress, will "make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and equitably." Three key goals have been set forth:

1. To make the National Labor Relations Board procedures fairer, prompter, and more equitable,

2. To protect the rights of labor and management by strengthening NLRB sanctions against those who break the law,

3. To discourage business and industry violations of the law by withholding federal contracts from firms that willfully defy NLRB and court order.

A Labor Law Reform fact sheet is enclosed which outlines the key provisions of the bill. Additional material, including bulk material for distribution can be obtained from:

Task Force - Labor Law Reform
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202 637-5000)

The material from the task force is especially good for meetings, rallies and leafletting.

LABOR LAW REFORM NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

It will take a long hard fight to pass this bill, so we will be calling on you to do much in the future. As you can see from the enclosed reprint of a front page story in the Atlanta Inquirer, the Randolph Institute has already initiated its program of support for labor law reform. There is still a lot more that can be done. We would like to suggest the following activities as those which we think would provide valuable assistance to the effort to get passage for this important legislation.

1. Send letters and Postcards

Write letters and/or postcards to your Congressional Representative and Senators. Have your APRI chapter and each of your members participate in this effort. The volume of mail is important.

Write letters to the editor of your local newspaper. A letter-to-the-editor, if published, is a valuable way to get the message across locally.

Write, and send cards, to the House Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee and the Senate Human Resources Committee. Both of these committees will be holding hearings on the Labor Law Reform Bill later on this fall. Address this correspondence to:

Congressman Frank Thompson
Chairman
Subcommittee on Labor-Management
Relations Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Senator Harrison Williams, Chairman
Human Resources Committee
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Both Thompson and Williams support the Labor Reform bill, but quick and favorable action by their committees will be made more likely if they receive lots of letters supporting the bill.

Your letters do not have to be long or complex--but they do need to be sent.

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2. Meetings

Arrange a meeting of your local APRI chapter, local union or community group to discuss labor law reform. If you wish, the AFL-CIO Department of Education will help you plan this meeting. Their Speakers Bureau will provide a 45 minute program on this subject. The program includes a speaker, a 22 minute film, "Reform at Last" (projector, projectionist and screen must be provided locally) and a question and answer period. There is no charge for this program package, but it does take three weeks to implement from the time you place a request. Those interested should contact:

AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau
Department of Educational
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Arrange a meeting of APRI activists with your Congressional Representative or Senator to explain your support for labor law reform. It is particularly important to act on this suggestion as soon as possible, since Congress is in recess until after Labor Day and many representatives will be home.

Try to get newspaper, radio or T.V. coverage of these meetings by notifying the media at least one week in advance of any scheduled activity, and making a follow-up phone call the day before the event.

3. Develop Community Support

Try to get other community groups and civic leaders to support Labor Law Reform. It would be particularly good to get your local NAACP chapter to pass a resolution in favor of labor law reform. Clarence Mitchell testified in support of the bill at the same time as Norman Hill testified for the Randolph Institute and the 1977 NAACP Convention passed a resolution in favor of Labor Law Reform.

4. Follow-up

At any meeting where labor law reform is the subject be sure to have envelopes, paper, and stamps handy. Ask the audience to write a letter right then, collect the letters, and make sure they get mailed. You should do this not only at every Institute, union or community group meeting which you arrange, but also at any other group or community meeting you attend. In addition to asking people to send a letter now, get their name and phone number in case you need to contact them for further activities later in the year.

-more-

Please let us know what you and your chapter are doing in support of Labor Law Reform. You may want to keep a count of the number of letters your chapter sends on the issue. If a letter or article favoring labor law reform appears in your local paper, we would like to see a copy.

FACT SHEET ON LABOR LAW REFORM

The law is the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 - the nations landmark labor law.

The reforms provided for in the Labor Law Reform Act, ~~H.R. 8410~~ S. 1883 are intended to strengthen the original law so it cannot be so easily broken or bypassed in the future by the owners and operators of an array of companies that have used a wide variety of devices to prevent union representation of their employees.

The areas covered by the proposed reforms are:

Speedy elections: An average time of 57 days is currently required for even the simplest uncontested election. Contested elections take from 75 to 275 days.

Proposed reform: A simple election petition by a majority of workers in a clearly appropriate bargaining unit would normally result in a vote within ~~15~~ 25 days. The most complex election would be held within 75 days. 25

Unit determination: The National Labor Relations Board currently decides bargaining units on a case-by-case basis, resulting in uncertainties and delays.

Proposed reform: The NLRB would be required to issue rules governing appropriate bargaining units that could be applied to most elections without a time-consuming hearing.

Fair elections: Presently, an employer can command a captive audience for his anti-union message.

Proposed reform: Unions would be given an equal opportunity to reach all employees during a representation election campaign. The NLRB would be directed to set up procedures to assure workers an equal opportunity to hear from both sides.

Justice for pro-union employees: Many workers are unjustly fired for pro-union activities, but it often takes years for them to be reinstated.

Proposed reform: The NLRB would be required to seek a court order immediately reinstating a worker illegally fired for union activity during an organizing campaign of before a first contract is signed.

-more-

Procedural Changes: In 1976, it take an average of 358 days to settle an unfair labor practice complaint.

Proposed reform: The five member National Labor Relations Board would be increased to seven members and other procedures adopted to avoid unnecessary delays.

Another change would allow the NLRB to have its orders made final if neither party requests a Court of Appeals review within 30 days.

Effective Remedies: The present law does not effectively penalize lawbreakers.

Proposed reform: An employer found by the NLRB to have willfully continued to violate the law by coercing workers or discriminating against union supporters would be barred from obtaining federal contracts for three years.

A worker illegally fired for union activity during an organizing campaign or before a first contract is negotiated would be awarded double back pay when the NLRB ordered the worker rehired.

When the NLRB finds that an employer illegally refused to bargain in good faith for a first contract, the board would be empowered to compensate workers by this formula: A payment covering the period of refusing to bargain equal to the percentage increase in wages and benefits in the average major collective bargaining settlement reached during the quarter in which the delay began.

The AFL-CIO has endorsed the Labor Law Reform Act.

THE Atlanta Inquirer

"To seek out the Truth and report it without Fear or Favor"

VOL. 17 NO. 1 AUGUST 6, 1977 TELEPHONE: (404) 523-6086

IMPORTANT FOR BLACKS

Hill, Randolph Institute Ask Labor Law Reform

The Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 is "an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity," declared Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in testimony to the House subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations.

Hill said that black workers had a particular interest in reforming the nation's labor laws.

"They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denieo the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions the service industries, the South, and government employment."

Hill told the subcommittee, which is chaired by Congressman Frank Thompson of New Jersey, that "the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans." He explained that there is substantially/ less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. Moreover, unionization has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. Unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median compared to black income at 60 percent of white income in the economy as a whole.

Labor law reform is needed, Hill said, to protect the rights of unorganized workers. The Wagner Act of 1935 had as its declared purpose "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing," But, Hill declared, "in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weaknesses in the law which.. discourage the practice of collective bargaining."

Hill's testimony observed that when weaknesses in the labor laws frustrate the abilities of workers to organize, "it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice."

In explaining the need to reform the nation's labor laws, Hill cited the similarity to civil rights legislation. "In exercising their rights as workers" Hill said "many blacks face barriers which, although they may be slightly more subtle, are not less formidable than they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights They face employer abuse and intimidation. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union adherents."

Hill concluded his testimony by urging the passage of the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977, which is supported by President Carter and the AFL CIO. Hill said that the bill would make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and smoothly. .The reforms in the bill, he declared, "would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so."

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A. Philip Randolph Institute

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Velma Hill
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September 29, 1977

URGENT REMINDER

HOUSE TO VOTE ON LABOR LAW REFORM DURING THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 4

TO: All A. Philip Randolph Institute Affiliates

FROM: Norman Hill, Executive Director

The vote on labor law reform in the House of Representatives will probably take place during the week of October 4. There is still time to make your views on this important issue known to your Congressmen.

Institute members should immediately call or send mailgrams to your representative urging passage of H.R. 8410 with no weakening amendments.

See previous mailings for more details on labor law reform.

Be sure to let us know what you are doing and the results of your efforts.

We are enclosing a breakdown on how your Congressmen voted on key minimum wage issues. You should let your representative know that you are aware of how he voted with a letter expressing thanks or disappointment. If your representative voted wrong on some or all the issues, express in polite language that you are extremely disappointed that he voted wrong and remind him that you are still committed to increasing the minimum wage. Follow-up letters are extremely effective. They let your Congressman know that you have a lasting interest in the issue and how he votes.

I want to again request that you let us know what you've done on the minimum wage issue, as well as labor law reform. Tell us if you met with your Congressman or Senators; send us copies of letters or mailgrams; send us copies of letters from Institute members appearing in local papers; tell us how many postcards, letters, and mailgrams your chapter has sent, etc.

If you don't let us know what you have been doing, we won't be able to inform others of the part the Randolph Institute has played in this effort.

A. Philip
Randolph
Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

December 16, 1977

LET YOUR SENATORS KNOW HOW YOU FEEL
ABOUT LABOR LAW REFORM

TO: All A. Philip Randolph Institute Affiliates

FROM: Norman Hill, Executive Director

As you know, the Labor Law Reform bill was passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 257-163. A chart recording the votes of your Congressman on the bill and several key amendments is enclosed for your information. Be sure to let your Congressman know that you know how he voted.

We still have a very tough fight ahead in the Senate. Powerful business groups and the right wing will be trying to defeat or weaken the bill when it comes before the Senate early next year. The holiday recess provides an excellent opportunity to let your Senators know that you support Labor Law Reform, S. 1883.

What can you do?

1) Visit your Senators. Arange a meeting of APRI activists, and other community leaders if possible, with your Senators to explain your support of labor law reform. Most Senators maintain district offices in larger cities. Try to get press coverage of this meeting.

2) Send letters and mailgrams. Every member of your chapter should send at least one letter or mailgram to both of your Senators. Your letters don't have to be long or detailed, as long as they carry the message that you want them to vote in favor of S. 1883.

3) Send postcards. Pre-printed postcards are available from the Task Force on Labot Law Reform
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5365
Get everyone you know to sign a postcard. Get them signed at APRI, union, and community organization meetings. You can mail the postcards directly to your Senator or send them in bulk to the Task Force which will deliver them for you at the end of the campaign. A very important factor in influencing your Senator's vote is the number of cards he receives.

A. Philip Randolph
Founder

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Frederick O'Neal
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4) Send a letter to your local newspaper. A letter to the editor, when published is an excellent way to get your message across.

5) Let us know what you are doing.

   a. Tell us how many letters, mailgrams, and postcards you have sent. Send us copies if possible.

   b. If you visit your Senator, let us know what he tells you about how he will vote.

   c. Clip out any letters you get published and send them in. Be sure to include the name and date of the newspaper.

We want to emphasize again that the passage of labor law reform is extremely important to the future of the labor movement and the achievement of racial equality and economic justice. The Senate will vote early in 1978 so it is crucial that you act now.

A BLACK PERSPECTIVE ON LABOR LAW REFORM

by Bayard Rustin
and
Norman Hill

Throughout most of the post-war era, the closely related issues of civil rights and trade union rights have evoked more passion, more fear-mongering and more deliberate distortion than all other domestic issues combined. Each piece of civil rights legislation weathered a barrage of false accusations and artificially-created fears. And the debates preceeding the passage of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffen Acts were full of empty warnings about "Labor Bosses," and impending "labor domination" of American society.

Now, as the Senate considers the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978, we once again find ourselves in the midst of a debate characterized by frequent exaggeration,and widespread mis-information.

According to the opponents of the bill, the reform package is nothing more than a "power grab" by what they derisively call "Big Labor." For them, the bill is simply another piece of "special interest" legislation designed to benefit a small group, in this case the so-called labor bureacracy. However, black people -- especially those who toil for non-union employers at non-union wage rates -- fully understand the immense importance of this bill. It is, in a very real sense, another civil rights act.

The Economics of Civil Rights

From its earliest days, the civil rights movement fully understood the inseparable bond between political freedom and economic security. During the early 1960's, some perceptive activists were fond of saying: "Why integrate the luncheonette if a black man can't afford the price of a meal?" And during the great march on Washington in 1963, A. Philip Randolph expressed similar sentiments when he told the 200,000 demonstrators: "This civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions live in poverty."

Just as blacks need a strategy to achieve full political and social rights, they also need a strategy to attain full economic rights. In both cases, blacks understand the importance, indeed the indispensability, of allies; in both instances the trade union movement, despite its faults, has stood head and shoulders above every other American mass institution as an ally in the struggle for black freedom. It is no exaggeration to argue that the advances and setbacks of black workers are, in large measure, reflective of the victories and defeats of the trade union movement.

Let us examine this somewhat surprising proposition a bit more carefully. The black/labor alliance operates in two separate, though frequently overlapping, arenas: the economic arena and the political arena. In both cases, the alliance sustains itself through mutual self-interest, and in opposition to mutual adversaries. This affinity between the civil rights movement and the labor movement arises not from sentimentality, but from a basic socio-economic fact of life: the vast majority of black people are workers, and trade unions seek to advance the position of workers.

Within the economic arena, black trade unionists -- and there are millions of them within the AFL-CIO -- have lifted themselves from poverty or near-poverty. But escaping poverty is not enough, blacks must be able to maintain and gradually improve their standard of living. Some blacks, especially the tiny minority of black professionals and businessmen, have won their economic independence through high levels of educational attainment, and hard-fought capital accumulation. But the overwhelming mass of black people do not have the slightest hope of becoming "black capitalists". For black workers, the best hope is a union card.

Trade unions, unlike many American institutions, and "poverty projects" have a credible record as agents of black economic advancement. A number of recent empirical studies demonstrate a strong relationship between trade union membership and income levels of black workers. According to the most recent data, the median earnings for black workers was $169 per week in 1974. By contrast, blacks working for non-union employees had median earnings of only $124 per week, a difference of over 35%. Of course, a union card is not a lucky charm which will transform a black worker's economic situation overnight. But without, he will have a considerably more difficult time entering -- and staying in -- the economic mainstream.

Increased income by itself is no guarantee of economic freedom. It must be supported by job security and family stability. Trade unions, more than anything else, offer the possibility of a safe and secure job. A luxury enjoyed by few black workers. A union card is no sure guarantee of permanent employment, but trade union contracts go a long way in protecting black workers from discriminatory lay-offs and dismissals. They provide at least a modicum of certainty in a field in which where non-union workers can only expect uncertainty and sudden disaster.

Although black union members have made impressive economic gains, the overwhelming majority of black workers still lack trade union representation. There are good explanations for this situation, not the least of which is race.

With the demise of "Jim Crow" laws and other overt forms of segregation, racism in America adapted to more subtle tactics. One of these subtle, and almost invisible, strategies has been the successful segmentation of America's industrial relations system into "open shop" and "union shop" states. Of course, some of the "right-to-work" states have few if any black workers, but the rest are Southern states where the majority of black workers live.

The Labor Law Reform Act has nothing to do with "right-to-work" laws, but it does offer the possibility of moderating the devastating effects of a segmented industrial relations system. Because of the weakness of trade unions in the South -- a weakness validly traces to "open shop" laws and few legal protections for union activists -- employers in low-wage industries such as textiles, garments food processing, and retailing have been able to fully exploit the existence of a large pool of unskilled, and immobile workers. These workers are, by and large, black. The proportion of blacks working as low-wage laborers and service workers is more than double the proportion of whites in the same occupations.

In effect, the opponents of labor law reform -- especially those in the South -- hope to preserve a system of occupational segmentation by keeping unions out of low-wage manufacturing and service enterprises. We do not mean to suggest that all opponents of labor law reform (or, for that matter even a large minority) are motivated by racism. Instead, we are arguing that defeat of the reform package will have an especially adverse economic impact on black workers.

The logic of the black/labor alliance is clear within the economic arena, but what of the political arena? Aren't the links weakening? Aren't black leaders reaching out to other potential allies, such as corporations and even conservative politicians?

Despite all the rumblings about a new black/conservative, or black/ business alliance, one basic fact remains: the trade union movement is the only mass organization in America which has the same political and economic agenda as the civil rights movement. While some conservatives and corporate leaders may use the terminology of economic freedom, their agenda and programs will only insure continued economic stagnation, and reinforce persistent inequalities.

Indeed, the current line-up on the issue of labor law reform indicates that the traditional opponents of civil rights are once again aligned with groups committed to the gradual weakening of the American collective bargaining system, a system which has benefitted blacks and other low-wage workers immensely.

The Reform Proposals

Less than 25 years ago, the town of Baxley, Georgia had a novel, but amazingly successful labor relations program. Union organizing was kept to a minimum because most organizers were unable to raise $1,000 for an "organizing license," nor could they afford the $500 "fee" levied on each signed union authorization card. Without violating a single letter of America's labor law, the employers in Baxley were able to circumvent the spirit of the law.

Although towns like Baxley no longer use such blatant anti-union devices as licenses and fees, many employers successfully -- and profitably -- violate the National Labor Relations Act. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall recently noted that America's labor laws have become ineffective because "employers have found that they can use delaying tactics to delay the representation election to keep those workers from making the choice they're guaranteed by law -- sometimes it's as long as a year or more before they get a chance to vote -- hoping, of course, in the meantime, that they can erode the union's support." The second problem, according to Marshall, "is that unfortunately some employers have found it cheaper to disobey the law than to obey it. And the penalties are too weak to deter people who have that conviction." The proposed reform package will remedy those two central problems in a fair and rational way.

For thousands of black workers in the Deep South, the Labor Law Reform Act can be a "Magna Carta". Without it, they will continue to be defenseless against companies like J.P. Stevens which can absorb a million dollar fine without a sneeze; the inequities will continue, and thousands of low-income blacks will be denied their best chance for economic progress -- the union card.

LABOR LAW REFORM

February 24, 1978

Mr. David B. Harper, Chairman
National Bankers Association
490 L'Enfant Plaza East, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Dear Mr. Harper:

Your position on labor law reform as described in the January issue of NBA News Report strikes me as short-sighted and hardly in the interests of the vast majority of black working people.

Black people -- and here I also include black bankers and other black entrepreneurs -- gain nothing in an alliance with political elements committed to weakening the trade union movement. As you know, many of the people currently spearheading the attack on labor law reform are the very same people who have repeatedly fought every advance of black America. People like Senators James Allen, Orrin Hatch, Malcolm Wallop and their conservative allies are not -- and never have been -- friends and members of the black community.

Permit me to examine your case against labor law reform. Your arguments against the Williams-Javits bill are, for the most part, based on pure self-interest. I am the first to admit that the pursuit of one's own economic and political self-interest entails nothing dishonorable or evil. But in your narrow concern for the competitive position of minority-owned banks -- a concern I understand -- you seem to be willing to sacrifice real economic gains for black workers and their families in exchange for a slightly more comfortable profit margin for black bankers. Such an approach, I believe, is quite dangerous.

I strongly dispute your contention that the unionization of minority-owned banks will lead to their inevitable collapse and higher service charges for poor customers. There is no reason to believe that trade unions will focus their organizing efforts on small banks. Quite the contrary, large banks offer the best prospect for trade union organizing drives. In the event that most major banks are unionized, the competitive position of minority-owned banks will not suffer in the least.

Now to another important point. You indicate that trade unions have a "dismal record of hiring and promoting minorities." But let us take a candid look at the banking industry, including minority-owned banks. As you well know, most bank employees receive shockingly low wages. In 1974, workers employed in the financial, insurance and real estate industries received annual wages well below the national median. In fact, when the total labor force is divided into eleven aggregate occupational groups, only three groups received lower annual salaries in 1974 than those in the so-called FIRE group.

What about unions as impediments to minority employment? At the present time, only a tiny fraction of bank workers belong to unions. In this "union-free environment" -- the type envisioned by the opponents of labor law reform -- the proportion of black employees is a mere 6.9%. Now, let us turn to the unionized sector of the economy, specifically transportation and the U.S. Postal Service. In both these industries, which are heavily unionized, black constitute over 14% of the work force. And, even more importantly, black workers in these two "low status" occupations earn substantially more than their "high status" brothers and sisters in the banks. It is not, I believe, just a coincidence that bus drivers and letter carriers with union cards in their pockets earn almost twice as much as their non-union brothers and sisters working in banks.

To help allay your fears about "Big Labor" running black banks, I hasten to add that the two major unions involved in bank organizing -- the Retail Clerks International Union and the Office and Professional Employees International Union -- have outstanding records both in terms of vigorously representing their members as well as displaying a thoughtful concern for the well-being of the overall community, including employers.

Once again I want to impress upon you that black business, especially minority-owned banks, cannot survive in a poverty-striken community. Black workers earning union wages are the best guarantee of prosperity in the black community. And laws which hinder blacks from winning union wages are a detriment to black workers as well as black entrepreneurs.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hh

CC: VICTOR KAMBER
WILLIAM WYNN
HOWARD COUGHLIN
JACK GOLODNER
DON SLAIMAN

OFFICE & PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES
INTERNATIONAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

HOWARD COUGHLIN
PRESIDENT

WILLIAM A. LOWE
SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 1, 1978

MAR 3 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Michael Kerper, Research Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, sent me a copy of your letter of February 24th addressed to David B. Harper, Chairman of the National Bankers Association in Washington, D.C. Your letter brought to mind a series of frustrating incidents which our organization faced with black owned companies in the past years. I would like to give you a rundown of the sequence of events at each one of those companies.

We won an election involving approximating 150 clerical employees of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company at Durham, North Carolina, in August of 1972. This election was won despite employer efforts to stall, distort the bargaining unit, and seek in every way to avoid an election. During subsequent negotiations, the employer's proposals contained less in wages, benefits and working conditions than the employees were receiving at that time. Purely as a matter of interest, the employer in this instance, despite the fact that it was a black owned company, refused to have Martin Luther King's birthday designated as one of the paid holidays. Because of the fact that it was a black owned organization and our reluctance to strike such a company, we signed an inferior contract in order to protect the employees' job rights in March of 1973.

In the ensuing year, the employer tried every tactic to discourage the union adherents and placed subtle pressures on the leadership. When key people got discouraged and left for other employment, they were replaced by those who were carefully selected for their anti-union attitudes by the company's personnel department. Throughout the year, supervision kept up a constant war of nerves against the union. Needless to say, at the end of the contract year, an Ad Hoc Anti-Union Committee sprang into being, filed a Decertification Petition and the union was ousted on March 28, 1974.

Here are some quotes that were used by the "Vote No" Committee when the union first tried to organize:

> "As you know, all the power in unions is controlled by the WHITE man."

> "How many of us are overly obligated to North Carolina Mutual for taking us out of laundries, maids in stores, kitchens and restaurants, factories, and other jobs where we had to slave and work hard, and put us in nice air conditioned offices?"

Our next experience with a black owned company was Universal Life Insurance Company in Memphis, Tennessee. Maceo Clark, the president and a major stockholder of Universal Life Insurance Company, also owns the Tri-State Bank in Memphis which we shall discuss later.

On May 2, 1966, we won an NLRB election despite the company's obstructive tactics. The bank in this case refused to give the union the Excelsior list and would not agree to have the election held on company premises. Employees were forced to go to the NLRB offices to cast their ballots. In an obvious attempt to intimidate the employees, the company fired several key union adherents and hired some additional 20 employees with the understanding that they would be replacements for those who had openly advocated the union or joined it. Union adherents were then told to break in their own replacements.

After the union was certified, the employer refused to negotiate a contract. He fired pro-union people and engaged in acts of reprisals against others. Employees were moved from job to job; some were suspended and union members were outrightly refused credit union loans. In desperation, the union went out on strike in July 1966. The company was able to obtain an injunction limiting the number of pickets and was able to procure a large number of scabs. After more than five months of futile picketing, the strike force dwindled to a handful of people, and the effort to obtain union conditions at the company went down to defeat.

Maceo Clark, who owned Universal Life Insurance Company, as I stated before, also owns the Tri-State Bank in Memphis, Tennessee. Again, despite numerous attempts on the part of the bank to sabotage the election, we were successful on December 15, 1976. The people voted for unionization despite the bank's vicious and inflamatory anti-union campaign. One of the bank's members on the Board of Directors wrote a letter to all employees deploring the fact that they were allowing themselves to be "exploited by a white controlled organization whose primary interest is in its own financial gain." The letter went on to intimate that they should be grateful for a job with the bank which hired them even though they were for the most part not as capable or efficient as whites. The bank threatened to discontinue the Christmas bonus if the union was voted in and also offered a sum of $5,000 as "Start Money" which they alleged had been paid once before to OPEIU Local 367 by the Universal Life Insurance Company in Memphis.

The first negotiating session was held in late January 1977, due to the bank's refusal to meet earlier. The session lasted less than two hours and never got beyond generalized discussion of the contract's preamble, recognition and scope. The bank said it would not set a firm date for the next meeting but would call the union in "10 days or so" to set another meeting date. In subsequent meetings, usually held every second or third week for brief periods, the bank went through the motions of taking up the union proposals but offered nothing concrete in the way of wages, fringe benefits and contract language.

At a meeting almost six months later, the bank presented the union with a five page "management rights" clause that it insisted had to be agreed to before they would even discuss the rest of the contract. There is no way that the union could live with this clause or have a viable contract with it in the agreement.

There have been approximately 15 meetings between the bank and union in the past 13 months, but the parties are as far apart now as when they began the negotiations. Despite the fact that there have been no wage increases in the past 20 months and more than a third of the employees are earning only the minimum wage, the bank refuses to offer any wage or fringe benefit package. The bank's sole proposal on wages was the statement by its attorney that "we will not cut wages at this time."

The union has filed Unfair Labor Practice Charges against the bank for engaging in surface bargaining but it is problematical if they can be sustained because the bank attorney went through the motions of meeting with the union over the period of a year--in the hopes that the employees will decertify.

I gave you the details of the above cases because I felt that Mr. Harper's attitude was indicative of the management of the bank and two insurance companies above described. I feel that your letter of February 24th pretty much answers the attitudes of some of the leaders of minority owned institutions. I wonder, however, whether it will be possible for the A. Philip Randolph Institute to do more in the direction of educating leaders such as David B. Harper and Maceo Clark as to their obligations to minority workers. We cannot continue to make strides in the banking and insurance industries and do a good job of representing workers, both white and black, if anti-union white employers can successfully point to our lack of success in the three companies described above.

I would appreciate receiving your thoughts re this communication, particularly with respect to anything that will assist us in the banking and insurance fields.

With all best wishes, I am,

Fraternally,

Howard Coughlin
President

HC/mm
opeiu:153
afl-cio

WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.
DELAWARE

3215 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: 202-224-2441

COMMITTEES:
FINANCE
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 13, 1978

MAR 16 [illegible]

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for sharing your views on S. 1883, the proposed Labor Reform Law.

Now that a bill has finally been reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I have had an opportunity to review S. 1883 in detail. Quite frankly, after studying the bill carefully, I found many of its provisions troublesome. For example, one section would prohibit an employer who commits an unfair labor practice from receiving any contracts from the federal government for three years. There are thousands of small businesses for which this would be a literal death penalty. They would be forced to close their doors, throwing the very employees this provision supposedly protects out of work. That makes no sense to me. Another proposal is to increase the membership of the National Labor Relations Board from five to seven members. This would add not just two new board members, but another 40 lawyers to assist them, even though the announced intention of the Carter Administration is to reduce the number of lawyers in government service.

I believe that unions have contributed substantially to the welfare of working men and women. And I believe the workers should have the right to organize and bargain for better working conditions. But as I read S. 1883, some of its provisions go far beyond this, while others actually hurt, rather than help, working men and women. For these reasons, I shall join with those who seek to defeat this legislation. Thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

Bill Roth

William V. Roth, Jr.
U. S. Senate

WVR:ej

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

~~MAR 17~~

~~MAR 16~~

MAR 17 1978

March 13, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Pres.
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for contacting me and please excuse my delay in replying.

I appreciate learning of your support for S. 2467 (formerly S. 1883), the proposed Labor Reform Act. You will be glad to know that on January 25, as a member of the Senate Human Resources Committee, I voted to send this measure to the full Senate with a favorable recommendation. I will support passage of S. 2467 and will oppose efforts to filibuster it to death.

Your comments are very helpful to me in this regard.

Again, thank you for letting me have your thoughts.

Sincerely,

Dick Schweiker

Richard S. Schweiker
United States Senator

RSS:co

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 17 1978

March 6, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your recent correspondence.

I can certainly understand your support for the labor movement in our country - a movement which has been responsible for raising the standard of living and working conditions for millions of American workers. Recognizing the worthiness of most of labor's legislative goals, I have supported them whenever possible. In this Congress, for example, I supported the substantial increase in minimum wage levels. In addition, I worked for the revision of the Social Security Law which called for the employers to pay for a greater share of the Social Security tax increase than the employees, a provision that was later dropped from the legislation (over my objections) before it was signed into law by the President. As you know, both of these were controversial votes in Texas, issues on which I received tremendous amounts of mail in opposition to my stand. But I voted with labor on these issues, because I thought they were right.

I have carefully studied the Labor Reform legislation reported by the Senate Human Resources Committee and passed by the House, and in all candor, I must say that the legislation in its current form goes too far and in my opinion is not in our national interest. I agree that some businesses have been able to avoid the intent of the National Labor Relations Act; however, the NLRB and the courts have demonstrated in the last several months that they are cracking down on companies that are denying workers their rights. I am sorry that we do not agree on this issue, but it is my best judgement that the legislation under consideration goes overboard in addressing problems which the NLRB and the courts are remedying through existing channels.

I appreciate your taking the time to contact me.

Sincerely,

Lloyd Bentsen

Lloyd Bentsen

HOWARD W. CANNON
NEVADA

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
COMMERCE
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE
SCIENCES
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 9, 1978

MAR 15 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Many thanks for contacting me and expressing your concern over the Labor Reform Bill, scheduled for early action in the Senate.

S. 1883 is no longer in existence but a new bill, S. 2467, has been reported out of committee. This new Senate version contains significant changes in the language with which it addresses various controversial issues; specifically, the time limit on elections, equal access, summary affirmation of decisions made by Administrative Law Judges in uncomplicated cases where there is no full hearing by the NLRB, the use of law clerks to help relieve the congestion of cases coming before the board, double back pay for illegally fired workers, three-year prohibition of contracts to NLRB violators, and compensation for employees when employers refuse to bargain.

I am now studying the new language of this latest version of the bill and though it seems to soften some of the more controversial aspects of S. 1883, I anticipate that a number of amendments on the issues I've mentioned above will be debated on the Senate floor. There may also be some debate on the question of expanding the Board from 5 to 7 members to reduce delays in the processing of cases and election petitions.

I myself am not yet fully satisfied with the language of the current bill. I feel that administrative procedures can be further strengthened and improved and that this can be done so that it will not disturb the balance between labor and management that must be maintained.

I thank you again for writing. Your views are important to me and I will bear them in mind when it comes time to make any final decision on this important legislation.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Howard W. Cannon

HOWARD W. CANNON

HWC:BLpjt

BIRCH BAYH
INDIANA

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND RELATED AGENCIES
JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND RIGHTS OF AMERICANS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
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INDIANA OFFICE:
416 FEDERAL BUILDING
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204
(317) 269-6240

INDIANA TOLL-FREE LINE
800-382-HELP

March 10, 1978

MAR 15 [illegible]

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave.
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Thank you for taking the time to express your strong support for S. 1883, the Labor Reform Act.

On January 31st, the Senate Human Resources Committee reported a revised version of S. 1883. The Committee reported this revised bill, S. 2467, after eight days of hearings which examined its potential impact on workers and businessmen alike.

Congress last acted on a major reform of our labor laws in 1959. It is apparent to me that a number of problems exist today which seriously impede the efficiency of the National Labor Relations Board. The lengthy delay in processing cases and the inadequate remedies available under the National Labor Relations Act are currently denying many workers their right to freely engage in collective bargaining efforts. For these reasons, I feel that legislation to effectively correct these situations must be approved by Congress.

After carefully examining this legislation, it appears that the existing shortcomings in our current labor relations practices are adequately addressed by S. 2467. Rest assured that I will continue to support legislation which will provide a better quality of life for our working men and women.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Birch

Birch Bayh
United States Senator

GARY HART
COLORADO

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
PUBLIC WORKS

United States Senate

COLORADO OFFICE:
1200 WILLIAMS STREET
DENVER, COLORADO 80218
(303) 837-4421

March 7, 1978

MAR 13 1978

Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. S.
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your correspondence regarding the Labor Reform Act of 1978, now known as S. 2467. I appreciate your concern with this controversial issue.

The Subcommittee on Labor of the Senate Human Resources Committee has completed hearings and mark-up of the bill. It has been reported out of committee as S. 2467, and incorporates the provisions of the original labor reform act, S. 1883, as modified by the amendments adopted by the Human Resources Committee. It is expected that any labor reform bill will be subject to substantial amendment on the Senate Floor.

The final bill will probably have two principal purposes: (1) to restructure the operations of the National Labor Relations Board -- responsible for promoting the spirit of the National Labor Relations Act -- in order to minimize delay in election and unfair labor practice proceedings; and, (2) to create more effective deterrents to violations of the National Labor Relations Act.

Since there is so much controversy surrounding the bill, I have enclosed a fact sheet which outlines the bill as passed by the House. Be assured, I will keep your thoughts in mind as I review the final bill to be considered by the Senate. The bill passed by the Senate should be fair to employers, employees, and labor unions alike.

Again, thank you for taking the time to write. I look forward to your continued correspondence.

Sincerely,

Gary Hart

Gary Hart
U.S.S.

Enclosure

KANEASTER HODGES, JR.
ARKANSAS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 3, 1978

MAR 13 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This acknowledges your recent communication regarding the Labor Reform Bill. Thank you for conveying your thoughts to me.

I am opposed to the passage of this legislation. The present law provides a fair and equitable approach to union organizing and elections. The best proof of that is the almost even result in recent years in union elections. Further, its passage does not appear to be in the best interests of Arkansas. This legislation will change the existing equal balance of power between labor and management. The proponents of this legislation are hopeful that the resulting change, which will tilt the balance of power in favor of unions, will facilitate the unionization of the Sunbelt. There is no pressing need for this action in favor of unions. The existing legislative framework governing labor relations is more than adequate, providing a fair forum in which workers may make an informed choice and in which their rights are protected. Therefore, I see the provisions of this bill as both unwise and unwarranted.

Sincerely,

Kaneaster Hodges, Jr.

Kaneaster Hodges, Jr.

WALTER D. HUDDLESTON
KENTUCKY

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
APPROPRIATIONS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 8, 1978

MAR 13 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your letter on behalf of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in support of the Labor Law Reform Act.

I agree that changes are necessary in the present law to end delays in the processing of election petitions and unfair labor practice cases and to provide for reasonable remedies against violators of the law.

The Senate Human Resources Committee reported the labor law reform bill out of committee on January 25. Although it is uncertain when the bill will reach the full Senate for debate, you can be sure that I will support appropriate remedies for the problems that exist in current labor laws.

Sincerely,

Walter D Huddleston

Walter D. Huddleston

JIM SASSER
TENNESSEE

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
BUDGET
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 15, 1978

MAR 20 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for contacting me concerning the legislation to amend our nation's labor laws. It's good to hear from you.

It is my feeling that legislation affecting labor-management relations should strike a balance between the occasionally competing interests of labor and management, and should maintain the traditional role of government in labor relations -- that of guaranteeing fairness in the procedures. In this respect, the NLRB should have the power to guarantee an employee's right to collective bargaining and fair representation. The NLRB should be able to bring immediate and fair action in behalf of employees and correct injustices performed willfully against their orders.

As you know, the House version of the bill, H.R. 8410, passed with almost no weakening amendments. The Senate version, which has been amended by the Senate Human Resources Committee and is on the Senate Calendar, will probably not be voted upon until after the debate on the Panama Canal Treaties. I assure you that I will keep your thoughts in mind when the issue does arise.

Thank you again for taking the time to let me know your views. I share your concern over the needed protection for workers and the need for fair representation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if I can ever be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Jim Sasser

Jim Sasser
United States Senator

E. J. (JAKE) GARN
UTAH

4203 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: 202-224-5444

JEFF M. BINGHAM
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS
INTELLIGENCE

March 9, 1978

MAR 20 1978

Bayard Rustin, President
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the Labor Reform legislation.

The Senate will soon be considering S. 1883 which is chiefly aimed at speeding up procedures for conducting union representation elections and settling challenges, penalizing persistent violators of labor laws, and giving stronger remedies and enforcement powers to NLRB. All this is fine except that it is weighed heavily in favor of labor over management. If true reform is to be made both sides must be considered.

Because of the unbalanced nature of this bill, S. 1855 has been introduced in both Houses as an alternative. This bill would be truly beneficial to the workers rather than union leaders. It would recognize the employee's right not to have mandatory union contributions used for political purposes, it would protect workers from union fines that are frequently levied as punishment for exceeding work quotas or exercising freedom of speech, and it would make it unlawful for a union to call or continue a strike if the workers vote against it by secret ballot.

The labor reform legislation in its present form should not be passed by Congress and, unless provisions which truly reflect labor reform by representing the workers and not union leaders such as those contained in S. 1855 are adopted, I will not give my support.

Sincerely,

Jake Garn

Jake Garn

JG/jsn

ABRAHAM RIBICOFF
CONNECTICUT

CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 16. 1978

MAR 22 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Pilip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for contacting me with regard to legislation calling for reform of the National Labor Relations Act.

The Senate Human Resources Committee modified certain provisions of S. 1883 and cleared the measure for consideration by the full Senate. I will carefully review the hearing record, the revised bill and the Human Resources Committee's report on this legislation.

I will have your comments and recommendations in mind when the measure reaches the Senate floor.

Sincerely,

Abe Ribicoff

Abe Ribicoff

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

STANDING COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
BUDGET
FINANCE

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 22 1978

March 17, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your communication expressing your support for the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977.

S. 2467, formerly S. 1883, has been reported out by the Senate Human Resources Committee without any major changes. This legislation will be considered by the full Senate later this year.

I share your concern that a proper balance is maintained between employees and employers in the work situation. Our Nation's labor laws, including the National Labor Relations Act, should reflect our nation's philosophy of a worker's freedom of choice in joining a union. Union membership should neither be compelled nor interfered with. If an employee freely decides to join a union, his right to effective representation by that union should be insured by the law.

Again, thanks for getting in touch. I appreciate having the benefit of your views.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Dole

BOB DOLE
United States Senate

BD:egk

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 14, 1978

MAR 22 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Ave., S.
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for writing to express your views regarding legislation proposed to make changes in the National Labor Relations Act. This legislation has been reported to the full Senate by the Senate Human Resources Committee.

I believe that the industrial strength and economic stability of our nation are enhanced significantly by the collective bargaining process. It is appropriate for the Congress to undertake a comprehensive review of the laws regulating this vital process. It has been many years since such an evaluation was made.

Clearly, any changes that are made in the National Labor Relations Act must be made with great care to insure just treatment for workers and employers alike.

Workers must be assured of their right to decide whether or not they will be represented by a union in collective bargaining. On the other hand, the vast majority of conscientious and law abiding employers who have contributed to the splendid labor relations we have experienced for many years must be protected from unfair competition with the minority of firms who have operated outside the law.

I assure you that I will take your comments into account when Congress considers this important issue.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Muriel Humphrey

Muriel Humphrey

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

APR 14 1978

March 31, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your correspondence regarding the proposed Labor Reform Bill.

On January 31, 1978, the Committee on Human Resources reported S. 2467 (formerly S. 1883) to the full Senate. The measure amends current law with the intent of expediting National Labor Relations Board proceedings, by such measures as expanding the membership on the board from 5 to 7 members and limiting to 30 days the campaign period after a petition for union representation. However, I believe the proposed changes would impede, rather than expedite, the resolution of labor-management disputes. Therefore, I plan to oppose S. 2467 as currently drafted.

I am aware that there are certain labor problems which need to be addressed, such as the harassment and wrongful firing of employees who try to organize a union, and I would support reasonable measures to protect the rights of individual employees. However, the steps taken by S. 2467 present inadequate solutions and raise new conflicts. I am particularly concerned about those provisions of the bill that: require a company to hold a vote on unionization within 30 days after a petition is filed by employees, but place no time limit on the pre-petition campaign conducted by union officials; restrict the right to appeal to the courts decisions made by the NLRB; and require management to allow union officials to speak to employees on company premises. The courts and the NLRB already have worked out a fair accommodation that gives organizers access to company premises if other ways of reaching employees are ineffective.

According to the estimates by the NLRB, it would cost at least $30 million to implement the changes mandated by the bill. I am concerned that the overall impact of S. 2467 would threaten the survival of many small and medium-sized businesses, which are vital to Florida's economy. Well over 90% of the businesses in our state have less than 100 employees. In addition, S. 2467 would impede the progress of sun-belt states in their efforts to attract more jobs for a growing population.

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
March 31, 1978
Page 2

I appreciate hearing your comments on the Labor Reform Bill. I intend to vote for amendments to S. 2467 or support other, more effective measures that I feel would improve the balance between employer and employee rights.

Most Cordially,

Dick Stone

Richard (Dick) Stone
United States Senator

RDS/thm

BAYARD RUSTIN SPEAKS

Labor Law Reform : The Broader Issue

For the past six months, American business groups and their erstwhile allies in the resurgent conservative movement have been beating the drums on labor law reform. "Big Labor," they tell us, is using the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 as a battering ram against the gates of cooperate America; if the gates swing open, they warn, hordes of power hungry labor bureaucrats will ravage the land, and bankrupt thousands of hapless businessmen.

Such as scenario is, of course, highly exaggerated, yet the opponnent of the Williams-Javits bill have been extraordinarily successful in causing sidespread confusion about the intent of the legislation. For one thing, frightened business leaders have labeled the reform package a "give-a-way to the Labor Bosses." If the bill passes, according to President Richard Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, the nation's workers and consumer's "will be burdened with an affair, imbalanced labor law designed to increase membership and economic and political clout of the big labor unions."

But the bill is not about "Union Power." It is, instead, a measure designed to revitalize and reinforce America's labor relations system, a system whose success or failure has an enormous impact on the economic well-being of low and middle-income Americans.

Black working people—despite what some conservatives and black businessmen have argued—have and especially large stake in the outcome of this debate: it is blacks who are disproportionately represented in those industries and geographic regions which have most steadfastly resisted trade union organizing drives—the textile, clothing and service industries of the Deep Soth. Workers employed in those labor intensive industries receive meager wages (almost subsistence wages and face the constant threat of temporary layoff or outright dismissal. They exist on the economic fringes of society with little or no hope for advancement.

Trade unions do, however, make a difference. Recent studies have demostrated that blacks with trade union cards fare substantially better than their brothers and sisters working in non-union enterprises. According to the most recent data, black union workers—both men and women—earned a median weekly income of $169 in 1974. Non-union blacks, on the other hand, earned only $124 per week: a difference of over 35 percent. Another study showed that black union members are less likely than non-union blacks to suffer from temporary layoffs.

It would be naïve and misleading, of course, to argue that trade union membership per se will magically advance the economic position of Southern blacks and other low-wage workers. But strong trade unions do, nevertheless, serve as a solid foundation for future economic gains. And without them, workers cannot even begin to confront the other social and economic factors which perpetuate poverty.

Why haven't low-wage workers already organized themselves into trade unions? The answer is reatively simple: employers, because of their overwhelming political and economic power, have thwarted virtually every organizing drive, frequently by using illegal and unethical tactics.

Under the present law, there are few penalties which effectively deter unscrupulous employers from dismissing pro-union employees, interrogating workers about their union sympathies, or bargaining in "bad faith." Similarly, anti-union companies can slowly dissipate pro-union sentiment by continually delaying representation elections through clever—but costly-legal maneuvers.

Some critics of the proposed reforms, such as Mr. Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, complain that the bill "would transform the National Labor Relations Act from a remedial statute to a punive law, designed to punish employers . . . " To a certain extent, Mr. Lesher is correct. But how else can one enforce a law which many employers find so tempting to violate?

The penalties included in the Williams-Javits bill are hardly draconian. Employers who repeatedly break the law and deny workers their most basic rights will be barred from receiving federal contracts. Who could possibly complain about that?

And employers who bargain in "bad faith" (as legally determined by the National Labor Relations Board) will be required to grant their employees retroactive wage increases comparable to those won by other workers. Without such sanctions—and these are mild indeed—workers have no protection whatsoever agains law-breaking employers.

Business groups and Congressional conservatives on both sides of the aisle have derisively called the reform package "just another piece of self-interest legislation." But when the Senate votes on the Williams-Javits bill, it will be more than a yes or not to what conservatives call "the Labor Bosses." It will be a yes or no to the thousands of workers, especially black and low-wage workers, who went a fair chance to join the economic mainstream of America.

MIAMI TIMES 3/9/78.

JOHN C. CULVER
IOWA

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
JUDICIARY
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 23 1978

March 12, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your recent communication expressing your support of proposed legislation amending the National Labor Relations Act. As you might expect, those of us in Congress have been receiving a very heavy volume of mail on both sides of this controversial and complex issue. Knowing how my fellow Iowans feel on public issues always plays an important role in helping me reach a decision. I do want you to know therefore that I am aware of your strong beliefs on this topic and that I greatly appreciate your taking the time to let me know of your views.

The original Senate bill on this subject, S. 1883, has now been revised by the Senate Human Resources Committee and forwarded under a new designation, S. 2467, to the full Senate for consideration. I am informed that Senate debate is likely to begin when the Senate completes its consideration of the Panama Canal treaties. Although there is no definite schedule, this is likely to occur in late March.

Because I do not serve on the committee which had jurisdiction in this area, I have not been directly involved in the legislation's progress to this point. The bill has been altered several times during its consideration thus far and there is every reason to believe that additional modifications will be proposed during an anticipated lengthy Senate floor debate. I believe that I have a responsibility to study the issues raised in that debate and consider the amendments proposed before reaching a final decision on S. 2467 and its provisions.

Obviously the goal to seek in this area is an equitable balance between the legitimate concerns of working people and management. This principle will be my primary guide in evaluating the legislation. You may be assured that I will keep the points of support which you have raised carefully in mind. Thank you again for writing.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Culver

JOHN C. CULVER

JCC/phh

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 27 1978

March 16, 1978

Ms. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Rustin:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the labor law reform bill which will be before the Senate this year. You may know that I favor this legislation, and my position has often been reported in the press.

In my opinion the debate on this issue is passionate, not so much because of the substance of the legislation and its particulars, but more because it has become symbolic. The opponents of the bill paint a horrifying picture of what would happen should this bill become law. The government would be run and controlled by union "bosses," they say: thousands of free American citizens would be "forced" into trade unions; employers would move their operations abroad. Those who resist the formation of unions under any and all circumstances may very well believe these arguments, but the American experience with free collective bargaining has clearly proved them wrong.

It has been three decades since the last major change in the National Labor Relations Law, more than four decades since it was first passed. In this time we have found that some parts of the law are working well, and others not so well. The Labor Law Reform Bill of 1978 makes only small changes which would only make the already existing statute work better, and would in no way expand the definition of unfair labor practices. The penalties it permits are directed at those who have violated what has been United States law for decades.

As the New York Times has pointed out on its editorial page, the original Labor Relations Act passed by Congress 42 years ago guaranteed unorganized workers the right to choose a union to represent them. Excessive litigation due to weaknesses in that Act has allowed some companies to deny workers that right. The reform bill currently before Congress eliminates some of the inequities and loopholes in the original act, and I believe it would be a good step toward realization of the goals of the National Labor Relations Act.

Sincerely,

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

HARRISON SCHMITT
NEW MEXICO

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March, 1978

MAR 27 [illegible]

Dear Friend:

Thank you for expressing your views on the proposed revision in the National Labor Relations Act. Please excuse this printed response, but this method was used to ensure a timely response to the hundreds of letters received on this issue.

The House of Representatives passed the Labor Reform Bill on October 6th by a vote of 257 to 163. The Senate bill, S. 2467, was reported to the full Senate on January 31st by the Human Resources Committee.

The Senate is expected to consider this bill soon after completion of the Panama Canal treaties. I shall reserve final judgement on the bill until the Senate debates the various aspects of the bill. A number of points, however, should be kept in mind. It has been pointed out that workers are adequately protected by existing laws; the problems of unfair labor practices by business can be dealt with effectively by increased enforcement of existing laws rather than increased legislation.

In addition, there is concern whether this legislation will adequately protect individual workers from unfair labor practices of unions. I shall be looking at any changes in our labor laws with an eye to the protection of individual rights and the best interests of both labor and management.

Thank you for sharing your views on this important legislation. Please feel free to continue sharing your views with me.

Sincerely,

Jack

Harrison Schmitt

HS:eil

ORRIN G. HATCH
UTAH

6317 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: (202) 224-5251

HATCH HOT LINE 1-800-662-4300
(UTAH TOLL FREE)

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES:
JUDICIARY
HUMAN RESOURCES
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY
ASSESSMENT

March 21, 1978

MAR 27 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you very much for your letter requesting my support for the Labor Reform Act. I appreciate your concern.

I am sure you know that I am a leading opponent of this measure, and I am equally sure you are aware of our many arguments. However, I want to point out that I am completely amenable to real labor reform, and have introduced a bill which takes a different approach. I am enclosing a copy of S. 1855, the Employee Bill of Rights.

Also for your review, I am taking the liberty of forwarding a copy of a recent article I wrote for the Baltimore Sun. These two articles, taken together, describe my desire to act in the best interest not of special groups, but of individuals; and after all, both the AFL-CIO and A. Philip Randolph Institute are comprised of individuals.

Again, I thank you for advising me of your viewpoint, and I hope you will continue to do so in the future.

Very truly yours,

Orrin G. Hatch

Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senator

OGH/iq

Enclosures

EDWARD M. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 30 1978

March 20, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for contacting me about the Labor Law Reform Bill.

This bill, which has been reported from the Human Resources Committee, does not make a drastic change in our labor laws. Rather, it helps to preserve the system that has been built up over the last 40 years. This system has been threatened by a flood of issues which have made the NLRB less effective. The number of representation and unfair labor practice cases before the Board has doubled from 1966 to 1977. It has taken longer and longer before these cases are adjudicated by the Board, and before representation elections are held.

The Labor Law Reform Act seeks to preserve the historical balance by allowing for prompt resolution of organizing campaigns -- whether the decision of the employees is to join the union or not to join the union, the prompt resolution of unfair labor charges, and for the first time establishes meaningful penalties for violating the law.

At the same time, provisions have been added to the bill which emerged from Committee, insuring businessmen the time and opportunity to present their side of the issue, in the same way they have traditionally been given that opportunity. The bill which came to the Committee provided that an election should be held within 21 days of notification to the employer that a union has filed for an election. The bill which emerged from Committee provides that the election cannot be held before 21 days have passed, and can be held any time up to 30 days. Moreover, the "equal access" provision, has been clarified. Union organizers will only be allowed in working areas, during working hours, if the employer himself has held a mandatory meeting in the work area during work time. If the employer is not willing to close down for an hour, then the union will not be able to do so. Casual conversations between supervisors and employees about the union will not trigger the equal access provision.

In sum, I believe that the reported bill is a fair one. Its basic thrust is to allow a resolution of the union question, one way or the other. In addition, it penalizes those few employers who flaunt the law, and allows employers to tell their side of the story, so that workers can make a knowledgeable choice.

Sincerely,

Ted Kennedy

Edward M. Kennedy

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
MARYLAND

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
JUDICIARY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

APR 10 1978

April 4, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I welcome your very genuine concern and careful scrutiny of the labor law reform issue. Unfortunately due to the tremendous volume of mail I have received on this, I cannot send you an individual response commenting on the particular points you raise. However, your views are extremely important to me as I continue studying all aspects of this legislation.

I have spent a great deal of time meeting with interested parties on the bill, S. 2467. It is going to be the subject of a lengthy debate on the Senate floor. I have several problems with the bill as currently drafted and have not as yet formulated a final position on this measure. These areas deal with the time for elections and the concept of "equal access". There are other areas as well that need attention. The amendment process on the floor, consequently, is going to be very important. I'll be following developments on each amendment quite closely to assist in fashioning a reasonable piece of legislation. I hope that you will continue to follow action on the bill closely, and give me the benefit of your judgment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Chas McC. Mathias

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
United States Senator

CM:jdm

S. I. HAYAKAWA
CALIFORNIA

GENE PRAT
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
HUMAN RESOURCES
BUDGET

X

March 27, 1978

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue, Soute
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning S. 1883 (H.R. 8410), the Labor Law Reform Act.

The President's labor law reform recommendations are embodied in these bills, which strengthen the authority of the National Labor Relations Board and, to a lesser extent, the unions. These bills do nothing for the 78.5% of American workers who do not belong to unions. I fear that these bills could create greater inequities than already exist, a potential for delays in Board actions, and may sacrifice employee rights to make union organizing easier.

The House of Representatives has already approved this legislation by a vote of 257 to 163. I anticipate Senate action on S. 1883 during this second session of congress. I respect the rights of those workers who desire the benefits offered by unions as well as those who wish to remain independent of such organizations. Keeping these thoughts in mind, I do not expect to support this legislation.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Sam Hayakawa

S. I. Hayakawa

SIH/gei

Also sent to: Richard S. Schweiker, Howard W. Cannon, Charles Percy, John Glenn, Dennis DeConcini, Sam Nunn, Ernest F. Hollings, Lawton Chiles, Robert Byrd, Edward Zorinski.

F - Labor Law Reform

MAY 30 1978

May 26, 1978

Senator James R. Sasser
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Sasser:

On behalf of the members of Social Democrats, USA, I want to convey to you our urgent concern over the filibuster in the Senate on the Labor Law Reform Bill. No constructive purpose is served by the obstructive course which some Senators are now following. Even if the bill passes -- which I expect it will -- I can assure you that an extended effort to kill the bill through filibuster and amendment will have the effect of souring healthy labor-management relations in this society.

Our members cannot understand the hysteria with which some Senators have approached a bill that merely ensures that union representation election will be fair. Significantly, there is a disturbing consistency between the undemocratic tactics used by some opponents of the bill and their undemocratic objective which is to block a fair union election process.

It is my view that a prompt vote on the bill is necessary if our society and economy are not to suffer from the atmosphere of suspicion and antagonism which the current filibuster effort engenders. I hope you will do everything you can to speed a vote.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/kpg

DEPT 9002215327
P.O. BOX 185
MCLEAN VA 22101

western union Mailgram

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE
U.S. MAIL

1-025337U145008 05/25/78 ICS WA16614 NYBA
01007 MLTN VA 05/25/78

MAY 26 1978

MR BAYARD RUSTIN PRES.
A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVE S
NEW YORK NY 10010

PLEASE REGARD THIS AS AN ACTION ALERT. MEMBERS OF THE SENATE ARE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN A FILIBUSTER AGAINST THE LABOR LAW REFORM BILL. THE SENATE RETURNS HOME TOMORROW FOR THE MEMORIAL DAY RECESS. MAJORITY LEADER BYRD HAS ANNOUNCED HE WILL BEGIN TO HOLD CLOTURE VOTES ON THE BILL THE WEEK BEGINNING JUNE 5, WITH THE FIRST CLOTURE VOTE SCHEDULED JUNE 7, WE HOPE YOU WILL TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY IN SPEECHES AND LETTERS AND VISITS TO THE SENATORS TO SAY A WORD ABOUT LABOR LAW REFORM AND THE IMPACT OF THIS MEASURE ON YOUR PARTICULAR CONSTITUENCY. URGE CLOTURE. SEE YOUR WEEKLY NEWSLETTER FOR A REPORT ON LATE DEVELOPMENTS. THANK YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT AND VALUABLE ASSISTANCE. LET US HEAR ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION YOU GATHER.

SINCERELY,

VICTOR KAMBER, TREASURER
AMERICANS FOR JUSTICE ON THE JOB

9002
21:28 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

5241 (R1/78)

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

May 31, 1978

Victor Kamber, Director
Task Force on Labor Law Reform
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Brother Kamber:

I have enclosed a copy of a statement on labor law reform being circulated by Bayard Rustin. We plan to distribute the statement to about 300 black leaders for their endorsement. The statement's cover letter points out that A. Philip Randolph, Norman Hill, Dorothy Height, Ben Hooks, Clarence Mitchell, Leon Lynch, and other black leaders have endorsed labor law reform.

As soon as we begin receiving some feedback from the mailing, we plan to issue a press release describing the statement.

If you have any questions regarding this activity, please get in touch.

With best wishes,

Fraternally,

MICHAEL KERPER
Research Director

MK/ms

cc: Thomas R. Donahue
Doris Hardesty

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 637-5000

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KENNETH T. BLAYLOC
HARRY R. POOLE
FRED J. KROLL

June 21, 1978

Mr. Michael Kerper, Research Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Kerper:

Thank you very much for sending me the article in the Atlanta Inquirer describing the A. Philip Randolph Institute's annual conference and their official endorsement of the Labor Law Reform Bill.

The story accurately refutes our opponents' meretricious arguments that passage of S.2467 will hurt minorities. Even more importantly, widespread press accounts of minority group endorsements of Labor Law Reform might enable us to garner some support from the stubborn anti-labor coterie of Southern senators.

Thanks again for all your invaluable help.

Fraternally,

Victor Kamber

Victor Kamber, Director
Task Force on Labor Law Reform

opeiu # 2
afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 637-5000

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JOSEPH P. TONELLI
GLENN E. WATTS
ANGELO FOSCO
J. C. TURNER
KENNETH T. BLAYLOCK
HARRY R. POOLE
FRED J. KROLL

June 5, 1978

Mr. Michael Kerper, Research Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Kerper:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Bayard Rustin's statement on labor law reform. I was happy to hear of your plan to distribute it to other black leaders for endorsement. It's a wonderful idea, and we are very grateful for your help.

Mr. Rustin eloquently states the shared concern of labor and civil rights leaders with obtaining economic justice, and their common interest in gaining passage of the Labor Law Reform Bill. I think that the joining of other black leaders in his statement will impress the Senate with the importance of this legislation for black workers and all workers in this country.

If I can be of assistance to you in this effort, please let me know.

Fraternally,

Victor Kamber, Director
Task Force on Labor Law Reform

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

BLACK LEADERS REAFFIRM SUPPORT FOR LABOR LAW REFORM

A group of prominent black leaders called upon the Senate to approve the Labor Law Reform bill without crippling amendments, saying that "its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low-income workers."

Signers of the statement include NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, Urban League President Vernon Jordan, Corretta Scott King, Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, Dorothy Height and over 60 other black leaders.

Although a clear majority of Senators support the reform legislation, the bill was blocked by a conservative filibuster in the Senate. Unable to muster the necessary 60 votes to end debate, the Senate leadership returned the bill to the Senate Human Resources Committee.

"Once again the conservative forces in the Senate have resorted to minority rule in obstructing legislation beneficial to black people," civil rights leader Bayard Rustin declared.

Rustin, who heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute, pledged to continue the fight for labor law reform. "Our 180 local affiliates are urging their Senators to support the bill again when it reaches the Senate floor in July. This legislation is far from dead," Rustin said.

The full text of the statement and a partial list of signers is attached.

653

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
President

For Release:
Immediately
May 26, 1978

For further information, contact:
Michael Kerper

RANDOLPH INSTITUTE CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON LABOR LAW REFORM

Black workers have more to gain from the passage of labor law reform than any other group in America, Bayard Rustin told 1400 black trade unionists at the ninth annual conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Atlanta.

The Institute, which is committed to strengthening the bonds between the labor movement and minorities, works closely with AFL-CIO affiliates in organizing voter registration drives and labor support activities in minority communities throughout the country.

"The issue of labor law reform is central because of one simple fact: blacks who work and are organized make substantially more than blacks who are not organized," Rustin declared.

Rustin, the Institute's president and a senior leader in the black community, urged local affiliates to step up their labor law reform activities during the final weeks of the Senate debate on the bill.

During the conference, participants endorsed a statement calling for speedy Senate approval of the reform proposals.

"We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers," the statement declared.

"There is only one place where the poor and working people of different races can cooperate, and that is in the labor movement," Rustin emphasized. "The labor movement is the only institution which represents their economic interests."

Because of the growth of a black middle-class in recent years, the veteran civil rights leader argued that black workers "must move beyond seeing everything in terms of race." Economic and class issues, he stressed, must become the main concerns of black trade unionists.

Middle and upper income blacks, he said, have become more concerned with their own "class interests", sometimes to the detriment of working class blacks. Illustrating the point, Rustin pointed to recent attempts by several black employers to decertify trade unions representing black workers.

As racial issues become less significant, black people must turn their attention to economic problems. While noting that some black workers continue to suffer from discrimination, Rustin insisted that "now many more blacks lose jobs because of automation, cybernation, and unfair trade practices."

Rustin called for a comprehensive economic program as the best means for helping black people. He criticized those who suggest "racial quotas" as a solution for black unemployment. "Black workers need full employment, housing, and adequate welfare benefits--not quotas," he declared.

Dorothy Height, a longtime civil rights activist and President of the National Council of Negro Women, received the 1978 A. Philip Randolph Freedom Award in recognition of her longstanding commitment to the civil rights and labor movements.

In accepting the award, Height praised the Institute for "trying to help us understand what is meaningful and significant" on the social and political scene.

She said her early discussions with Randolph taught her much about the trade union movement and "the importance of solidarity."

During the three day conference, participants from 180 local affiliates attended workshops on labor law reform, public relations, and support activities for workers employed by J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie.

Other conference speakers included Retail Clerks President William Wynn, Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, COPE Director Al Barkan, AFL-CIO Organization and Field Services Director Alan Kistler, and Institute Executive Director Norman Hill.

****

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 3, 1978

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

BLACK WORKERS HAVE LARGE STAKE IN LABOR LAW DEBATE

Black working people, according to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, have an enormous stake in the upcoming Senate vote on the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978.

"Without the desperately needed reforms," Rustin told all 100 members of the Senate, "many black and minority employees -- especially those in the low-wage industries of the Sunbelt -- will continue to be deprived of one of their most basic rights: the right to join a trade union."

Rustin, who heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute, emphasized that "access to trade union representation is the most potent weapon against chronic poverty."

The full text of Mr. Rustin's letter to each Senator follows:

> In the very near future, the Senate will vote on S.2467, the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978. The A. Philip Randolph Institute and its active affiliates vigorously support this legislation, and we urge you to vote for its adoption. We also urge you to vote for cloture in the likely event of a filibuster.
>
> Opponents of the legislation have, unfortunately, seriously distorted the basic intent of the bill. As we see it, the proposed reforms of the National Labor Relations Act will contribute to the continued viability of our collective bargaining system, a system which has benefited thousands of black and minority workers.
>
> Without the desperately needed reforms, many black and minority employees -- especially those in the low-wage industries of the Sunbelt -- will continue to be deprived of one of their most basic rights: the right to join a trade union. For the poor and the blacks, access to trade union representation is the most potent weapon against chronic poverty.
>
> After more than a century of struggle for political and civil rights, we believe the time is right for the extension of full economic rights -- the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 is an important step in that direction.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

NEWS RELEASE

(212) 533-8000
Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

For Release: Immediately
March 3, 1978

For further information, contact: Michael Kerper

BLACK WORKERS HAVE LARGE STAKE IN LABOR LAW DEBATE

Black working people, according to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, have an enormous stake in the upcoming Senate vote on the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978.

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Rustin, who heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute, emphasized that "access to trade union representation is the most potent weapon against chronic poverty."

The full text of Mr. Rustin's letter to each Senator follows:

> In the very near future, the Senate will vote on S.2467, the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978. The A. Philip Randolph Institute and its active affiliates vigorously support this legislation, and we urge you to vote for its adoption. We also urge you to vote for cloture in the likely event of a filibuster.
>
> Opponents of the legislation have, unfortunately, seriously distorted the basic intent of the bill. As we see it, the proposed reforms of the National Labor Relations Act will contribute to the continued viability of our collective bargaining system, a system which has benefited thousands of black and minority workers.
>
> Without the desperately needed reforms, many black and minority employees -- especially those in the low-wage industries of the Sunbelt -- will continue to be deprived of one of their most basic rights: the right to join a trade union. For the poor and the blacks, access to trade union representation is the most potent weapon against chronic poverty.
>
> After more than a century of struggle for political and civil rights, we believe the time is right for the extension of full economic rights -- the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 is an important step in that direction.

Randolph Institute Conference Focuses On Labor Law Reform

Black workers have more to gain from the passage of labor law reform than any other group in America, Bayard Rustin told 1400 black trade unionists at the ninth annual conference of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Atlanta.

The Institute, which is committed to strenthening the bonds between the labor movement and minorities, works closely with AFL-CIO affiliates in organizing voter registration drives and labor activities in minority communities throughout the country.

"The issue of labor law reform is central because of one simple fact: blacks who work and are organized make substantially more than blacks who are not organized," Rustin declared.

Rustin, the Institute's president and a senior leader in the black community urged local affiliates to step up their labor law reform activities during the final weeks of the Senate debate on the bill.

During the conference, participants endorsed a statement calling for speedy Senate approval of the reform proposals.

'We believe that this legislation is a fair and modest effort to adjust the current imbalances in our labor relations system. Its adoption is of vital importance for all minority and low income workers," the statement declared.

"There is only one place where the poor and working people of dirrerent races can cooperate, and that is in the labor movement," Rustin emphasized. "The labor movement is the only institution which represents their economic interests.

Because of the growth of a black middle-class in recent years, the veteran civil rights leader argued that black workers "must move beyond seeing everything in terms of race." Economic and class issues, he stressed, must become the main concerns of black trade unionists.

Middle and upper income blacks, he said, have become more concerned with their own "class interests", sometimes to the detriment of working class blacks. Illustrating the point, Rustin pointed to recent attempts by several black employers to decertify trade unions representing black workers.

As racial issues become less significant, black people must turn their attention to economic problems. While noting that some black workers continue to suffer from discrimination, Rustin insisted that "now many more blacks lose jobs because of automation, cybernation, and unfair trade practices."

Rustin called for a comprehensive economic program as the best means for helping black people. He criticized those who suggest "racial quotas" as a solution for black unemployment. 'Black workers need full employment, housing, and adequate welfare benefits--not quotas," he declared.

Dorothy Height, a longtime civil rights activist and President of the National Council of Negro Women, received the 1978 A. Philip Randolph Freedom Award in recognition of her longstanding commitment to the civil rights and labor movements.

In accepting the award, Height praised the Institute for "trying to help us understand what is meaningful and significant" on the social and political scene.

She said her early discussions with Randolph taught her much about the trade union movement and "the importance of solidarity."

During the three day conference, participants from 180 local affiliates attended workshops on labor law reform, public relations, and support activities for workers employed by J. P. Stevens and Winn Dixie.

Other conference speakers included Retail Clerks President William Wynn, Steelworkers Vice President Leon Lynch, COPE Director Al Barkan, AFL-CIO Organization and Field Services Director Alan Kistler, and Institute Executive Director Norman Hill.

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CHATANOOGA
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Labor Law Reform: The Broader Issue

By BAYARD RUSTIN, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute

For the past six months, American Business groups and their erstwhile allies in the resurgent conservative movement have been beating the drums on labor law reform. "Big Labor," they tell us, is using the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 as a battering ram against the gates of corporate America; if the gates swing open, they warn, hordes of power hungry labor bureaucrats will ravage the land, and bankrupt thousands of hapless businessmen.

Such a scenario is, of course, highly exaggerated, yet the opponents of the Williams-Javits bill have been extraordinarily successful in causing widespread confusion about the intent of the legislation. For one thing, frightened business leaders have lebeled the reform package a "give-a-way to the Labor Bosses." If the bill passes, according to President Richard Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, the nation's workers and consumer's "will be burdened with an unfair, imbalanced labor law designed to increase membership and economic and political clout of the big labor unions."

But the bill is not about "Union Power." It is, instead, a measure designed to revitalize and reinforce America's labor relations system, a system whose success or failure has an enormous impact on the economic well-being of low and middle-income Americans.

Black working people — despite what some conservatives and black businessmen have argued — have an especially large stake in the outcome of this debate: it is blacks who are disproportionately represented in those industries and geographic regions which have most steadfastly resisted trade union organizing drives — the textile, clothing and service industries of the Deep South. Workers employed in those labor intensive industries receive meager wages (almost subsistence wages) and face the constant threat of temporary lay-off or outright dismissal. They exist on the economic fringes of society with little or no hope for advancement.

Trade unions, do however, make a difference. Recent studies have demonstrated that blacks with trade union cards fare substantially better than their brothers and sisters working in non-union enterprises. According to the most recent data, black union workers — both men and women — earned a median weekly income of $169 in 1974. Non-union blacks, on the other hand, earned only $124 per week: a difference of over 35%. Another study showed that black union members are less likely than non-union blacks to suffer from temporary layoffs.

It would be naive and misleading, of course, to argue that trade union membership **per se** will magically advance the economic position of Southern blacks and other low-wage workers. But strong trade unions do, nevertheless, serve as a solid foundation for future economic gains. And without them, workers cannot even begin to confront the other social and economic factors which perpetuate poverty.

Why haven't low-wage workers already organized themselves into trade unions? The answer is relatively simple: employers, because of their overwhelming political and economic power, have thwarted virtually every organizing drive, frequently by using illegal and unethical tactics.

Under the present law, there are few penalties which effectively deter unscrupulous employers from dismissing pro-union employees, interrogating workers about their union sympathies, or bargaining in "bad faith." Similarly, anti-union companies can slowly dissipate pro-union sentiment by continually delaying representation elections through clever — but costly-legal maneuvers.

Some critics of the proposed reforms, such as Mr. Lesher of the Chamber of Commerce, complain that the bill "would transform the National Labor Relations Act from a remedial statute to a punitive law, designed to punish employers. . ." To a certain extent, Mr. Lesher is correct. But how else can one enforce a law which many employers find so tempting to violate?

The penalties included in the Williams-Javits bill are hardly draconian. Employers who repeatedly break the law and deny workers their most basic rights will be barred from receiving federal contracts. Who could possibly complain about that?

And employers who bargain in "bad faith" (as legally determined by the National Labor Relations Board) will be required to grant their employees retroactive wage increases comparable to those won by other workers. Without such sanctions — and these are mild indeed — workers have no protection whatsoever against law-breaking employers.

Business groups and Congressional conservatives on both sides of the aisle have derisively called the reform package "just another piece of self-interest legislation." But when the Senate votes on the Williams-Javits bill, it will be more than a yes or no to what conservatives call "the Labor Bosses." It will be a yes or no to the thousands of workers, especially black and low-wage workers, who want a fair chance to join the economic mainstream of America.

The New Common Good

University of Illinois
Champaign-Urbana

The Labor Law Reform

HILL, RANDOLPH INSTITUTE CALL FOR LABOR LAW REFORM

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

The Labor Law Reform Act of 1977 is "an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity," declared Norman Hill, executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute in testimony to the House subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations. Hill said that black workers had a particular interest in reforming the nation's labor laws. "They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions — the service industries, the South, and government employment."

Hill told the subcommittee, which is chaired by Congressman Frank Thompson of New Jersey, that "the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans." He expalined that there is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. Moreover, unionization has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. Unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median compared to black income at 60 percent of white income in the economy as a whole.

Labor law reform is needed, Hill said, to protect the rights of unorganized workers. The Wagner Act of 1935 had as its declared purpose "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as " procedure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." But, Hill declared, "in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weaknesses in the law which . . . discourage the practice of collective bargaining."

Hill's testimony observed that when weaknesses in the labor laws frustrate the abilities of workers to organize, "it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice. In fact, the absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations."

In explaining the need to reform the nation's labor laws, Hill cited the similarity to civil rights legislation. "In exercising their rights as workers," Hill said, "Many blacks face barriers which, although they may be slightly more subtle, are not less formidable than they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. They face employer abuse and intimidation. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union ad- being fired if they are known union adherents."

Hill concluded his testimony by urging the passage of the Labor Law Reform Act of 1977, which is supported by President Carter and the AFL-CIO. Hill said that the bill would make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and smoothly. The reforms in the bill, he declared, "would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so."

Public Favors Reform of Labor Laws

Poll Finds Support Tops 90%

An overwhelming majority of Americans favors reform of the nation's labor laws to assure the rights of workers to organize for collective bargaining, a national polling firm has found.

In the first national sampling of public attitudes on legislation to strengthen enforcement of the country's basic labor laws, Public Interest Opinion Research, based in Alexandria, Va., found that 97 percent of the 800 adults it surveyed believe that before workers vote on whether to join a labor union, they should have an equal opportunity to hear both company and union arguments. At present, employers are permitted to oppose union organization at captive-audience assemblies of their workers, but unions have no right to reply in the same setting.

A 90 percent majority thinks that an employer should not "be allowed to threaten workers with a loss of their jobs if they vote to join a union." The latter finding is especially significant, the AFL-CIO observed, in view of employer proposals to eliminate prohibitions against threats in, the name of "free speech."

Conducted for the AFL-CIO, the poll also found that 55 percent of all Americans favor liberalization of the restrictive Hatch Act, while 29 percent are opposed. The results also indicated that public support increases when specific provisions of proposed Hatch Act reform legislation are explained.

The poll was carried out by telephone between Aug. 29 and Sept. 8. The national random sample of 800 adults, 18 years of age and older, contains a potential sampling tolerance of 4 percent for 95 cases out of 100.

"Much of the public support for specific labor law reform proposals can be explained by the American people's basic approval of unions and collective bargaining as legitimate vehicles to advance working people's interest," Vic Fingerhut, an official of the polling firm, observed.

The survey also found that a 69 percent majority believes the government should not "buy products or services from a corporation that has illegally harassed or fired workers who had been trying to organize a union at a company plant." Only 14 percent were opposed ot this proposal.

Key elements of President Carter's labor law reform proposals deal with expediting National Labor

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Threat to Jobs, Economy Posed by Federal Reserve

House Lifts Retirement Age Rule

The House voted 359-4 to prohibit any private employer or pension plan from imposing a mandatory retirement age below 70.

The bill would also lift nearly all age limits in the federal civil service. Federal employees who now must retire at age 70 would be able to stay on the job as long as they are physically and mentally able to do the work.

Nothing in the bill would prevent or discourage workers from retiring earlier, and the eligibility ages for social security and private retirement benefits would not be altered.

A companion bill is awaiting final action by the Senate Human Resources Committee and the measure received a somewhat qualified endorsement from President Carter.

Carter, in a letter to Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.), said he supports the "principle" of the proposed amendments to the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which now protects the job rights of older workers only up to age 65.

He noted that the Administration has testified in favor of removing the mandatory retirement age for federal workers, except in jobs, such as law enforcement officer and air traffic controller "where age has been shown to be an important indicator of job performance."

These jobs and others that now have both mandatory early retirement and higher pension benefits were exempted from the House bill.

(Continued on Page 8)

LAID-OFF STEELWORKERS, who lost their jobs in Youngstown, Ohio, to rising steel imports, are met at the White House gates by Margaret Costanza, an assistant to President Carter. The 300 USWA members delivered a petition urging the government to curb steel imports and to relax pollution control regulations. Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. said it is laying off 5,000 of the 8,400 workers at its Mahoning River Valley facilities.

Attempt To Scuttle Measure:

Reform Foes Mount Drive to Delay Bill

The nation's most powerful employer groups have joined forces in a last-ditch effort to scuttle labor law reform and their congressional allies are trying to give them more time by delaying a House vote, anticipated the week of Oct. 3.

At a news conference noteworthy for its frankness, Republicans John Ashbrook of Ohio and John Erlenborn of Illinois said a delay would buy time for business groups to build home-district pressure on House members.

"Give us a couple more weeks and we'll have it," Ashbrook said.

The news conference was arranged by a coalition of business groups including, the Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and the Business Roundtable—the same organizations that worked together to weaken the minimum wage bill and defeat the construction site picketing bill.

The Chamber of Commerce announced that it has sent out a special alert to its affiliated business firms calling on them to lobby against labor law reform.

The bill the business groups are fighting would speed up NLRB election procedures and the processing of unfair labor practice charges, and penalize employers who illegally fire or threaten union supporters.

If it were enacted, the Chamber of Commerce warned, union membership would rise and "union bosses" would have more influence in a community. That would be followed by "the election of far more pro-union politicians," the sort of thing that led to what the Chamber termed "the sad decline of England."

As the legislation moved toward the House floor, hearings on a comprise bill continued in the Senate.

The Senate testimony featured

(Continued on Page 2)

Congress Unit Hits Policies

Another relapse in the nation's economy is possible if the Federal Reserve Board pushes its restricttive monetary policies, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress warned.

What the country needs now is not tighter money and the high interest rates that such a short supply brings but more economic stimulus to create jobs, the panel declared in its annual mid-year review of the economy.

In an unusually strong attack on the central bank, the committee charged that the Federal Reserve Board's "obsession with inflation" has caused it to pursue policies which have reduced the nation's money supply by about 9 percent since the end of 1972.

"This disastrous policy was a principal cause of the magnitude and length of the (1973-75) recession; it has been a perennial source of obstruction to recovery; and it now threatens to abort the recovery entirely if the policy is continued," the majority report of the committee concluded.

The report said that a growth recession is "a distinct possibility in the near future" unless the Administration steps in soon with expansionary programs.

Noting that it had expressed concern over the inadequacy of the President's proposals to improve the state of the economy in a report six months earlier, the com-

(Continued on Page 7)

Justice on Job Coalition Adds Advisory Unit

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) announced that an advisory committee of "distinguished citizens representing a cross-section of American society" will help press for labor law reform.

Humphrey is chairman of Americans for Justice on the Job, the coalition that is supporting the Administration's labor law reform bill.

He released a still-expanding list of 46 members of an advisory board—a diverse group including such persons as Lt. Gov. Thelma Stovall of Kentucky and the Rev. W. Shriver, Jr., president of Union Theological Seminary; Dr. Barry Commoner, the noted biologist

(Continued on Page 3)

4-Step Boost in Minimum Wage Backed by Labor, White House

Senate sponsors of the minimum wage bill have proposed a four-step rise, to $3.40 an hour, as an alternative to the indexing formula that the House has rejected.

The new step-up plan has the support of both the AFL-CIO and the Carter Administration. It is sponsored by the chairman of the Senate Human Resources Committee, Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.), and the senior minority member, Jacob K. Javits (R.-N.Y.).

Williams and Javits will introduce their amendment when the minimum wage bill the committee approved earlier reaches the Senate floor. That was supposed to have happened this past week, but the Senate battle over natural gas deregulation pushed the timetable back.

Under their new step-up plan, the minimum wage would go initially from the present $2.30 an hour to $2.65. That's the same first step as in both the House-passed bill and the Administration minimum wage formula that the Senate committee has endorsed.

The Williams-Javits proposal would raise the wage floor to $2.90 in 1979, to $3.15 in 1980 and to $3.40 in 1981.

By contrast, the three-step plan adopted by the House would raise the wage floor only to $2.85 in the second year and to a final step of $3.05 in 1980.

The increases provided in the Williams-Javits amendment "are desperately needed by the working

(Continued on Page 8)

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BLACK LEADERS testify for labor law reform at Senate hearings. From left; Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP.

Employer Groups Mount Drive To Scuttle Labor Law Reforms

(Continued from Page 1)

a different type of coalition—made up of a broad array of public interest and civil rights organizations, religious leaders and women's groups that have joined the trade union movement in endorsing the Administration bill.

To Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP and chairman of the Civil Rights Leadership Conference, the legislation is "particularly important to black people" who are concentrated in occupations and regions of the country "where employer abuses of existing law have blocked collective bargaining."

Bayard Rustin, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, told the panel that blacks seeking to exercise their rights as workers often "face barriers which are almost as formidable as those they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights."

The legal right of workers to choose whether they want to be represented by a union is meaningless, Rustin stressed, when employers are able to "defy the law with near impunity."

The president of the National Council of Negro Women, Dorothy Height, was not impressed by employer arguments that labor law reform would make it easier to organize.

For both black and white women, she said, "unions are the most important ally they have in their fight for more adequate wages and better working conditions."

The Senate Subcommittee on Labor also heard from several panels of union witnesses, with testimony by others necessarily postponed by the 'round-the-clock floor battle over energy legislation.

Union testimony included:

- A demonstration by the Industrial Union Dept.'s general counsel, Elliot Bredhoff, that the token backpay awards to workers illegally fired for union activities represent to employers "a bargain price for union-busting." And, he reminded the panel, when an employer refuses to bargain "astonishingly, at present, the Labor Board's only remedy for a refusal to bargain is an order directing the employer to bargain."

- Paperworkers Vice President Arnold E. Brown submitted a four-page chronology of the delays the union encountered in first getting an election and then getting bargaining started for a unit of 29 Westvaca workers employed near Covington, Va.

On June 16, 1975, the union filed an election petition signed by 19 of the 29 workers. The election was not held until September 1975 and the union was not certified until March 1976.

A refusal to bargain charge was upheld by the NLRB in October 1976 and finally enforced in federal appellate court in July 1977. The first bargaining session was held on Aug. 29, 1977, and no contract has yet been negotiated.

- Furniture Worker witnesses Donald Riger of the UFWA staff and Gerald Wasik, a member of the union's bargaining committee at Donn Products, Westlake, Ohio, gave first-hand testimony to the type of unfair labor practices by an employer that make a fair election impossible, and the years of delay in a bargaining order still pending in federal court.

- George Murphy, general counsel of the Retail Clerks, and Max Zimny, general counsel of the Ladies' Garment Workers, noted that the law has been flouted by anti-union employers in all parts of the country, not just the South. On the same panel, Service Employees General Organizer John Geagan spoke to the severely restricted rights of security guards under present law. They cannot in an NLRB election choose a union that admits non-guards or is part of a federation such as the AFL-CIO. The Administration bill would remedy that curb.

- Robert L. Muehlenkamp, organizing director of Local 1199, the health services division of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, cited the "contempt" with which employers treat the law. Within the past week, he testified, seven union supporters were fired just days before a scheduled representation election.

Poll Finds Public Backs Full Rights for Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

Relations Board procedures and strengthening remedies in cases involving the illegal discharge of workers during an organizing campaign. The Administration's package is strongly backed by the AFL-CIO.

The sampling clearly reflects that most Americans understand what weak enforcement of the law against illegal worker discharge can mean. The poll found that 72 percent were convinced that "workers would be afraid to actively support a union if they knew their employer might fire them and it might take up to two years to get their jobs back."

Both union and non-union families agreed that "members of labor unions are better off as a result of being a union member." Among non-union members, 48 percent said union members are "better off" while 14 percent said "worse off" and 39 percent saw no difference or did not know. Among union families, 74 percent said they were better off, 4 percent said worse off, and 24 percent saw no difference or were not sure.

The results of the poll paralleled findings of a survey last May by the same firm and a national survey by pollster Louis Harris last January. The May survey showed a 59 to 34 percent majority agreeing that "most working people need labor unions to protect their rights." The Harris survey reported a 59 to 25 percent majority believed that "if there were no unions, most employers would quickly move to exploit their employees."

On Hatch Act reform, 55 percent of the respondents said they felt the statute prevents most federal employees from becoming involved in political activities.

William H. McClennan, president of the AFL-CIO Public Employee Dept. which shared the survey's funding with the federation, observed that federal and postal employees have been singled out for restrictions against their political rights..

"The time has come to end this unfair situation," McClennan said. House-passed Hatch Act reform legislation pending before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee contains sufficient safeguards to protect federal workers from abuses while permitting them the same political rights granted to others, he said.

ATU's 44th Convention:

Transit Union Seeks 'No-Fare' Expansion

The Amalgamated Transit Union will continue its fight for no-fare public transportation in urban areas, President Dan V. Maroney, Jr. pledged at the union's 44th convention in Washington, D.C.

Maroney and other ATU leaders also told the approximately 500 delegates that the union would fight any attempt to water down legislative assurances protecting members' jobs, wages and collective bargaining rights in federally-funded mass transit systems.

Maroney noted that the Carter Administration "appears to be interested in the concept" of no-fare mass transit, and he lauded the Administration for releasing congressionally-approved funds for no-fare experiments in Salt Lake City and Trenton, N.J.

He added, however, that the Administration must provide more substance and less rhetoric on expansion and aid to public transportation.

The union has long supported the no-fare concept, which would provide transportation to everyone within urban areas and would be financed like any other public service, such as police and fire protection, through tax revenues.

Transportation Sec. Brock Adams told the convention that the Administration's mass transit program is based "on the right of each local community to shape a system that meets its needs."

Adams said he appeared at the convention in part to dispel "a number of rumors that this Administration is not in support of public transportation."

"This is not true," he declared, adding that the Administration backs public transportation "not only for its contribution towards ending the energy crisis but for improving the quality of life for all people in urban areas."

Adams drew an enthusiastic response from the convention when he stressed that "public transportation is as much a public function as police, fire and water purification," and that it should be supported in the same manner.

Administration support was also pledged to the convention by Assistant Labor Sec. Francis X. Burkhardt, who is charged with administering Section 13c of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964.

That provision insures the continuation of employment, wages, job classifications, seniority, pensions and collective bargaining rights to workers in transit systems using federal funds for capital and operating assistance.

Burkhardt said that despite attacks on 13c from business and the American Public Transportation Association, the Administration "will make sure that any new guidelines stay faithful to the intent of Congress in passing this law."

A former staff member of the Painters and the AFL-CIO, Burkhardt congratulated the ATU on its role in writing 13c into law. He said that collective bargaining and other employee rights had been protected by the clause in more than 2,300 cases since 1964.

Maroney noted in his report to the delegates that even in a period of high unemployment and inflation, the union's membership has increased—up about 10,000 to 150,000 since 1975—and real wages of members have risen more than 2.3 percent annually.

He cautioned that the union's success has given rise to a counter-attack seeking to strip rights away from the transit worker "so that he can be treated like other public workers—that is as a second-class citizen."

The convention also heard a strong appeal for letters and telegrams in support of labor law reform from Sen. Harrison Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.), who is the bill's Senate co-sponsor, and from COPE Director Al Barkan. Other major speakers included D.C. Mayor Walter Washington, and House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill (D-Mass).

Wynn, Whaley Elected To Head Retail Clerks

William H. Wynn was elected president of the Retail Clerks by the union's executive board to fill the vacancy created by the death of James T. Housewright.

The board also elected Thomas G. Whaley to succeed Wynn as a secretary-treasurer and John E. Mara as a vice president. Mara had been president of the Boot & Shoe Workers, which merged with the RCIU last month.

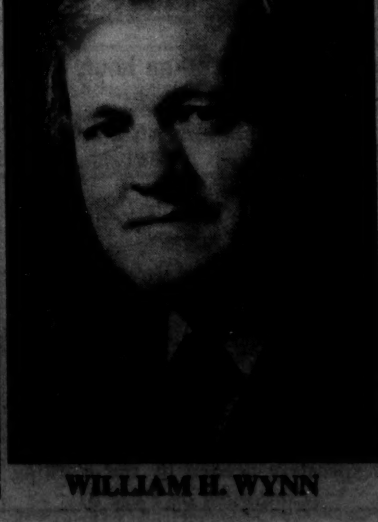
The merger pushed RCIU's membership total over the 700,000 mark. Mara will serve as director of the union's new shoe workers' division, which includes some 30,000 members.

Wynn, 47, has been a member of the RCIU since 1948 and served as a business representative for Local 37 in South Bend, Ind., from 1954 to 1959 until he became an organizer for the union's Indiana district council. He later held a number of posts in four of the union's nine divisions.

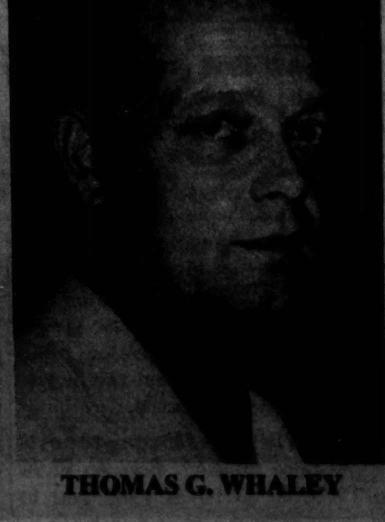
Wynn was elected a vice president of the international in 1972 and secretary-treasurer last year to succeed Peter Hall, who retired. He was elected to a full five-year term at the RCIU convention earlier this year.

Whaley has been on the union's international staff since 1960, serving in a number of capacities. He was elected a vice president in 1968 and appointed director of organization four years ago.

Wynn, Whaley and Mara were elected to terms that expire Oct. 1, 1982.



WILLIAM H. WYNN



THOMAS G. WHALEY

LABOR LAW REFORM: RUSTIN, HILL
TESTIMONY

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN HILL, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
ON
H.R. 8410, LABOR LAW REFORM ACT OF 1977

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
JULY 27, 1977

My name is Norman Hill and I am executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. As most of you may know, the Institute, in existence since 1964 and with 180 chapters in 35 states, is dedicated to expanding the role of minority citizens and improving the quality of job opportunities, particularly by working with the labor movement. Our work is grounded in the belief, to which A. Philip Randolph's life gives eloquent testimony, that the attainment of civil rights is inextricably tied to equal economic opportunity.

The Labor Law Refrom Act of 1977 by more fully guaranteeing the fundamental rights of American workers will be an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity. The Wagner Act of 1935 established the labor relations policy of the nation as "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." Yet, in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weaknesses in the law which, in practice, discourage the practice of collective bargaining. The Congress now has a tremendous opportunity to make sure that our labor laws actually guarantee workers free choice to exercise the rights recognized and promised by the

Wagner Act.

Although the Wagner Act is usually viewed as Labor's Bill of Rights, it is often overlooked that it was, at the same time, a tremendous contribution to racial equality. By making possible the organization of workers in the mass production industries, the Wagner Act provided a major boost to the income of black workers and brought them to a level of approximate equality with white workers in those same industries. Studies by economists such as Orley Ashenfelter have found that there is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. Indeed, unionization has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) show that blacks in the trade union movement earned annually a full $2000 more than their non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of whites in the economy as whole, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In transportation it was 89.6 percent in durable goods 93 percent, and in metal trades 97 percent. Similarly, 1965 statistics show that while 14.3 percent of non-union black families had income below $3000, only 3.9 percent of black union households were in that category. In short, the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans. The reverse is equally true, barriers to unionization prevent black workers from making economic advances.

Labor law reform is needed to protect the rights of un-

organized workers, to guarantee that they are truly able to exercise freedom of choice. When the rights to organize and bargain collectively is effectively denied to millions of workers, black workers are special victims. They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities.

Workers in low wage industries suffer most from the inadequacies and abuses of current labor law. Earning very marginal incomes, they cannot afford to be fired unjustly and then wait indefinitely for the NLRB to rule on their cases. Twenty percent of all black workers are service workers, where the level of unionization is at a low 10.5 percent.

Other black workers are denied freedom of choice because they are concentrated in regions of the country where employers take pride in keeping unions out through illegal harrassment and because the National Labor Relations Act is virtually powerless to prevent employer abuses. A case in point in the Florida Steel Corporation. The December 1976 Staff Report on the National Labor Relations Act of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations summarized:

> The company uses the traditional anti-union

techniques of discharging the known union adherents in an effort to intimidate the others. In addition, it utilized the use of "race hate" to divide and conquer the workers. Thus, when the union organizing campaign began in Charlotte, it was blamed on the "black people." The Industrial Relations Manager told others that "the NAACP had petitioned the United Steelworkers to 'kick off' this campaign." Supervisors were told to emphasize in their discussions with the workers that "this would be a black union, and that it was going to be run by blacks."

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The union persevered and won at two Florida Steel plants, but thus far, they have been unable to get a first contract. And although some of the workers were eventually reinstated with back pay, many were out of a job for a year and a half or longer.

To the extent that labor law frustrates the ability of

white and black workers to organize, it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice. In fact, the absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations.

In exercising their rights as workers, many blacks face barriers which, although they may be slightly more subtle, are no less formidable than they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. They face employer abuse and intimidation. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist, Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union activists. The ability of employers to defy the law with impunity has effectively robbed workers of their promised right of free choice. How can a choice be "free" when it may cost you your livelihood?

And, of course, the closer a worker is to the poverty line, the more expensive the risk becomes and the fewer real choices exist. It is not difficult to sympathize with the worker who decides that even a miserable and low-paying job is better than being fired for attempting to join a union, but one must have enormous respect for the courage of workers who decide to risk their jobs in order to exercise their rights. There is something wrong when a worker is required to be a hero in order to exercise his promised rights.

Whatever progress has been made, black people still comprise a disproportionately large percentage of this nation's

poor and marginal wage earners, those who cannot take chances if they wish to maintain a minimum living standard for themselves and their families.

Blacks are overwhelmingly a working people, so we have an enormous stake in proposals to make the laws which govern labor-management relations work more efficiently, quickly, and equitably. The A. Philip Randolph Institute believes that the Labor Law Reform Act, H.R. 8410, goes a long ways towards accomplishing those objectives. Several of the components of the bill are of special significance for black workers. Because black workers are especially prone to be pro-union, they face enormous risks of being fired for pro-union sentiments or activities. H.R. 8410 would remedy this situation by authorizing the National Labor Relations Board to award double backpay without mitigation to workers who were illegally discharged before the initial contract. Another important reform is that the Board should be authorized to prohibit a firm from obtaining Federal contracts for a period of three years, if the firm is found to have willfully and repeatedly violated NLRB orders. Equally important are the various measures designed to insure expeditious and meaningful elections and to streamline the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board and to reduce delays in the Board's operations. In addition, the Board should also be required to seek preliminary injunctions against certain unfair labor practices which interfere seriously with employee rights. These reforms would do

much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so.

The Institute believes that the Labor Law Reform Act is an important step towards economic and social justice. We hope that the Committee and Congress will agree.

LABOR LAW REFORM/BAYARD RUSTIN
FELLNER

My name is ~~Bayard Rustin,~~ Norman Hill and I am ~~President~~ Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City. As most of you may know, the Institute, in existence since 1966, is dedicated to expanding the political role of minority citizens and improving the quality of job opportunities, particularly within the framework of organized labor. Our work is grounded in the belief, to which A. Philip Randolph's life gave eloquent testimony, that the attainment of human rights is inextricably tied to equal economic opportunity.

What we are addressing today is, on the bottom line, as basic as the cherished American concept of freedom of choice. Choice is the essential component of the worker rights upheld by the Supreme Court when the Court upheld the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wagner Act. Chief Justice Hughes reaffirmed that "Employees have as clear a right to organize and select their representative for lawful purposes as (a company) has to organize its business and select its own officers and agents. Discrimination and coercion to prevent the free exercise of the right of employees to self-organization and representation is a proper subject for condemnations by compe~~n~~tent legislative authority."

However, under existing labor law, while the authorities may condemn, they cannot enforce. At J. P. Stevens, that incapacity has meant 14 years of arrogant disregard for NLRB rulings and hundreds of illegal firings. Yet, this government gives J. P. Stevens millions of dollars in federal contracts — one of the ironies the bill before you would eradicate.

(more)

The ability of employers to defy the law with impunity has effectively robbed workers of their promised right to free choice. How can a choice be "free" when it may cost you your livelihood, your friends, your sense of self? With consequences such as these, the choice becomes a most expensive one.

And of course, the closer a worker is to the poverty line, the more expensive the risk becomes and the fewer alternate choices exist. It is not difficult to feel for the worker who decides that even a miserable and low-paying job and no union is better than no job at all, and still no guarantee of a union.

Whatever progress has been made, black people still comprise a disproportionately large percentage of this nation's poor and marginal wage earners, those who cannot take chances if they wish to maintain a minimum survival level.

Our country's founders approximately 200 years ago, determined that a negro was 3/5 of a man. Yet when it comes to income, blacks of today have yet to achieve even that percentage; black income hovers at approximately 60 percent of white income. In 1973, a black man with a college degree earned almost $4000 less than a white male high school graduate, and even a white high school dropout earned more than a black male with one to three years of college. Three times as many blacks as whites earned less than $3000 that year, 18 percent as compared to 6 percent.

Statistics also show that unionization can make a substantial dent in this inequity between black and white worker earnings. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) indicate that blacks in the trade union movement earned a full $2000 more than their non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of white workers' wages, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In transportation it was 89.6 percent, in durable goods 93 percent and in metal trades, 97 percent. Similarly, 1965 statistics show that while 14.3 percent of non-union black families below $3000, only 3.9 percent of black union households were in that category. It is no wonder that while only one fourth of the white workforce has joined unions, one third of all black workers has joined.

Where a real choice exists, blacks overwhelmingly choose unionization. While only 42.5 percent of white manufacturing workers were union, the figure for black workers was 57.8 percent. In transportation and automotive industries, 89.5 percent of black workers were union members, as compared to only 54.2 percent of white workers.

But many blacks remain relegated to low wage occupations with a low level of unionization. Twenty percent of all black workers are service workers, where the level of unionization is at a low 10.5 percent. Under current legislation, these workers have the hardest time exercising unfettered choice. Earning very marginal incomes, they cannot afford to be fired injustly and then wait indefinitely for the NLRB to rule on their case.

Other black workers lack free choice because they are concentrated in regions of the country where employers take pride in keeping the union out through illegal harrassment. A case in point is the Florida Steel Corporation. The December, 1976 Staff Report on the National Labor Relations Act of theSubcommittee on Labor Management Relations summarized:

> The company uses the traditional anti-union techniques of discharging the known union adherents in an effort to intimidate the others. In addition, it utilizes the use of "race hate" to divide and conquer the workers. Thus, when the union organizing campaign began in Charlotte, it was blamed on the "black people." The Industrial Relations Manager told others that "the NAACP had petitioned the United Steelworkers to "kick off" this campaign."

> Supervisors were told to emphasize in their discussions with the workers that "this would be a black union, and that it was going to be run by blacks."

In the first of many Florida Steel cases it was to hear, the NLRB wrote:

> The racial overtones in this case demonstrate Respondent's hostility to those of its black employees who were union adherents. Fourteen of the seventeen alleged dischargees were black. Testimony was adduced at the hearing that Respondent would not hire young black employees as they were viewed as likely union supporters, and the Administrative Law Judge specifically found appeals to racial prejudice in the Company's antiunion campaign....

The union perservered and won at two Florida Steel plants, but thus far, they have been unable to get a first contract. And although some of the workers were eventually reinstated with back pay, many were out of a job for a year and a half or longer.

I myself have recently returned from Memphis, where I participated in a campaign to organize furniture workers. I have brought with me, the local's president, Willie Rudd, himself a victim of an unjust firing during the campaign. We'd like to share some of our experiences with you, especially as they relate to the weaknesses in the existing Labor Relations Act.

(Rustin will supply rest)

TESTIMONY OF BAYARD RUSTIN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
ON
S. 1883, LABOR LAW REFORM ACT OF 1977

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, SENATE COMMITTEE
ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
SEPTEMBER 23, 1977

My name is Bayard Rustin and I am President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. I appear here today in support of the President's proposals for reforming the National Labor Relations Act.

I believe that the Labor Law Reform Act is among the most important pieces of civil and human rights legislation to come before the Congress in many years. My primary concern is the positive affect that this legislation can have on the lives of millions of individuals and the important contribution it can make towards perfecting and strengthening our democracy. Democratic societies face moral crises when rights exist in name only or are denied to a section of the population. Just as the civil rights movement has been a response to the denial of rights to blacks and other minorities, the need to reform our labor laws is created by the discrepancy between rights and reality. The Labor Law Reform Act does not ask the Congress to establish new rights; it merely seeks to guarantee that rights already promised are made a reality.

The purpose of this bill is simple justice. It asks no more than that workers be free to exercise their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining without the threat of coercion, harassment, intimidation, or reprisal from their employers. The Wagner Act of 1935 established the labor relations policy of the nation as "encouraging the practices and prodecure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." But, in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by imperfections in the law which, in practice, discourage the practice of collective bargaining. The challenge before the Congress is to make sure that our labor law actually guarantees workers free choice to exercise the rights recognized and promised by the Wagner Act.

It is the most vulnerable and least secure members of society who are most seriously harmed by the shortcomings in the labor laws. Those who are most in need of protection are denied it. When the rights to organize and bargain collectively are denied to millions of workers, black workers are special victims. They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. Workers in low wage industries suffer most from the inadequacies and abuses of current labor law. Earning very marginal incomes, they cannot afford to be fired unjustly and then wait indefinitely for the National Labor Relations Board to rule on their cases.

Many black workers are denied freedom of choice because they are concentrated in regions of the country where employers take pride in keeping unions out through illegal harassment and because the National Labor Relations Act is virtually powerless to prevent employer abuses. The absence of effective remedies against employer abuses has frequently resulted in the deliberate worsening of racial relations. A case in point is the Florida Steel Corporation. The December 1976 staff report on the National Labor Relations Act of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations summarized the case:

"The company uses the traditional anti-union techniques of discharging the known union adherents in an effort to intimidate the others. In addition, it utilized the use of 'race hate' to divide and conquer the workers. Thus, when the union organizing campaign began in Charlotte, it was blamed on the 'black people.' The Industrial Relations Manager told others that 'the NAACP had petitioned the United Steelworkers to "kick off" this campaign.' Supervisors were told to emphasize in their discussions with the workers that 'this would be a black union, and that it was going to be run by blacks.'"

In the first of many Florida Steel cases it was to hear, the National Labor Relations Board declared:

"The racial overtones in this case demonstrate Respondents hostility to those of its black employees who were union adherents. Fourteen of the seventeen alleged discharges were black. Testimony was adduced at the hearing that the Respondent would not hire young black employees as they were viewed as likely union supporters, and the Administrative Law Judge specifically found appeals to racial prejudice in the Company's anti-union campaign. The union persevered and won at two Florida Steel plants, but thus far they have been unable to get a first contract, And although some of the workers were eventually reinstated with back pay, many were out of a job for a year and a half or longer."

Sadly, Florida Steel is not an isolated case. It is part of a pattern that has been repeated at plants belonging to the Bancroft Manufacturing Company, the plants of the J.P. Stevens company, and countless other workplaces, both large and small.

I would like to briefly share some experiences with the problems in the labor laws which are crying for correction. In the Spring of this year, I spent some time in Memphis, Tennessee assisting an organizing drive conducted by the United Furniture Workers. The union succeeded in winning the election at the Memphis Furniture Company on May 20, and although over two-thirds of the employees voted for the union, they have still not been able to obtain a contract. During the course of the union's recognition drive, many workers faced company harassment. Five employees were fired for their pro-union sentiments and only after long legal proceedings were they able to gain reinstatement. After reaching a settlement under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board in the case of the first worker fired, the company removed the notice which pledged not to harass. To make matters worse, the company distributed a handbill falsely informing its employees that backpay money would be received not by the worker in question, but by the union.

Before the representation election was held, the Industrial Relations Manager for the Company had written that the matter could best be determined by/a secret ballot election, but after the election was held the company changed its tune. It filed a series of charges with the NLRB trying to overthrow the election. After filing the charges, the President of the Company said that if the NLRB dismissed the charges the Company would immediately enter into negotiations. The NLRB dismissed the company's charges but the Company has still refused to enter into negotiations.

My experience in Memphis has made it very clear to me that in exercising their rights as workers, many blacks face barriers which are almost as formidable as those they faced in gaining their civil rights and voting rights. Twenty years ago, a black worker risked being fired if he was a known civil rights activist. Today, black workers risk being fired if they are known union activists. The ability of employers to defy the law with near impunity has effectively robbed workers of their promised right of free choice. How can a choice be "free" when it may cost you your livelihood? How can it be free when it may take years to regain your job if you are unjustly fired?

The proposals embodied in the Labor Law Reform Act would do much to correct the abuses that currently plague our labor laws. If the National Labor Relations Board is empowered to order compensation to the employees for an illegal refusal to bargain after an election, delays like the one suffered under existing law can be prevented. A particularly important reform is to authorize the NLRB to award double backpay to workers who are illegally discharged before the initial contract. Another important reform is that the Board should be authorized to prohibit a firm from obtaining Federal contracts for a period of three years, if the firm is found to have willfully and repeatedly violated NLRB orders. Equally important are the various measures designed to insure expeditious and meaningful elections and to streamline the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board and to reduce delays in the Board's operations. In addition, the Board should also be required to seek preliminary injunctions against certain unfair labor practices which interfere seriously with employee rights. These reforms would do much to guarantee that workers, both black and white, who wish to bargain collectively with their employers shall have a reasonable and prompt chance to do so.

I am sure that members of this committee are as deeply troubled by the August unemployment figures as I am. Black joblessness has jumped to 14.5 percent, matching the post-World War II record high of September 1975. Moreover, black unemployment is running considerably higher than its historic ratio of twice the white rate. Despite the important progress that has been made, black people still comprise a disproportionately large percentage of this nation's poor and marginal wage earners. The Labor Law Reform Act is not the complete answer to closing the income gap between black and white Americans, but it certainly is an important part. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) show that blacks in the trade union movement earned annually a full $2000 more than there non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of whites in the economy as a whole, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In short, the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans. There is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. To the extent that labor law frustrates the ability of white and black workers to organize it is a barrier to racial equality and economic justice. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities.

Marvin Caplan

IUD - 202. 637.5000 —

B. R.

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN HILL, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
ON
[redacted], LABOR LAW REFORM ACT OF 1977
S. 1883

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR-[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted], 1977
Sept. 23

1) Retype for Senate hearing
2) Find to modern examples of harassment.
- Stevens
- Farmington workers
but do not include them in this paper.

Room 4232
Dirksen Senate office Bld
9:30 AM.

Bayard Rustin President

My name is Norman Hill and I am ~~executive director~~ of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. As most of you may know, the Institute, in existence since 1964 and with 180 chapters in 35 states, is dedicated to expanding the role of minority citizens and improving the quality of job opportunities, particularly by working with the labor movement. Our work is grounded in the belief, to which A. Philip Randolph's life gives eloquent testimony, that the attainment of civil rights is inextricably tied to equal economic opportunity.

The Labor Law Refrom Act of 1977 by more fully guaranteeing the fundamental rights of American workers will be an important step in achieving equal economic opportunity. The Wagner Act of 1935 established the labor relations policy of the nation as "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining" and as "protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." Yet, in reality, those freedoms continue to be denied to millions of workers by weaknesses in the law which, in practice, discourage the practice of collective bargaining. The Congress now has a tremendous opportunity to make sure that our labor laws actually guarantee workers free choice to exercise the rights recognized and promised by the

Wagner Act.

Although the Wagner Act is usually viewed as Labor's Bill of Rights, it is often overlooked that it was, at the same time, a tremendous contribution to racial equality. By making possible the organization of workers in the mass production industries, the Wagner Act provided a major boost to the income of black workers and brought them to a level of approximate equality with white workers in those same industries. Studies by economists such as Orley Ashenfelter have found that there is substantially less discrimination in the unionized sector of the economy than in the non-unionized sectors. Indeed, unionization has made a significant dent in the inequality between black and white worker earnings. The most recent figures (from the 1970 census) show that blacks in the trade union movement earned annually a full $2000 more than their non-union counterparts. Compared with earnings at 60 percent of whites in the economy as whole, unionized black workers in manufacturing earned a median wage of 89 percent of the white median. In transportation it was 89.6 percent in durable goods 93 percent, and in metal trades 97 percent. Similarly, 1965 statistics show that while 14.3 percent of non-union black families had income below $3000, only 3.9 percent of black union households were in that category. In short, the ability to organize unions has been an important instrument of upward mobility for black Americans. The reverse is equally true, barriers to unionization prevent black workers from making economic advances.

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organized workers, to guarantee that they are truly able to exercise freedom of choice. When the rights to organize and bargain collectively is effectively denied to millions of workers, black workers are special victims. They make up a large percentage of workers who have been denied the right to organize. They are heavily concentrated in those industries and areas where employers have most ruthlessly resisted unions--the service industries, the South, and government employment. A fair chance to organize unions is an essential precondition for the economic advancement of blacks, as well as women and other minorities.

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poor and marginal wage earners, those who cannot take chances if they wish to maintain a minimum living standard for themselves and their families.

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The Institute believes that the Labor Law Reform Act is an important step towards economic and social justice. We hope that the Committee and Congress will agree.

LEWIS + CLARK COLLEG

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Bayard Rustin
President
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Assistant to the President
Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant
Harriette Siani
Staff Assistant
Helen Toth
Staff Assistant

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

Oct 12 & 13

Sept. 11, 1981

Ms. Denise Thompson
Residence Hall
Lewis & Clark College
Portland, Oregon 97219

Dear Ms. Thompson:

Please find enclosed a confirmation letter which you requested.

Mr. Rustin's air travel is as follows:

Monday, Oct. 12

8:10 a.m. Depart N.Y. on Northwest #201 arriving Portland at 11:59 a.m.

Wednesday, Oct. 14

7:50 a.m. Depart Oregon on United #142 which arrives Chicago at 1:30 pm, change planes to United #914 which departs at 2:25 pm & arrives at LaGuardia at 5:23 pm

Please make hotel arrangements for Monday and Tuesday nights.

Should you have further questions, please contact Mr. Bill Hafer in Mr. Rustin's office.

Sincerely,

Sonia Morgan

Sonia Morgan

encl.

Denise Thompson
503-244-6161
x271

July 24, 1981

Mr. John S. Whiteneck, Jr.
Associate Director of Trusts
and Bequests
Lewis & Clark College
Office of the Vice President
for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219

Dear Mr. Whiteneck:

Thank you for the invitation to participate in the Mark Chamberlin Lecture Series.

I have cleared my calendar for Oct. 12-13 to be with you and your students.

Please finalize details with Sonia Morgan my administrative assistant.

Thanks again,

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/spm

Contact Person:

Lewis & Clark College

August 4, 1981

Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Ms. Morgan:

Please thank Dr. Rustin for the confirmation of the dates of October 12-13.

We are turning over the publications material to the proper people at the College.

I am looking forward to an excellent turnout to hear Dr. Rustin's lectures.

Cordially,

John S. Whiteneck, Jr.

John S. Whiteneck, Jr.

JSW:B

Office of the Vice President for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219
Telephone: 503-244-6161

Lewis & Clark College

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RECEIVED
JUL 6 - 1981

OK, BR

12 x 13

June 30, 1981

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York City, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

In keeping with our telephone conversation this morning, I am happy that you have consented to be the "Mark Chamberlin Lecturer in October.

Here at Lewis and Clark College, in Portland, Oregon, The Reverend Mark A. Chamberlin and his wife, Dr. Corinne Chamberlin, a physician, have established the "Mark Chamberlin Lectureship" five years ago.

The following quotes from the founding instrument will help you to understand the purpose of the lectures:

"Our purpose in establishing the 'Mark Chamberlin Lectures' at Lewis and Clark College is to bring to the campus a nationally or internationally acclaimed representative of the Jewish community and the Christian community. If finances permit, two lectures by these two individuals will be offered. Otherwise, the Jewish and Christian lecturers will appear on alternate years. The lecturers will be selected from those who have distinguished themselves in applying the religious, social and economic teachings of Jesus and the Old Testament Prophets to the life of America and the world.

This involves the creative evolution of a society in which people take precedence over profits. The lectures envision a goal as set forth by Jesus for his own mission in the words of the Hebrew Prophet Isaiah:

> "The Spirit of the Lord is upon
> me, because he hath anointed me
> to preach the gospel to the poor;
> he hath sent me to heal the broken-
> hearted, to preach deliverance to
> the captives, and recovering of
> sight to the blind, to set at
> liberty them that are bruised,
>
> To preach the acceptable year of the
> Lord."

Office of the Vice President for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219
Telephone: 503-244-6161

RECEIVED
JUL 6 - 1981

To date we have had four annual lecturers: Dr. Abraham Kaplan, Professor in University of Haifa; Henry Steele Commager, eminent historian; Dr. William Sloane Coffin, Minister, Riverside Church, New York; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of Inter-religious Activities, American Jewish Committee.

You would give one lecture on a Monday evening and then meet with classes Tuesday morning. At lunch hour you would meet informally with students and staff to make any further statements you desire but in the main you would be available to answer questions growing out of your lecture and your meeting with class groups in the morning.

The College is prepared to offer you an honorarium of $2,000 plus air fare and hotel. We shall be happy to make reservations for you at the Benson Hotel.

The dates for your coming could be your choice of: October 12 and 13; or 19 and 20; or (26 and 27.)

Inasmuch as Rabbi Stampfer can not be with us on either Tuesday, October 13 or 20, we, therefore, would prefer the October 26 and 27 dates. He can be with us on any of the three Monday evenings and says for you to select one of the other possible dates if you cannot be with us October 26 and 27.

Your friends are enthusiastic about your coming and the great contribution to the College and community you are sure to provide.

Glossy prints and background materials will be helpful in giving your lecture the publicity it deserves.

Please let us know if we can assist you in any way in making your first visit to Lewis and Clark College a memorable experience.

Sincerely,

John S. Whiteneck, Jr.

John S. Whiteneck, Jr.
Associate Director of Trusts and Bequests

Home # 503-644-8340

JSW:B

Enc. An ealier letter written by Rabbi Joshua Stampfer
cc: Rabbi Stampfer
Rodney Cox

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Dr. Robert W. Gilmore
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

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Assistant to the President
Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant
Harriette Siani
Staff Assistant
Helen Toth
Staff Assistant

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

July 8, 1981

Mr. John S. Whiteneck, Jr.
Associate Director of Trusts
and Bequests
Lewis & Clark College
Office of the Vice President
for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219

Dear Mr. Whiteneck:

Thank you very much for your recent correspondence to Bayard Rustin concerning the "Mark Chamberlin Lecture Series."

Mr. Rustin is presently out of the city for a few days. Upon his return, a confirmed date will be scheduled for his visit to Oregon. I shall be in contact with you as soon as possible.

Please find enclosed glossy prints and background information.

Sincerely,

Sonia Morgan

Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant

encl.

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Lewis & Clark College
Office of the Vice President for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Randolph Foundation
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10040

congregation
neveh shalom

Joshua Stampfer
Rabbi

Marc Dinkin
Cantor

Ron Sandler
Executive/
Educational
Director

Richard Brownstein
President

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1981

June 18, 1981

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Randolph Foundation
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10040

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am acting as a member of the Mark Chamberlain Lecture Committee at Lewis and Clark College and am charged with the responsibility of obtaining the speaker for the next lecture.

I have called your office in New York twice and each time was assured that I would be called back to either confirm or regret the invitation that we extend to you to be our quest. To this date we have not been contacted and frankly, it is quite discouraging.

The Mark Chamberlain Lectures is the most prestigious lecture series in the Portland area dealing with the Judea-Christian heritage in the context of modern social problems. Our most recent lecturer was Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum and he was preceded by such figures as Henry Steele Commager and William Sloane Coffman.

The college offers a $2,000 honorarium, and all travel costs. It plans one public lecture and a day of meeting with several classes at the college. The speaker selects a suitable date in September or October.

We would be honored by your presence and look forward to a favorable response from you.

Sincerely,

Joshua Stampfer

Joshua Stampfer
Rabbi

JS/mb

2900 Southwest Peaceful Lane • Portland, Oregon 97201 • (503) 246-8831

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congregation
neveh shalom
2900 Southwest Peaceful Lane
Portland, Oregon 97201

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Mr. Bayard Rustin
Randolph Foundation
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10040

RECEIVED
JUL 6 - 1981

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Sincerely,

Joshua Stampfer

Joshua Stampfer
Rabbi

JS/mb

Dear Mr. Rustin
I am delighted to learn that you have accepted our invitation and assure you of a very warm and friendly reception here. Sincerely, Joshua Stampfer

July 8, 1981

Mr. John S. Whiteneck, Jr.
Associate Director of Trusts
and Bequests
Lewis & Clark College
Office of the Vice President
for Development
Portland, Oregon 97219

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Please find enclosed glossy prints and background information.

Sincerely,

Sonia Morgan
Administrative Assistant

encl.

Lewis & Clark College

Write letter
thanking for
understanding
+ preference
for
fall.

September 23, 1981

Mr. William Hafer
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Hafer:

Sonia Morgan suggested that I correspond with you regarding Mr. Rustin's visit to Lewis and Clark College. The confirmed dates are October 12th and 13th, with his return flight to New York on the morning of the 14th.

The suggested schedule I have arranged, although still tentative, is attached. If there are individuals or groups in Portland Mr. Rustin would like to see while he is here please let me know and I shall happily make the arrangements. Your comments will be appreciated.

Mr. Rustin will be staying at the Benson Hotel while in Portland. The telephone number is 503-228-9611, for your records.

It would be helpful if you let me know of Mr. Rustin's particular needs, likes or dislikes, especially regarding food. I suspect he's wonderfully unpresuming but we want him to enjoy his visit, too!

I shall meet Mr. Rustin's plane, Northwest #201, which arrives in Portland at 11:50 am on Monday, October 12th.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Denise M. Thompson

Denise M. Thompson
Associate Dean of Students
Director of Residence Halls

DMT/cc
encl.

Residence Halls Office
Portland, Oregon 97219
Telephone: 503-244-6161

Lewis & Clark College
Residence Halls Office
Portland, Oregon 97219

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Mr. William Hafer
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Suggested schedule for Bayard Rustin

October 12th-13th, 1981

Lewis and Clark College
Portland, Oregon

October 12th

11:59 am - Arrival Portland International Airport Northwest Orient Airlines #201

Afternoon - Benson Hotel

4:30 pm - Sherry hour with students, Tamarack Lounge Forest Hall

5:30 pm - Dinner with the Chamberlin Lecture Committee, Dubach Dining Room, Templeton College Center

7:30 pm - Fifth Annual Chamberlin Lecture This year dedicated to the memory of Dr. Corine Chamberlin

October 13th

9:00 am - Meet Dr. Dorothy Berkson's class on American Literature to the Civil War. (A course outline and suggested discussion topics will be forthcoming!)

10:00 am - Meet informally over coffee with faculty members

11:00 am - Class visit, Dr. Helena Carlson's Introduction to Psychology

12:00 noon - Brown Bag Lunch - possible discussion topic, "The Effect of the Swing to the Right." (Portland has recently faced incidents of alleged racial harassment within the Police Bureau, and last week a suspect was arrested and charged for destruction in three synagogues. Can there be parallels to the political/economic mood of the country? Are we to expect more such incidents?)

There will be an additional class visit in the afternoon. We are also going to arrange for a visit, perhaps dinner, with Portland community leaders. If you have made arrangements for Tuesday evening, please let me know as soon as possible.

MANUSCRIPT - MANPOWER POLICIES
FOR YOUTH - 1964

CUNNINGHAM & WALSH INC.
260 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
MURRAY HILL 3-4900

December 4, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Workers Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Enclosed is a transcript of your part in the "Manpower Policies for Youth" symposium recently held in Washington, D. C.

Please make whatever changes or corrections you desire and return the transcript at your earliest convenience. Our plans are to begin printing the transcript on January 4th, 1965, so we need your corrections before Christmas. Please return corrected copy to the undersigned at Cunningham & Walsh, 260 Madison Avenue, New York 10016.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Charles Slay

Charles Slay
Staff Assistant to Symposium
Advisory Committee

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH

MANPOWER Policies for Youth:

"PREPARE YOUTH FOR WORK."

- - -

AUDITORIUM, MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Thursday, September 24, 1964

Washington, D. C.

- - -

The Panel met at 9:15 o'clock a.m., Richard A. Cloward, Moderator.

PANELISTS:

Richard A. Cloward, Director of Research, Mobilization for Youth, Inc.

Marcia K. Freedman, Director of the Youth Work Program Review, National Committee on Employment of Youth

Nat Hentoff, author, THE NEW EQUALITY

S. M. Miller, Professor of Sociology, Maxwell Graduate School, and Senior Research Associate, Youth Development Center, Syracuse University

Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director, The March on Washington

Clarence Senior, Member, New York City Board of Education

- - -

PROCEEDINGS

MR. CLOWARD: Thank you.

It is a great pleasure to greet you this morning. The subject of these meetings, youth unemployment, should properly be a high priority in the national scheme. We have a very distinguished body of panelists.

Let me introduce them to you and ask that each provide you with a brief three-minute overview of his paper or other comments which he might wish to put before you this morning.

Our first speaker is a well-known author and critic, a man always concerned with the liberal cause. It would be fair, I think, to introduce Mr. Hentoff by saying that in his paper he is less concerned with the necessary and the vital mechanics and provisions of youth employment legislation than he is with some of the basic social, moral issues of our current approaches to solving youth problems.

Mr. Hentoff.

MR. HENTOFF: I am not going to summarize so much the paper as a whole as just outline two of the themes in it and add a third one.

The essence of the paper is simply this, that you cannot talk of motivating somebody and then proceed to con him, to lie to him. This has been the basic hangup that leads to the "existential crisis of dropouts" as it is called, and it continues.

I am concerned, for example, when the Secretary of Labor -- and I am not making this ad hominem, it is just that he represents a kind of establishment figure -- talks about keeping kids in school until they are eighteen but does not simultaneously call for a radical restructuring of the schools so that they mean something to the kids in them.

That restructuring would include the finding of teachers who understand these alleged alienated kids, who respect them. And going from there, finding the kind of education, vocational or otherwise, that means something, that will lead to jobs the students will fill and can grow in.

The second theme which is not in the paper strikes me as a possible growing danger. Coming from a variety of sources there is now an argument that if you don't catch the disaffiliated when they are very young -- at age three, four, five -- there isn't terribly much you can do with them. This strikes me, if it grows -- and I see a good possibility of it -- as perhaps the most sophisticated cop-out that we have yet had. I don't think the thesis is proved, and if you are going along on this basis, what do you do with this generation of dropouts, potential dropouts? Do you put them in a cage or on a dole when they are eighteen?

The third theme is that education obviously cannot in itself motivate. Even if you can motivate the child to be educated, the process fails without changes also taking place in the way he lives and the way he sees his parents and the people in his neighborhood. This leads, of course, to the whole problem of social change, political change and economic change. With a limited concept of community action programs, we are again conning these people.

It seems to me plain hypocrisy when, for example, the very public officials, national and local, who keep making virtuous statements about what we must do for the poor, retreat when a project like Mobilization for Youth is attacked as it is now being attacked. Mobilization is on the edge of disaster in New York, thereby making all similar projects throughout the country run scared, and in a sense start crippled. None of these public officials has said anything to indicate they understand what Mobilization is all about, and what its approach is all about.

In short, the public officials say, "let's have social action, social change, community organization -- up to a point but no farther."

MR. CLOWARD: One of the most interesting things about our next speaker is his academic versatility. For S. M. Miller is indeed versatile. He has produced significant published works in the field of low-income culture, labor mobility, social stratification, education, youth unemployment and in other areas as well.

Speaking as one academician to another, I envy his bibliography. It is therefore a matter of great regret to me that by introducing him here today and thereby making his prepared paper official, he will add another citation to that bibliography.

Mr. Miller.

MR. MILLER: When people ask me what I am working on I am embarrassed to say I am working on poverty because it has become such an okay field. I always feel I have to say I was for Roosevelt before Chicago. I was interested in these problems before money began to be so plentiful.

I share many of Nat Hentoff's feelings about what is going on. There are a couple of points I want to particularly emphasize. I think there is a stereotyping of low-income youth and an underestimate of the degree of youth's variability.

To some extent Professor Galbraith last night was making this kind of point. Obviously we need different kinds of programs to prepare youth to be readily able to move into the labor markets when jobs are available. There are others who have grave personal social problems who need a variety of different kinds of help. Obviously we need a wide gamut of programs to deal with youth today realistically, rather than the notion of a few very simple selected programs for very complicated varied problems.

Once you begin to talk about programs, you have to be concerned about what I have growingly and falteringly begun to talk about in terms of authenticity. The programs have to be authentically concerned about the youth, have to be effectively oriented towards the possibilities and have to strive to make new openings for youth possible.

I am concerned that the quality of many of the programs that exist today is extraordinary low level. I think that we could do much better. What is needed among other things is a social accounting, a constant checking of the programs, and here I think that the Civil Rights organizations can play a particularly important role in the sense of being the conscience of the community. Not only must they want a particular program, but also they should try to find out how effectively any program achieves its mandate.

In my paper I have listed three or four examples of crimes. I used the word "crimes" advisedly because the programs were efforts to fool people, efforts by and large which masqueraded the very low level results. Very little attempt actually is made to improve conditions of those for whom the programs supposedly were designed. I think a variety of organizations have to play this new kind of role of watchdog function in our society.

Let me finally comment on the thing I find increasingly disturbing. We find in Mr. Hentoff's paper, and elsewhere, an eloquent discussion of the dismal future we face in the United States. There is increasingly -- even in the New York Times Magazine, which follows rather than leads -- published material about the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution. We get some information of the broad difficulties we will face.

On the other hand, we have discussions of whether the minimum wage should be $1.25 an hour or $1.50 an hour. There is a vast middle ground between the indefinite future envisaged by the triple revolution theme in the country and the political and economic programs being suggested today.

I think increasingly we have to turn to the issues. How do we move beyond where we are now? How do we build a kind of political coalition which leads us towards being able to make the broad, deep, pervasive structural changes which seem to be necessary in our society? There seems to be very few linkages between the broad analysis of where we are going and the disturbance about the present level of the programs.

For example, in the poverty program, we have to be willing to assess the future, but always by raising questions about how to move beyond where we are now. What I find disturbing is a lack of an effective middle range social criticism in America between the AFL and Paul Goodman, to put it in stark language. There exist very few of us. In terms of effective movement today, in terms of a political realism which has a vision of the future, middle range social criticism becomes more and more important.

MR. CLOWARD: Our next speaker has been devoted to the cause of youth unemployment for many years, indeed long before society as a whole became conscious of the problem's magnitude. Marcia Freedman has written some of the most important articles and reports on this growing modern social malaise. She is an acknowledged national expert on the intricacies and trends in legislation for youth. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing to you Marcia Freedman.

MRS. FREEDMAN: I think that those of us on the panel will tend to agree perhaps more than may be good for the discussion. There are different levels at which this problem can be discussed, and in our papers each of us has chosen a somewhat different approach. As a matter of fact, two dimensions of the panel are listed in the program. One has to do generally with motivation of youth and "preparation" in that sense and, the other with the techniques of training and education.

These two dimensions were linked together and reflected in the Mobilization for youth experience mentioned here. As you all know, Mobilization has had a variety of programs. I am not in any way attempting to paraphrase all of them by what I am going to say, but two aspects of the program in a sense define our problem here today.

If you see the community organization aspect which is now under attack as an attempt to, if you will, improve motivation by getting people to help themselves or by supporting the self-organization of the neighborhood, then you have the first dimension. If you look at the work programs of Mobilization, the attempts to "prepare youth for work" in a narrower sense by general preparation problems such as, how to get to the job on the subway, how to comb your hair, rather specific vocational opportunities both on the job and off, then you have many technical programs in this field.

Now, in my viewpoint the most successful mobilization program is the community organization part because this was really a departure, whereas the technical aspects, the education and training aspects, were not terribly revolutionary and indeed are not that different from other efforts that are taking place all over the country. The difference is mainly in being better articulated and with a chance for a young person to come into the program, stay longer and be followed longer.

What I am trying to say is that we can look at this discussion on two levels and I hope people here will. There is the level of preparing youth for work in a technical sense. I try to deal with some of the problems involved there in terms of current legislation. The other level is in a sense letting them live, letting them live with us -- although I am not sure that we are fit to live with, as Nat Hentoff seemed to imply in his paper.

If youth are going to have a chance to live in the larger society, it seems to me that we have two different kinds of tasks. One, we have a technical task of trying to see that training matches opportunities. Second, we have to develop some kind of commitment, if you will, a consensus, at least for some groups, on where we are going and not just programs but what kind of policies we think we want for the larger society ourselves.

MR. CLOWARD: The gentleman on my far left, Professor Clarence Senior, is a distinguished academician. It is particularly appropriate that Mr. Senior be with us today to discuss education and youth unemployment because of his focus of concern over the past two decades with the Puerto Rican minority in New York City.

Mr. Senior is also a member of the Board of Education in New York, a group trying desperately to deal with some of the most difficult needs for change in the history of public education, and at a time when contending groups have never been more powerful.

Mr. Senior.

MR. SENIOR: Mr. Chairman, I would like to express a fervent amen to my colleagues on the panel who have called attention to the need for whispered social change. I hope we are going to get further into this in the discussion. There have been any number of studies showing that people are very realistic in their expectations. A child growing up in an area where there is a real possibility for success knows that, absorbs it, and is, as the popular saying goes nowadays, motivated.

A child growing up where I come from -- I am a hillbilly from the Ozarks -- has to move out before he has any idea that there is a world of increasing opportunities. And the same thing could be said under present circumstances about a child growing up in the slums, in the ghettos. Education is a means of introducing children to opportunity,

We also have something in our social structure which interferes with the educational process. If people get up in the world and begin to get something of a stake in the community, they don't want to be inconvenienced. In rural organization educators for many years have been trying to consolidate rural schools, and what does this mean? It means a word which in New York City nowadays has become a fighting word; it means "busing." You can't have consolidated schools unless you bus children. Yet the farmers want their kids right in their own neighborhood, which means where I grew up in the Ozarks, one room in a school. In one year the first, third and fifth grades are taught, and the next year the second, fourth and sixth grades are taught, by one teacher or two teachers. If there are two teachers, one grade is in one corner of the room and the other grade is in the other.

We have more advanced interference than that in the urban areas. We have boycotts, either on behalf or busing or opposed to busing. I speak with perhaps a little heat about this since last week the school system lost $1,600,000 in New York City because of the white boycott. The reason we didn't lose over $3 million was that there was an obscure Greek religious holiday that technically enabled us not to lose state aid for the first day of the white boycott. Otherwise we would have lost over $3 million.

Now, when newspaper friends of mine have interviewed the leaders of the boycott, they say to me the word "Nigger" is just under the surface of every conversation. We have had sessions with the leaders of this boycott and it isn't under the surface always, of course. Some of the white pickets out in front of the schools say to the white children, "if you go in there you will turn into Niggers."

Now, no matter what the slogans are, this is the reality of the most recent boycott in New York City. The population of our ghettos today is of several colors.

People who come from down where I come from, or the southern Appalachians, move into big cities and they don't know how to behave. And just as the school system had to teach most of our 42 million immigrant ancesters how to get along in the big city, we now have to teach the kids who come from the South into the northern cities who have suffered the disadvantages of either no education or a completely inadequate education. This is no minor item in the school budgets of the large cities of the United States. There are 30 million people who move each year. 20 million of these stay within the same county but 10 million of them move across at least eight county lines and 5 million of them move across at least one state line, and most of that 5 million move across more than one state line.

So that every year the pull toward the greater opportunities -- and there are greater economic opportunities in the cities than there are in the country and in the small towns -- puts this additional load on the big city school systems.

In addition, we have had an extra load in recent years of the postwar baby boom. This baby boom still hasn't spent itself, so we are going to have more and more children coming into our schools in the next few years.

We need desperately to expand and improve our services. We have to gear the schools to see to it that we are able to serve people throughout their lives and not just until they get through with high school. This has to be a public education function.

This means not only training and retraining and retraining for a vocation, which is what we must do because the skills demanded of people will be changed during their lifetime perhaps two, three, four times. But we also have to be much more imaginative in training people to live as well as to make a living. And this means a great deal more money.

Where are we going to get the money? I have confined myself almost exclusively to that in my paper. Galbraith last night gave an indication when he said that the local and state governments are the ones that spend money on education but it is the national government that reaps the economic reward. Education does increase the productivity of people and the income and wealth of the country, but it is the national government which captures a significant share of that wealth, and I think that gives an idea of the direction in which we have to look.

Just a couple of other things. Short of increasing Federal aid, there are things that can be done. The property tax is now the major basis of school financing. This is one of the most antiquated, inadequate, badly administered taxes in the United States. Even so, there is a wide variation in school support by state and local governments. From the national average of 4.3 percent of personal income, Utah spends almost 6 percent, Massachusetts spends a little over 2 percent. Receipts per pupil in ADA -- excuse me; if Congressman Miller is in the audience, that means average daily attendance -- in the United States is $541, in New York State it is $826, but in Alabama it is $304.

For higher education, which in many respects is equally significant, California spends $45 per capita, New York State is in 47th place in the Union with $12 per capita per year spent. And if people in New York -- the government, Mr. Rockefeller, the Chamber of Commerce -- want to know why California is outstripping New York State, they might look at those two figures and try to get something out of them.

Now, the Federal Government has only recently made any significant contributions compared with what it should make to the support of public education. Of course, the land grants and the other helps go back for more than a century, but I am talking about really significant contributions which began only really in World War II with the G.I. bill. Later we had the National Defense Education Act, sometimes called the Sputnik bill. Then we had the Manpower Development and Training Act more recently, among others, and still the Federal Government is contributing only a little over 4 percent to education budgets in the United States.

Where is the public school system going to find the fighting citizens' support for better education, particularly at this time when many of the northern school systems and some of the southern school systems are trying to catch up with the harm which has been done to the descendants of slaves in the United States?

I would like to close simply by quoting a man who knows far more about education than I do and I suspect any of my colleagues do. This is Francis Keppel who happens to be U.S. Commissioner of Education and former Dean of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University. After treating the critical need for a much greater investment in education, he remarked, "The traditional content of both general education and occupational training at all levels is obsolescent."

I would like to suggest that money is a necessary condition for improving this situation, although not by any means a sufficient condition for such improvement.

MR. CLOWARD: Thank you.

I am always fascinated to note how people are listed on programs such as this one. Mr. Hentoff has said, both verbally and in his paper, that I am associated with an organism already dead and dead it may well be. That is, at least as I have known it, a bold, innovating, and proud organization. But if I take pride in the way I am listed in todays program, I have the pleasure now of introducing a man who has a hundredfold more reason for taking pride in being listed simply as the Deputy Director of the March on Washington. Mr. Bayard Rustin.

MR. RUSTIN: Had I had time to write a paper, I would have included in it some of the things I shall very roughly allude to now.

I think it is imperative in our discussions to look at the problem rather fully. On the basis of experience with a number of young people between 18 and 25 with whom I have been working recently for jobs in Harlem, I am convinced that there must be an overall involvement, a total involvement of people for something that is infinitely larger than what we have usually call education and training.

I refer to what Michael Harrington has called "the culture of poverty." I am not only referring here to the poor but also to the type of youngster who on Long Island will tear up a country house or in Westchester will take dope even though he comes from what we consider affluent elements, and this cultural poverty would also include the poverty of plenty.

Regarding the "moral equivalent of work," to use Mr. Galbraith's phrase, I am definitely for a redefinition of work and I feel this is an essential part of the problem society has now just begun to think of. We have to think of work in totally different terms than we have up to now.

I think it is imperative that keepers of our conventional economic wisdom come to grips with this fact. However, those of us who consider ourselves social reformers have to be extremely careful that we make no negative contribution. We must not run about romantically, as one thinker has done, proposing to turn demoralized slum youth into poets and artists the day after tomorrow. It seems to me the transformation and redefinition of work can be effectively completed and approached only within the context of a renewed sense of social purpose, and this must involve a considerable segment of the society.

I would have written of the necessity now in the face of automation for public works, not at all the kinds of public works which we had in the 30's, not made work, but activity in the public sector designed to meet unmet social needs. But also I would want to combine these aspects of work with new forms of work, with training where it is possible, and it seems to me that public works and millions of dollars for it is absolutely essential.

I would have mentioned the need for democratic centralized planning, for indeed we must know what people are to be trained for, not only how they are to be trained. There must be some control, if possible, and I don't think that we have any notion at all as to what we are doing.

Now, I would say a word about democracy and involvement in the productive process. We are now heading towards new forms of class structure and to a certain extent the problem here will be technocratic in character and thus by definition subversive of economic and political democracy.

We must not only talk of redistribution of wealth and income but also of a redistribution of economic relevance to maintain democratic responsibility.

I would also have mentioned the need for political movement, and just here we could learn a lesson from the civil rights groups. I don't believe that we can only think in terms of what we are going to do for these young people. I think it is most imperative that we involve them in the political process of helping themselves for the restoration of their dignity. But also I don't believe that we will ever see the problem clearly, arouse the Nation to the need, or obtain the funds unless there is something happening amongst youth. They become active as the young Negroes became active and thus dramatized to the degree it has been this war on poverty. Young Negroes must now be joined by thousands of other youngsters from other segments and a political movement is necessary there.

Finally, I would have said something about the fact that a first and immediate step is that we should recognize that for young people through college, their contribution to society is to study and therefore they should not only get their tuition and their books but they should be paid now for their work, for studying, for remaining in school.

MR. CLOWARD: In the program defining the topics for this particular panel, the first item reads, "Alienation of Youth from Society." In all of the various papers prepared for this particular panel that theme was in one degree or another played. I think we might well begin our panel discussion this morning by asking our panelists to spell out in somewhat greater detail what the meaning of alienation of youth is.

Let me begin this discussion by calling upon Mike Miller who at one point in his paper said that our programs will be meaningless unless our concerns about youth are authentic.

MR. MILLER: Let me start from the notion of goals. What frequently happens in programs, as many people now are becoming aware, is that programs have to be successful. We have to have some markers, some visible markers, of success in our programs in order to get further funding and support.

Frequently today we get a process of training, choosing people who are likely to succeed, and we train them. We neglect the other vast numbers of youth who may not be involved in programs, but who may need help.

I think the first thing is to develop authenticity in a well designed program, a program that really meets the kinds of problems that we are faced with today, not just solving those problems that can most easily be solved. Mr. Rustin's remarks particularly pertain to those youth who may never move into the job sphere, and we have to talk about programs which apply to the whole range of youth, not to a particular segment.

Whatever youth we decide to work with, I think we have to be honest about it. We can select a particular segment and work out programs well-designed to meet the needs and prospects of these youths. A well-designed program means you just don't stop at a limited stage but move ahead and consider the problem of where the youth go once the program is over. In other words, where is the payoff? What are they getting as a result of the program?

I think if one wants to engage with youth, one has to have some willingness to respond to them, have some respect for their outlook. I think this is particularly an important point today because as we move into the expansion of concern about poverty, more and more people who have been disengaged from concerns about low-income youth are now going to be getting into the financial pay part of this. They smell the money and now they are here. Where were they when the money wasn't around? One has to be concerned with helping the people to develop the kind of outlook, the kind of responsibility which is important in order to develop effective programs. I think respect for youth is very significant in this area.

Finally, I think the programs have to have competence. They have to be able to do what they are expected to do. A well-conceived program which isn't well run is an unauthentic program. I am frankly more and more impressed with the role of the Administration. I think there has been inadequate concern generally in America about how to run effective organizations. So I would emphasive elements of design, of respect, of competence, of effective administration as making up complicated packages which I term authenticity in terms of response to youth.

MR. HENTOFF: I would like to add in the context of respect for youth that it seems to me elementary and high schools are run for the comfort and convenience of the teachers, within limited definitions of those terms, more than they are for finding the capacities of the children. I mean very specifically the track system which still exists in most large urban school areas. In New York City, for example, these initial steps towards integration taken by the Board of Education still retain the heterogeneous groups of classes. I think it was Allison Davis of the University of Chicago who first said that there has probably been no more single anti-democratic factor in the last 25 years than this track system. And it starts in the first or second grade.

These kids are blocked off long before they know they are blocked off. You get, among other things, reactive stupidity because from the time they are little kids, by where they are placed they are told that they are dumb, and they have no way to get out of that classification. I wish this whole idea of the track system were explored much more persistently than it has been up to now.

MR. SENIOR: There are two things. First, I think that Nat Hentoff is perfectly right that we do have this looking down our nose attitude towards youth. I would like to add to that, that in spite of our professed belief in democracy, there is too much looking down one's nose at anybody who is a blue-collar worker, or an unskilled worker. People who have "made it" begin to assume an attitude about people who haven't made it and their children. So we have this class feeling in the United States, although officially we aren't supposed to.

The same attitude on the part of the professionals and unfortunately some school people towards children of the working class takes another form, namely, "they can't learn anything." This is terribly deleterious to the child. Since we have all been a little on the pessimistic side, let me tell you that we in New York City have taken a stand which I hope will be taken throughout the country. We have abolished mass intelligence tests and put quotation marks around that word "intelligence." The so-called intelligence tests are one of the ways in which we look down our noses at other people. They are a way of classifying the children who are hopeless. One of the pillars of the establishment, Conant, said in his book, Slums and Suburbs, "to brand a child with an IQ at an early age is to do him irreparable harm."

We abolish IQ tests because it is part of this whole attempt to tell at a very early age whether a child is ever going to succeed. And as soon as you tell him that he is never going to amount to anything, you are making almost certain that he isn't going to amount to anything.

MR. CLOWARD: Let me ask the panel this question. I take it no one will disagree that the adequacy of public education is a critical if not the single most vital, most critical variable in the solution to the youth unemployment problem. Can a case therefore be made -- and I am inclined to think not -- that most of the manpower legislation and the poverty legislation which has now been passed will probably have virtually no impact on the structure of American education?

Doesn't that have some very serious implications?

MRS. FREEDMAN: Now I am caught between two questions and that is not a nice place for a lady.

I think there is a danger in seeking to make education the substitute for any other meaningful participation in the life of the community. Certainly those of us who consider ourselves educated, whether we have a right to or not, like to think that education has various virtues for our own self-development and for the community at large. I believe that very much.

I would like to see people more highly educated, if you will, because it would be marvellous to have more theatre and more painting and more music and more people who enjoyed them. But in terms of living in the world as it is, the school systems are not about to be able to furnish us with this scale and we really don't have a commitment to it in this country. Our commitment to education is largely vocational. People largely go to school and are encouraged to learn that their incomes will be greater and they can therefore have more refrigerators, washing machines, and do their part to support our Detroit based economy.

MR. CLOWARD: I don't want to overstress the point but isn't it clear that there are some major defects in the organization of public education in this country?

MRS. FREEDMAN: Yes.

MR. CLOWARD: And am I not also correct in saying that most of the legislation being proposed will not really remedy those defects?

MRS. FREEDMAN: Precisely, but the point is neither will it provide the kind of connection for young people with the border community that seems to me to be a somewhat more basic issue. In other words, there are some kids who are fine in school and there are others who "had the good sense to get out," as some people like to say.

The point is all of them, whether in school or not, have a tendency to be shoved off by the adult world until some kind of maturing process takes place. All of a sudden they are then acceptable to the adult society because they become adults and then they can be part of life itself.

At what point this takes place varies, I suppose, regionally and in other ways. But it bothers me that kids are so separate from the life of the community, no matter what class they are in.

MR. HENTOFF: It is much too easy now to be an apocalyptist of doom, and the ground is so sparsely populated between George Meany and Paul Goodman. But how do we start getting the people involved in the life of the poor community? Because one of the problems is that when you "educate" people you take off the cream right away; they make it, they get out of the community. They become part of the middle class and the cleavage in the society just gets that much more calcified. In terms of what has happened to Mobilization, we don't have the beginnings of a political coalition anywhere that I see, so we don't have political pressure. Then Mike suggested that civil rights groups might perform a watchdog function in communities, which would mean, first of all, that they would have to have specific programs that they were for and wanted to implement. Yet in New York City where the civil rights groups have some of their most prestigious leaders, not one of them has spoken out about Mobilization.

I address this not alone to Bayard but I would be very interested in his reaction. What viability do you think there is to Mike's idea of civil rights groups performing this kind of function in the middle between Meany and Goodman?

MR. RUSTIN: Well, this is what the civil rights movement has been about. There hasn't been anything constructive in the last ten years that didn't come from the fact that Negroes were in movement. The problem is not that the Negro movement is not effective but that those who have the greatest political and economic power are running to the suburbs and to private schools. They are leaving the burden upon the Negro to reorganize society completely. That is the problem, including the school system. And I think that we do not approach the problem basically enough.

Now, I am going to take issue here for a minute. I have not heard of a single planning program that has any effect upon most of the young Negroes between 18 and 25 that I know in Harlem who are out there in the streets throwing bottles. I haven't heard anybody come up with anything that is going to reach them. Some of these people simply have been so demoralized that they cannot now work even if you found jobs for them.

MR. CLOWARD: Bayard, some people say these youngsters can't be reached, that they are unmotivated, that they don't care about adult responsibilities, about kinship obligations, about working, about supporting themselves. What is your reaction to that?

MR. RUSTIN: My reaction to that is that it is a lot of hot air -- but it has a bit of truth in it that needs to be examined.

Following the rioting in Harlem I got a number of young men jobs. Practically all of them were incapable of keeping those jobs. One of them said to me, "Why the hell should I push this cart around for eight hours a day when I can go uptown and bum $40?" Another one hadn't worked for such a long time that he couldn't pull himself together to get up in the morning. And this is not just a simple problem of laziness, you know. Another, who had the best job, I asked to explain why he left. He could not, and he profoundly tried to explain to me. He was embarrassed and emotionally upset, but he couldn't tell me why.

Now, it is this that people see and therefore say that young people don't want to work. The problem is much deeper. And that is what I meant when I said I think we have to look at the problem in terms of what Harrington calls culture of poverty, and it ties in profoundly with the other point I was trying to make.

Now, let's look at this. The northern student movement goes into Harlem and gets young people active. Some of them are former dope addicts. They begin to work with youth on the streets, and they realize they need a central place. But the school board won't give you a place. They won't open the schools at night in order to have a center where young people can learn to help themselves.

One of these young fellows went to the junior high school and organized the students to stay out of class until they got their educational center at night. He is now facing jail. Charges were brought against this young man for impairing the morals of minors. Obviously when the kids face that kind of an ugly picture of what is happening to a brilliant young fellow, they become further demoralized. This is related. It is not something different.

MRS. FREEDMAN: No one has successfully organized people at this level of disaffiliation. I think that is clear. For the youth you are talking about, this is the trouble with programs, as mentioned before. There is a kind of regression, and this gets back to the question you asked before, Dick. There are a lot of reasons for this regression. I know programs, for example, that started out on facing the community with all kinds of marvellous notions of what they wanted to do. But in the long run when the Programmers wanted to have some kind of very specific training they got school teachers to do the same kinds of things with groups of youth from ghettos or deprived areas as they do ordinarily in school.

Sometimes even though people want to do better and want to reach out, there is no easy answer. I think the best thing you can hope for in programs is that some attention being paid may show us or show a community indeed where it really is and what has to be done next. In a sense these are exposure programs, and I think really this is the best we can hope for. People who are involved in programs have an obligation not to hide what they consider failures, but rather to level with the community, to say we had a mandate to do something in this neighborhood and the public school structure in that particular district stood in our way. We must have some learning experience out of this.

You know, everybody talks about the poverty legislation being a lot of money. It really isn't that much money but it ought to be used as a way of exposing, hoping that some people at least will care enough about larger issues, will be made sufficiently uncomfortable to then create the kind of political environment that Bayard was talking about.

MR. CLOWARD: Marcia, I agree that the poverty money is not a great deal of money. The issue is not just how much money is being spent but what it is being spent for. I am troubled by a number of the poverty programs because I don't really think they go to the basic institutional issues. For example, the work camps that are being proposed for out-of-school unemployed youth. And I don't mean to degrade this effort. I am thankful for any effort that is being made to help these kids. But I am troubled with it as a long-range strategy for dealing with the problems that really involve those kids. If you ship them to rural camps for one or two years to teach them what they should have been taught in the second, third and fourth grades, and then turn them out into the streets, I fail to see what has been accomplished.

The job shortage will still persist. The inadequacies of organization will still persist. And so the stream of casualties coming from the lower economic reaches of our social order will continue unabated. Much of the money being generated, it seems to me, isn't really going to produce the kinds of changes in our basic institutions that are needed, if we are to stem the flow of victims now being produced by these institutions.

MR. HENTOFF: I would like to ask Mike where he thinks we are, if anywhere. Where is the way that action can happen? Is the Saul Alinsky approach viable enough to work? Has it worked that well in Chicago? In other words, where do you think any grounds for optimism are going to lie?

MR. MILLER: Bayard Rustin has raised the question of where anybody is, outside of the civil rights group. The movement has done a lot of work and there hasn't been any other group that can compare with it. One of the things particularly missing today is a reference to a middle level of social analysis and social criticism.

Let me just take a moment on Secretary Wirtz' speech last night on education. What is implied in his emphasis upon education is undeniable. Education is very important. Educational levels are going up. We can't be opposed to education. But when you talk about education as almost the solution you are implying that the whole structure of society is going to stay the same as people get more educated. And you can't assume that just getting educated will make jobs available as we increase the credentials necessary for a job. Other changes are taking place in society.

I think it is much like the situation on segregation and integration in the United States. No one measure is going to be effective in reducing segregation and building integration. I think education has some role but it is only one approach of several necessary to solve the problem. The group to whom Bayard Rustin is forcing you to pay attention is not going to be easily moved into the educational system. How do you deal with particular kinds of low-income youth who are more grievanced and more disturbed about what is going on in society than other youths are? We aren't able to gamble successfully with certain kinds of youth. We don't have solutions that will be able to handle these problems easily. We need a new variety of solutions. Basic to it all is a social analysis which I think is lacking today.

I think we are running from shibboleth to shibboleth, one slogan to another, one gimmick to another without recognizing the diversity and multiplicity of the factors involved. There will not be any particular solution but many temporary solutions. Our hope is not towards a one-shot answer to the problem but a series of step-phase levels, as we move to one level, the mechanics of the next then emerging. As we move to the work level we raise the question of what is going to happen in the employment of these youths. There has to be a ground swell of issues. There have to be more and more questions being raised.

MR. HENTOFF: How are you going to do that, get the questions even raised?

MR. MILLER: I don't think enough people in the professional youth employment field are raising it.

MR. CLOWARD: Let me take issue with something you said just because of my perversity. I agree with you there are a great many slogans around that people hide behind to conceal the lack of real authenticity and concern and genuineness of programs. One of the slogans is the notion that we need special approaches to teach low income youth.

Now, as a sociologist I would be the last to say that there aren't significant cultural difference between different classes of our society, different ethnic groups. On the other hand, I am also inclined to believe that the really major source of the difficulty in the learning of low income kids, has less to do with the fact that they are culturally different than it does with the fact that they don't get the same quality of education as kids in a middle-income area.

I live in a middle-income area and have three youngsters in school and I work with the ghetto community. The differences in the educational climate and the relationship between school personnel and the parents in the communities, and so forth, are just so vast that I am constantly amazed and can hardly believe that these differences exist. So I have some difficulty with approaches which say that for groups like our low-income youngsters we have got to have special techniques and special understanding. I think what we have to have is just decent education. I don't mean to minimize the necessity of having some awareness of cultural background, but fundamentally if a kid in a ghetto school has the same teacher all year long rather than three or four or five teachers -- as is characteristic in many classrooms, with the high turnover of teachers it is -- he is likely to learn more. He is likely to learn, it seems to me, much more compared to a similar situation in the suburban areas.

MRS. FREEDMAN: I don't think one has to take one position to the absolute exclusion of the other. It is again a matter of priority. I agree with Dick, that the problem resides more in the school and in the society than the kid. Given, however, a certain level of functional retardation as a result of having been misused by society and the school system, probably special measures are necessary. By the time kids get to the point that Bayard describes, none of us has made any claim whatsoever in knowing how to reach him. It is true that sometimes people's theories do get converted into "the most sophisticated cop-out of them all," as Nat Hentoff said -- a marvellous phrase -- but they don't have to be perverted that way. I think it is indeed some kind of perversity.

MR. SENIOR: May I add to the doubts that you have raised? There is a very popular, widespread journalistic idea that a slum school in any big city is ipso facto an inferior school. It doesn't have to be, and we have some darn good schools in slum areas in New York City.

If some of you read a magazine called Commentary, you may recall about a year ago there was an article called "P.S. 165." New Yorkers know that most of our schools don't seem to have names; they have numbers. But P.S. 165 has a whale of a fine principal, and therefore he has been able to gather around him a fine teaching staff.

I could mention other schools, too, but let me just concentrate on this one. When this principal found that his children were coming to school without breakfast in the morning, he got breakfasts in school through the Federal surplus food program. So the kids in that school have school breakfast and the principal usually sits down and has breakfast with them, and talks things over before they get started into the day.

I also want to mention P.S. 198, a school that was integrated a couple of years ago. We have a rather peculiar nomenclature for ethnic and racial groups in New York -- Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Others. So at this particular school there were 75 percent Negro and Puerto Ricans and 25 percent Others. During the last few years the Others have increased. Contrary to all predictions as to what was going to happen when schools are integrated, the Others have increased. Why? Because you get a darn good education for your kids in P.S. 198.

I just want to put as a footnote to what Dick Cloward said, that a slum school does not necessarily have to be an inferior school. If you come to New York I can take you to a number of good examples, and God knows, however, there ought to be lots more.

MR. CLOWARD: We have now a series of questions from the audience which I will address to different members of the panel.

Let me begin with Mr. Hentoff. The question is as follows;

"Isn't preferential treatment essential for Negro youth for the foreseeable future -- jobs, training, education and the like?"

MR. HENTOFF: That is part of the plan that is associated most publicly with Whitney Young. I feel that, sure, as a transitional tactic in certain areas, if a business suddenly says it is indeed integrated, let them prove it. I don't care whether you call it quotas or what, if you are going to have more than tokenism, it has to be done by going out and seeking Negroes. And, if you want to call it, that is preferential treatment. But if you use this idea of preferential treatment as a long-range goal, I think you are distorting the basic problem. Preferential treatment is essential for everybody in the underclass of whatever shade, and that means again changing the institutions.

I think the fundamental mistake that Whitney Young makes is to say that by preferential treatment and other means we can get everybody from the outside into society without changing the fabric of society. I think that is impossible.

MR. CLOWARD: Another of the questions asked is this;

"Supposing you were the superintendent of schools in a major urban area and had complete power. What would you do?"

I toss that one to Clarence Senior.

MR. SENIOR: Let me repeat in one sentence what has been said before. Although we need to do many new things in the social system, unless there are opportunities in the society in much greater numbers than there are now, and unless there are real changes in attitudes towards the people from the disadvantaged area of the city, a better school system will still be inadequate. But with this in the background let me say just a few words.

We, of course, need smaller classes. We need more books. We need up-to-date books. We need more libraries. And we need more books in the libraries. We need more and better trained teachers. We need more personnel to assist the teachers. We need more counsellors, both the kind that can help the youngster with his personal and family problems and also better vocational counsellors who are closely in touch with the job market.

We need -- and this is outside the school system -- a more effective U.S. and state employment service. We need better advice from our advisory committees on vocational education. We need more utilization of modern methods of handling children, including some of the mechanical ones.

MR. MILLER: Clarence, do you think that technology will do the job? Is it just a question of not having an adequate technology, including more teachers and more counsellors? Does the school have to have a different mission, different context in which to operate?

MR. SENIOR: Well, I started out with the context and I was going to finish with the mission. There is too much stress placed, in order to interest children in school and continuing in school, on the fact that if you go through high school you make X - thousands of dollars more and if you go through college you make $100,000 more in your lifetime. This criticism includes not just our school system but the whole society -- we have to have broader goals in life. We have to have things to work for besides just another buck. And what I am saying, of course, means that the school has to run counter to the major push of society at the present time.

The school by itself, of course, can't build a new social order, but a new social order must be built. The schools must be willing to stick their necks out to make whatever contribution they can to raising the fundamental questions about the inadequacy of motivations for work and the motivations for living itself in our present social order.

MR. CLOWARD: You use the phrase "just another buck." One of the questions addressed to Mr. Rustin refers to his comment that youth should be paid to go to school. I wonder, Clarence, if you and Bayard would care to comment on that.

MR. RUSTIN: As I indicated earlier, we are not going to get at this problem except through the reorganization of the total society. I believe this also means a redefining of work, and it would be very important to recognize that a number of students are not now going to get work.

School is a form of work which they can now engage in. This is important because it is a fantastic investment that society will benefit from. It would be a relief from the on-the-job situation, while in the meantime we are working other things out.

Now, we are already spending billions of dollars because these people are not in school and not motivated to feel that they are part of society and part of the work force. They drop out. They take dope. We have to set up hospitals among the poor. The poor get sick more easily than others, and we pay for that. We help to keep them on relief. We are already spending billions stupidly maintaining poverty.

What I am proposing now is that we attempt to stop that process by using the money for students creatively. In New Jersey this year only one out of four students who wanted to go on to college could go. There was no place for them unless they had money to go out of state. This is a perfectly ridiculous situation. These people should go to school, and therefore the state, that is, you and I, should take the responsibility of seeing that they are able to stay in and continue their education. But then the question is raised of the kind of education which we are going to give them and that is quite another subject.

MR. SENIOR: I just say amen to what Bayard Rustin has said.

MR. CLOWARD: We have only a few moments left. Let me exercise my discretion in choosing the last question because it goes to one of the issues that the panel has referred to constantly this morning. Let me read the question in detail;

"Do you panelists really believe that the fat, happy, successful middleclass institutions can make the radical changes needed to face the radical set of challenges youth presents? Change, that is, before social disaster? Let's face up to this."

MR. HENTOFF: Let me be apocalyptic again. I don't think so. I just see no sign of the change coming from the establishment, even the virtuously liberal establishment.

I keep wondering whether we are not going to have a real catastrophic condition eventually, with accelerated cybernation creating a cleavage between the underclass and the rest of society that is either going to lead to a war or a fear of a war, which in turn will either lead to change or a police state.

I would like to think that things can be done quickly and radically enough before then, but it seems to me that people like ourselves -- like yourselves, the middle class, the people who are committed intellectually and emotionally to all of this - con themselves about what is going on. I mean specifically in terms of politics, you have got Hubert Humphrey, the apotheosis of liberalism, making very clear how against busing he is. The Govenor in New York State, another apotheosis of liberalism, although of the practical kind, also ducks the tough ones. Robert Kennedy, when he was Attorney General and when Mr. Clark was getting chopped to bits on HARYOU, the best thing he could say was that Adam Clayton Powell was a pretty good Congressman. Nobody, including the reformed Democrats working for these people, gets mad at this. And that is why I am pessimistic.

MR. MILLER: I think everything Nat Hentoff said is true but I think there is another side that has been left out. I am amazed, for example, that the Civil Rights law which came out of the Congress was stronger than the Civil Rights bill that President Kennedy put into the hopper. I still don't understand why. It may be a limited bill but it was much better than the bill originally envisaged. I am impressed that people who were never concerned about the poor, people in schools who had no concern for student dropouts, are now concerned about a whole host of problems which they have neglected for years.

True, what they are doing is limited, sometimes even negative, but by and large there is some movement. I think there will be more movement. I see this as a great swing which is taking place. I think the Poverty Act will probably have its primary impact in terms of stirring the poor to have more open grievances about their plight, that in a sense the Poverty Act legitimates the grievances of the poor.

I think a whole host of issues has emerged that have been dormant. It is true that one can point to hesitation, backsliding that takes place. In terms of the history of ten or fifteen years, there has been no outstanding social legislation from 1938 really until the Civil Rights Act of this year, which means that significant changes are taking place in American life.

I think the apocalyptic view of a crisis is erroneous. I think you are going to have a lot of problems but I think they will be adequately dealt with. They never are fully dealt with. I think there is a fantastic amount of movement taking place. I think one has to be critical but at the same time not to be despairing.

MR. CLOWARD: Bayard, do you have a comment?

MR. RUSTIN: Yes. As Nat and I have discussed this before, it seems to me that the question is stated in a much too stark fashion. Whatever is new obviously has to come out of the old. The old institutions are appearing to be the same but they are never quite the same. Things are happening. I am encouraged, you know, not fantastically so but encouraged, by a number of things.

The Negro people are in movement. They cannot be stopped. And if they keep in movement now, they will increasingly do what they have already done, which is to force other segments of the society into movement. That is the first positive thing.

Secondly, automation is not merely hurting youth on this. It is already having a profound effect on the institutions as they now exist. If automation continues either the trade union movement will ultimately become less economically and politically important in the society or sooner or later they are going to face the challenge and begin to put up a fight. And if they do that, then they are going to have to move to the left. But more important than anything else is that those of us who are beautiful and black are in movement. You are getting a fantastic realignment of political forces in this country, which brings about a new situation.

Now, I wish that the realignment could have been all positive. I think the presence of, the emergence of Goldwater is a negative aspect on this on which I would depend for nothing, but there are positive aspects of this effort at realignment.

The fact that we have Mr. Strom Thurmond, bless his soul now moving into the Republican Party, is all very beautiful and not to be limited. So although we are in deep trouble, and there must be profound and thorough-going social change, my spirits are kept up by the fact that I already see things breaking and I cannot be pessimistic in this matter. Otherwise, I couldn't even work.

MR. CLOWARD: On that note I think we will have to close.. I know the panelists join me in expressing their enjoyment at having been here this morning. We hope also that you have found the panel useful. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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July 13, 1965

10/12 + 10/13

Yes

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The University of Maryland would like to invite you to address the 1965-66 Law Enforcement Institute on the evenings of Tuesday, October 12 and Wednesday, October 13, 1965, on the College Park campus and on the Baltimore campus. I have spoken with Miss Horowitz, and I have informed her of the background of this Institute.

$60

The Institute is designed to bring together approximately 550 law enforcement officers from the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Washington, D. C. We are trying to make these officers more aware of changes in their society, especially as it affects their work in law enforcement. We would like to have you speak to the officers on the Civil Rights movement in America--what has happened in the past, recent developments, leadership roles, where the movement is going, and the effect of the movement on our society. We consider you to be an eloquent spokesman for civil rights, and we feel you could give the law enforcement officers a depth of understanding about the revolution taking place in our society.

We are attempting to put together a brochure for the program, and our deadline is approaching. We understand you have been traveling, and we hesitate to give you this additional chore. There will be an honorarium of $60 per evening for your participation, plus all travel, lodging, and meal expenses would be taken care of.

I will call your office on Monday afternoon, July 19, to get your thoughts on our invitation. We look forward to having you with us if your schedule permits.

Sincerely,

Leonard P. Oliver

Leonard P. Oliver
Conference Coordinator

LPO/bjl

CONFERENCES AND INSTITUTES DIVISION
927-3800, EXTENSION 7571 (AREA CODE 301)

Oct 12 + 13

July 28, 1965

Mr. Leonard P. Oliver
Univ. College Center of Adult Education
The University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742

Dear Mr. Oliver:

Mr. Rustin will be able to address the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12th and 13th. I have enclosed a biography for your use. Please send us a copy of the brochure.

The following is a brief excerpt from Mr. Rustin's sppech for the brochure:

The decade spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shift in focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and third, common to the other two is the expansion of the movemant's base in the Negro community. To disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. Yet, the very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has seen the rise of de facto segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions.

Sincerely,

Oct 13th.

Rachelle Horowitz
Secretary

THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CENTER OF ADULT EDUCATION
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND 20742

September 16, 1965

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

During the vacation period of Mr. Oliver (one of our staff members who contacted you originally), I am taking the liberty of following up on some of the details in connection with your participation in the Law Enforcement Institute. The enclosed brochure describes the total program.

In order to comply with State regulations in processing your honorarium we ask that you complete and forward to us the enclosed Ober Law Pledge, a completed W-4 form, and a photocopy of your social security card. We are also enclosing a room reservation card should you desire to lodge at the Center of Adult Education.

We are looking forward to your participation in the Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Dad

Donald A. Deppe
Director

DAD/mk

Enclosures

cc: A. Philip Randolph Institute ✓

CONFERENCES AND INSTITUTES DIVISION
927-3800, EXTENSION 7571 (AREA CODE 301)

September 23, 1965

Donald A. Deppe, Director
University of Maryland
University College Center
Adult Education
College Park, Maryland 20742

Dear Donald Deppe:

The mere fact that you asked me to swear an oath that I am not a "subversive person" before I can be allowed to give a public speech at the University of Maryland is an attack upon my civil liberties. For either I comply with your request, and thus violate my religious and political convictions, or else I refuse and malicious or ignorant people will presume that I am hiding something.

I am hiding nothing and I do refuse to sign the oath.

I do so, first, on grounds of democratic principle. I have long opposed all totalitarianisms, both Communist and Fascist, and one of my main reasons for doing so is precisely that in such systems the state invades every area of life and even attempts to police the spirit. The loyalty oath which you asked me to sign is tainted with this totalitarian philosophy.

There are many laws against treason, insurrection and espionage, but I do not think that traitors, insurrectionists or spies will reveal their identity on a public form and mail it to the authorities. Such people would presumably sign an oath like this without scruple. Neither do I believe that violent conspirators would want to talk about their plans before an audience of law enforcement officers. In short, this oath has no serious function other than to create an atompshere of suspicion and conformity.

Secondly, since I am sure that my refusal to sign this anti-democratic oath will subject me to the charge of concealing Communist sympathies, let me address myself to this point straightforwardly. As a young man, a passion for freedom and equality brought me into the Young Communist League and soon brought me out of it when I realized that Communism used the rhetoric of justice to mask the reality of injustice. Since then I have fought against every form of dictatorship and tyranny -- whether it was in Communist Russia, racist Mississippi, Nazi Germany, Fascist Spain or white-supremist South Africa. I do not intend to make an exception for a Maryland oath.

Finally, I have long been a Quaker and in keeping with the three hundred year old convictions of the Society of Friends, I refuse to sign an oath under any conditions.

Sincerely,

BR:tb

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

P. S. Under separate cover am returning the forms you sent.

September 23, 1965

Donald A. Deppe, Director
University of Maryland
University College Center
Adult Education
College Park, Maryland 20742

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BR:tb

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

P. S. Under separate cover am returning the forms you sent.

Baltimore, Md., September 23 (AP) - An aide of Governor J. Milliard Tawes said today the governor has ordered an investigation into the background of Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader, who is scheduled to speak at the University of Maryland.

Edmund C. Mester, administrative assistant to the governor, said Maryland State Police were ordered to make the investigation after a citizen called the governor's office and complained that Rustin should not be permitted to speak on the University campus.

Rustin, a leader of the New York school boycott in February, 1964, and of the March on Washington in 1963, has been invited to speak at a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12th. The Institute is part of the University College of the University of Maryland, which encompasses the Night School and the University's overseas program.

Rustin, a six-foot-one Negro, heads the A. Philip Randolph Institution in New York City. He had been a member of the Young Communist League, but said he quit that organization in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

A Quaker, Rustin served twenty-eight months in Federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. He was convicted on a morals charge in 1935 and served sixty days in jail.

Mester said the results of the State Police investigation should be known by Friday and would be submitted to Dr. Wilson Elkins, President of the University.

Rustin was unavailable for comment. Mester said that the governor had no authority over speakers at the University.

Dr. Elkins said he did not "know why he was invited and I don't know anything about his character, but I have asked the College to give me a report on the situation".

The Law Enforcement Institute is a training school for Maryland law officers.

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A WTOP EDITORIAL

A reasonable opportunity will be afforded to a responsible spokesman for the presentation of views contrasting with those expressed in this editorial upon request made within five days after the date of broadcast of this editorial. If more than one such request is received, WTOP reserves the right to designate the spokesman to present such views.

BROADCAST HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C. 244-5678 POST-NEWSWEEK STATIONS, A Division of the Washington Post Company

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(This Editorial was broadcast on October 28 and 29, 1965, over WTOP Radio and Television.)

This is a WTOP Editorial.

On October 12th Bayard Rustin, the controversial civil rights leader, was permitted to speak before a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute in the adult education center of the University of Maryland. Although his appearance caused something of a controversy--because, among other reasons, he declined to sign a loyalty oath--we thought that the University was correct to protect what it described as the "spirit of inquiry" and "freedom of expression." Our comment was that "if Maryland University should ever fall under the control of know-nothings, it might as well close its doors."

Now it turns out that an FBI representative had been scheduled to speak to the Law Enforcement Institute a couple of days after Rustin. His appearance was cancelled by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Hoover explained why in a letter to a Virginia resident who asked about why Mr. Rustin was invited to appear. The FBI Director wrote in reply, "With respect to your inquiry as to how Bayard Rustin was selected as a program speaker on a program sponsored in part by the FBI, I assure you that it was not sponsored by this bureau. When I learned of his proposed appearance, I cancelled the engagement of an FBI speaker."

Senator Daniel Brewster of Maryland has described this action as "regrettable." His statement was, "It is regrettable that the FBI is reluctant to send a speaker to a duly accredited official school run for the benefit of law enforcement officers." This station endorses the senator's position, although he might have selected a stronger word than "regrettable."

This was a WTOP Editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

A WTOP EDITORIAL

A reasonable opportunity will be afforded to a responsible spokesman for the presentation of views contrasting with those expressed in this editorial upon request made within five days after the date of broadcast of this editorial. If more than one such request is received, WTOP reserves the right to designate the spokesman to present such views.

OADCAST HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C. 244-5678 POST-NEWSWEEK STATIONS, A Division of the Washington Post Company

(This Editorial was broadcast on October 13 and 14, 1965, over WTOP Radio and Television.)

This is a WTOP Editorial.

Our sympathies are entirely with the University of Maryland concerning the appearance Tuesday evening by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin in the university's adult education center.

There has been a great hulabaloo about the speaking invitation extended to Mr. Rustin in behalf of the Law Enforcement Institute, an organization of regional law officers. At various times in the last several weeks numerous prominent persons have been involved, including Dr. Wilson Elkins, the university president; Governor Millard Tawes and Attorney General Thomas Finan. Finally Mr. Rustin made his address, but now there are further mutterings and stirrings among some members of the Maryland Legislature, who demand to know why he was tolerated on the university campus.

We're aware that Mr. Rustin has had a somewhat checkered personal and political career. We're aware, too, that he refused--for reasons he considers good and sufficient--to sign any loyalty oath before his address at College Park. But we cannot comprehend how any thinking person could consider that a speech by Bayard Rustin before an audience of policemen in the university adult education center poses the slightest threat or creates the slightest impropriety. On the contrary, Mr. Rustin's experience as a very militant civil rights leader might very well be of great value to police officers. They ought to hear what he says.

And from a wider viewpoint, the university has a positive duty to protect what it describes as the "spirit of inquiry" and "freedom of expression." These are not just empty phrases. They mean a very great deal. If Maryland University should ever fall under the control of know-nothings, it might as well close its doors.

This was a WTOP Editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

217 W 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

A. Philip Randolph, President
Robert W. Gilmore, Treasurer
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

September 23, 1965

Donald A. Deppe, Director
University of Maryland
University College Center
Adult Education
College Park, Maryland - 20742

Dear Donald Deppe:

The mere fact that you asked me to swear an oath that I am not a "subversive person" before I can be allowed to give a public speech at the University of Maryland is an attack upon my civil liberties. For either I comply with your request, and thus violate my religious and political convictions, or else I refuse and malicious or ignorant people will presume that I am hiding something.

I am hiding nothing and I do refuse to sign the oath.

I do so, first, on grounds of democratic principle. I have long opposed all totalitarianisms, both Communist and Fascist, and one of my main reasons for doing so is precisely that in such systems the state invades every area of life and even attempts to police the spirit. The loyalty oath which you asked me to sign is tainted with this totalitarian philosophy.

There are many laws against treason, insurrection and espionage, but I do not think that traitors, insurrectionists or spies will reveal their identity on a public forum and mail it to the authorities. Such people would presumably sign an oath like this without scruple. Neither do I believe that violent conspirators would want to talk about their plans before an audience of law enforcement officers. In short, this oath has no serious function other than to create an atmosphere of suspicion and conformity.

Secondly, since I am sure that my refusal to sign this anti-democratic oath will subject me to the charge of concealing Communist sympathies, let me address myself to this point straightforwardly. As a young man, a passion for freedom and equality brought me into the Young Communist League and soon brought me out of it when I realized that Communism used the rhetoric of justice to mask the reality of injustice. Since then I have fought against every form of dictatorship and tyranny -- whether it was in Communist Russia, racist Mississippi, Nazy Germany, fascist Spain or white-supremist South Africa. I do not intend to make an exception for a Maryland oath.

Finally, I have long been a Quaker and in keeping with the three hundred year old convictions of the Society of Friends, I refuse to sign an oath under any conditions.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR:rjp

P. S. I am returning the forms you sent.

F

THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CENTER OF ADULT EDUCATION
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND 20742

September 24, 1965

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 W. 125 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am pleased to assure you that the University of Maryland will honor the invitation extended to you and will not require you to sign the "Loyalty Pledge." We are looking forward to your participation in the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12 and 13, 1965.

Sincerely,

Donald A. Deppe

Donald A. Deppe
Director

DAD/mk

CONFERENCES AND INSTITUTES DIVISION
927-3800, EXTENSION 7571 (AREA CODE 301)

University
of Maryland
Loyalty Oath

September 25, 1965

Mr. Bayard Rustin
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard Rustin:

Congratulations. Even before your talk at Maryland, you've accomplished something by knocking out the loyalty pledge for speakers on the campus. Maybe we'll eventually get rid of all the loyalty oaths in the "Free State."

Sincerely,
Donald Bremner
Donald Bremner

THE EVENING SUN

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Member of the Associated Press

The Associated Press is entitled exclusively t the republication of all the local news printed in this newspaper as well as all AP dispatches.

pus facilities for law and medicine but locates the brand-new School of Social Work where it, too, obviously belongs—in the city. While time is still available, the decision as to the School of Architecture ought to be rescinded and its site relocated in accord with simple logic and the best expert advice.

That Loyalty Oath

The controversy over the speaking invitation to Bayard Rustin—who has refused to sign a State loyalty pledge—reflects credit neither on the University of Maryland nor on the State. There is no valid reason, legal or otherwise, that Mr. Rustin should not be permitted to speak on the campus.

He was invited to address the forthcoming Law Enforcement Institute because, it was thought, he had something to say about the civil rights movement which was worth listening to. He was asked to discuss the progress, the nature and the probable future of the movement. There is every reason to believe this would be of considerable interest to Maryland law enforcement officers. It's beside the point that Mr. Rustin has a record of activities in his background of which many citizens do not approve.

Mr. Rustin was routinely asked to sign the loyalty oath even though the State attorney general ruled five years ago that such an oath is not required of visiting speakers. Quite properly, Mr. Rustin refused. "As a civil libertarian, I could not possibly sign any such pledge," he responded. "My record as an anti-Communist is very clear."

The problem here, of course, stems from Mr. Rustin's questionable past record of activities. He is a Quaker and a pacifist, and he has been fighting racial discrimination most of his life. At one time he was a member of the Young Communists League but quit the organization when he differed with its policies. He served in prison during World War II as a conscientious objector and on a chain gang in North Carolina as a participant in 1947 in one of the first postwar civil rights demonstrations. He has been an adviser to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and he was the organizer of the dramatically successful civil rights march on Washington two years ago.

While many citizens will not approve of these and many other controversial aspects of his career, this record makes him eminently qualified to discuss the civil rights movement. And that is the real point.

If the university hadn't wanted him to speak, it shouldn't have invited him. To ask any invited speaker of established reputation to sign a loyalty pledge is inane.

One wonders why the university administration is following this unnecesary practice of requiring loyalty pledges from its speakers. One also wonders why Governor Tawes has heeded the complaint of an unidentified person and ordered a State Police investigation of Mr. Rustin. It all smacks of an unwanted, gratuitous restriction on free speech in the Free State of Maryland.

OATH POLICY ON SPEAKERS VOIDED BY U.M.

The Sun, Balt

'60 State Ruling Cited; Invitation To Rustin Is Reaffirmed

9/25/64

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

The University of Maryland dropped its loyalty-oath requirement for guest speakers yesterday and announced that Bayard Rustin, a nationally prominent civil rights leader, would be allowed to lecture at the university without signing the oath.

Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, university president, directed campus officials to observe a 1960 attorney general's ruling that exempted guest lecturers from the oath.

He also said Mr. Rustin would be told that his signature was not required and that the invitation to lecture is still open, a spokesman reported.

Oath Is Returned

Mr. Rustin, who was invited to speak to the university's Law Enforcement Institute on policing civil rights demonstrations, had returned the oath unsigned "on the grounds of democratic principle."

The university spokesman reported that Dr. Elkins had received a report from Governor Tawes's office that an investigation ordered by the Governor had turned up "no indication . . . that Mr. Rustin should not be invited."

Mr. Tawes told the State Police to look into Mr. Rustin's background after an unnamed caller protested that he was unfit to speak at the university.

Acceptance Tied To Oath

Mr. Rustin said Thursday he would accept the invitation to lecture if he could speak without signing the loyalty pledge.

The oath is the one required of State employees under the Ober Act — the State's "anti-subversive" law. The State attorney general held in 1960 that lecturers invited for [illegible] appearances are not State employees, even if they are paid.

The university explained Thursday that the pledge had been sent to Mr. Rustin "as a matter of course" and that all paid speakers were asked to sign the oaths—a policy adopted only a few months ago.

Earlier yesterday, the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union objected both to the oath requirement and to the

[illegible] 2)

Governor's investigation of Mr. Rustin's background.

The Rev. Irving R. Murray, chairman of the civil liberties organization, said in a formal statement that the Governor's actions "constitute a shockingly direct and political interference in the university's affairs."

The investigation, Mr. Murray said, is a "breach of the university's academic integrity and violation of accepted tenets of academic freedom."

He called the university's oath requirement "at least questionable under the United States Constitution and . . . obviously stultifying to the atmosphere of free exchange of ideas that is essential to a great university."

Mr. Rustin, a long-time veteran of the civil rights and peace movements, was coordinator of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington and organized the Harlem school boycotts in New York last year.

He has been a target of attack

---

and the tenants' actions. The answer to such questions is that the criteria and standards for the program haye not yet been set; it is still mainly just au idea, which Congress considered promising. To which the public reaction invariably must be: It sounds interesting; let's hear the details.

Good for Dr. Elkins

The turmoil over whether the Ober loyalty oath should be required of a speaker at the University of Maryland, and even whether the background of the speaker in dispute, Bayard Rustin, is unsuitable for a campus appearance has beclouded the main issue. The question at heart has been whether some 550 local and State police officers attending the University of Maryland's sixteenth annual Law Enforcement Institute are to hear from the man they sought to hear from, a recognized leader in the civil-rights movement with an adult lifetime's dedication to nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. It may be assumed that most of the law officers will not be in agreement with Mr. Rustin, and most assuredly are not likely to be subverted by him, if that is anyone's worry. But he does help nationally to set the direction and pace of Negro protests, and it is with those protests that law enforcement officers have to deal, here and elsewhere. An enlightened group of police officers, looking ahead, trying to anticipate and understand what lies before them, would do well to listen to someone who has standing on the "other side," whatever his background. Dr. Elkins has now cut through the palaver to say the opportunity will not be denied them. Good for Dr. Elkins.

Invitation To Rustin Is Reaffirmed

9/25/64

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

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Continued, Page [illegible], Column 2)

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Mr. Rustin, a long-time veteran of the civil rights and peace movements, was coordinator of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington and organized the Harlem school boycotts in New York last year.

He has been a target of attack, because of his membership in the Young Communist League from 1937 to 1941 and because he served a prison term as a conscientious objector in World War II.

In his letter accompanying the unsigned loyalty pledge, Mr. Rustin described himself as opposed to "all totalitarianism, both Communist and racist."

He is scheduled to speak at the College Park campus October 12 and in Baltimore the next day. The Law Enforcement Institute is a training conference for Maryland police agencies.

Balt. Evening Sun

September 24, 1965

Delegate To Offer Ober Law Repeal

By Nicholas Horrock

Delegate Murray Abramson, (D., Baltimore, Fourth) said today he will introduce legislation to repeal the Ober ("loyalty oath") Act at the next regular session of the General Assembly, which opens in January.

The Baltimore legislator said he is ':outraged" at the treatment dealt civil rights leader Bayard Rustin by the University of Maryland and the State.

"This is a State," he said angrily, "and anyone should be allowed to come in and express his views. The Ober Act has outlived its usefulness."

Mr. Abramson's statement came amid a flurry of developments surrounding the controversial invitation to Mr. Rustin to address a law-enforcement institute at the University of Maryland.

Decision Due

A spokesman for the University of Maryland said late this morning that university president Wilson H. Elkins might render a decision on whether Mr. Rustin will be permitted to make the address today. Earlier, Dr. Elkins said it might be a few days before he could decide.

Dr. Elkins said he is awaiting:

1. A letter from Mr. Rustin refusing to sign the loyalty oath mailed by the university.
2. Clarification on whether the university has the right to require a one- or two-time guest lecturer to sign such an oath.
3. The results of a background check on Mr. Rustin being made by the State Police on the request of Governor Tawes.

Not Sure Of Authority

Attorney General Thomas B. Finan said this morning he was not sure at this time whether the university had the authority to require a loyalty oath from "one and two shot speakers" under an opinion on the loyalty oath law, the Ober Act, made by the Attorney General C. Ferdinand Sybert five years ago.

Mr. Finan said he had not been formally asked for an opinion on

[Continued, Page B 16, Column 5]

the Rustin incident by either the university or the Governor.

A spokesman for the University of Maryland said that in that five years they had never had a guest speaker refuse to sign the Ober loyalty oath and thus no speaker during that period had ever been refused permission to deliver his lecture.

Col. Carey Jarman, superintendent of the State Police, said he has not turned over to Governor Tawes a "full and complete" report on Mr. Rustin yet. Colonel Jarman said to conduct a security check is a "long procedure" but was aided in this case because there is "a lot on the record already."

Can't Recall Others

The State Police head said he recalled no prior instance in which his department had been asked to do a background investigation on a prospective speaker at the university.

Mr. Rustin, who come to national prominence as the coordinator of the August, 1963, civil rights march on Washington, was invited to speak before the university's Law Enforcement Institute on October 12 and 13.

His invitation came from the office of Dr. Donald A. Deppe, of the Center of Adult Education. Dr. Deppe said yesterday, his office as a matter of form mailed a copy of the loyalty oath to Mr. Rustin for his signature.

Unavailable For Comment

Dr. Deppe was unavailable for comment today on the attorney general's five-year-old opinion that the loyalty oath was not necessary in case of incidental lecturers.

Dr. Elkins, however, said he did not know under what authority the university was mailing out the oath, but that it had been done "for some years."

Among the controversial aspects of Mr. Rustin was his arrest and conviction in 1953 in Pasadena, Cal., on a morals charge.

Mr. Rustin served a jail sentence during World War II for refusing to register for the draft as a conscientious objector and his acknowledged membership in the Young Communist League from 1937 to 1941.

Balt. Morning Sun

LOYALTY OATH BY SPEAKERS NOT REQUIRED

9/24/65

Case Like Rustin's Is Outside Ober Law, State Said In '60

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

A civil rights leader was asked by the University of Maryland to sign the State loyalty pledge even though the State attorney general ruled five years ago that the oath was not required of "persons invited to the university campus for the specific purpose of delivering one or two lectures for a stipulated sum of money."

A university spokesman explained yesterday that Bayard Rustin was asked to sign the oath "as a matter of course" after he accepted an invitation to speak October 12 and 13 to the university's Law Enforcement Institute.

Mr. Rustin, nationally prominent as the organizer of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington, declined to take the oath "on the grounds of democratic principle."

Decision Pending

The university had not decided yesterday whether to bar Mr. Rustin from speaking at the College Park campus.

The spokesman said the university has not yet received Mr. Rustin's letter refusing to sign the loyalty pledge.

The oath is required by the Ober Act, the State's "anti-subversive" law. It is required of all State employees.

The attorney general's ruling held that guest lecturers, even when paid, are not "in the legal sense contemplated by the statute" employees or appointees of the State.

The university spokesman said the policy of sending out loyalty pledges routinely to paid speakers began only a few months ago when Dr. Donald A. Deppe became director of conferences and

(Continued, Page 23, Column 3)

institutes at the Center for Adult Education, which handles most special guest-speaker programs.

It was Dr. Deppe who originally invited Mr. Rustin to speak at the institute. He said yesterday that all speakers are asked to sign the oath and that he supposed the invitation would be withdrawn if Mr. Rustin refused.

Training Conference

The institute is a training conference for Maryland law enforcement officers. Mr. Rustin had been asked to speak on policing civil rights demonstrations.

Earlier yesterday, Governor Tawes disclosed that he had ordered the State Police to investigate Mr. Rustin's background after a telephone caller—whom the Governor did not identify—objected to the university's invitation.

Fred E. Weisgal, chairman of the legal panel of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced the investigation as a "witch-hunt."

No Recommendation Due

The Governor's office said the results of the investigation would be turned over to Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, university president. An aide said Mr. Tawes would make no recommendation on whether Mr. Rustin should be permitted to speak.

Mr. Rustin said in New York that he has spoken at "hundreds of colleges and universities" and has never been prevented from speaking.

Quoting from his letter to the

THE SUN, BALTIMORE, THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 23, 1965

BULLETIN

Annapolis, Thursday, Sept. 23 (P)—An aide to Gov. Tawes said today that Mr. Tawes has ordered an investigation into the background of Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader who is scheduled to speak at the University of Maryland.

Edmund C. Mester, Administrative assistant to the Governor, said Maryland State Police were ordered to make the investigation after a citizen called the Governor's office and complained that Mr. Rustin should not be permitted to speak on the University campus.

Mr. Rustin, a leader of the New York School boycott in February 1964, and of the march on Washington in 1963, has been invited to speak at a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12. The institute is part of the University College of the University of Maryland, which encompasses the night school and the university's overseas program.

Mr. Rustin, a 6-foot-1 Negro, heads the A. Philip Randolph institution in New York. He had been a member of the Young Communist League, but said he quit that organization in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

A Quaker, Mr. Rustin served 28 months in Federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. He was convicted of a morals charge in 1935 and served 60 days in jail.

Mr. Mester said the results of the State police investigation should be known by tomorrow and would be submitted to Dr. Wilson Elkins, president of the university.

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plained yesterday that Bayard Rustin was asked to sign the oath "as a matter of course" after he accepted an invitation to speak October 12 and 13 to the university's Law Enforcement Institute.

Mr. Rustin, nationally prominent as the organizer of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington, declined to take the oath "on the grounds of democratic principle."

Decision Pending

The university had not decided yesterday whether to bar Mr. Rustin from speaking at the College Park campus.

The spokesman said the university has not yet received Mr. Rustin's letter refusing to sign the loyalty pledge.

The oath is required by the Ober Act, the State's "anti-subversive" law. It is required of all State employees.

The attorney general's ruling held that guest lecturers, even when paid, are not "in the legal sense contemplated by the statute" employees or appointees of the State.

The university spokesman said the policy of sending out loyalty pledges routinely to paid speakers began only a few months ago when Dr. Donald A. Deppe became director of conferences and institutes at the Center for Adult Education, which handles most special guest-speaker programs.

(Continued, Page [illegible], Column 1)

It was Dr. Deppe who originally invited Mr. Rustin to speak at the institute. He said yesterday that all speakers are asked to sign the oath and that he supposed the invitation would be withdrawn if Mr. Rustin refused.

Training Conference

The institute is a training conference for Maryland law enforcement officers. Mr. Rustin had been asked to speak on policing civil rights demonstrations.

Earlier yesterday, Governor Tawes disclosed that he had ordered the State Police to investigate Mr. Rustin's background after a telephone caller—whom the Governor did not identify—objected to the university's invitation.

Fred E. Weisgal, chairman of the legal panel of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced the investigation as a "witch-hunt."

No Recommendation Due

The Governor's office said the results of the investigation would be turned over to Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, university president. An aide said Mr. Tawes would make no recommendation on whether Mr. Rustin should be permitted to speak.

Mr. Rustin said in New York that he has spoken at "hundreds of colleges and universities" and has never been prevented from speaking.

Quoting from his letter to the university, he said the oath "is tainted with the totalitarian prilosophy" and represents an effort by the State to invade "every area of life and even . . . to police the spirit."

He said that he was returning the pledge unsigned, and added that he had every intention of accepting the invitation if it was not withdrawn.

"There will be people who say I am refusing," Mr. Rustin continued, ". . . because I am concealing Communist sympathies . . .

"As a young man, a passion for freedom and equality brought me into the Young Communist League and soon brought me out of it when I realized that communism used the rhetoric of justice to mask the reality of injustice.

"Since that time I have fought against every form of dictatorship and tyranny whether it was in Communist Russia, racist Mississippi, Nazi Germany, Fascist Spain, or white-supremacist South Africa."

Conscientious Objector

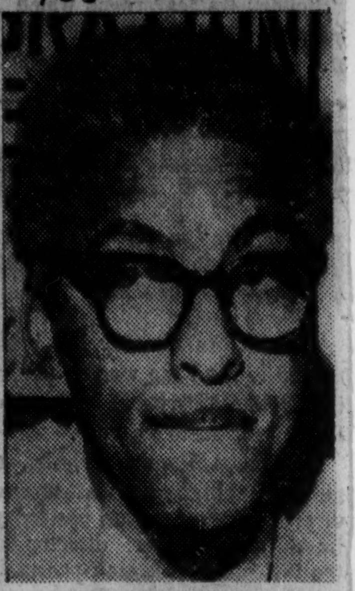
Mr. Rustin belonged to the Young Communist League from 1937 to 1941. He served a prison sentence during World War II for refusing as a conscientious objector to register for the draft. In

U.M. Speaker Won't Sign Loyalty Oath

Balt, Evening Sun

9/23/65

By Donald Bremner



BAYARD RUSTIN

Bayard Rustin, national civil rights leader, today denounced the loyalty oath required of speakers at the University of Maryland even as Maryland State Police investigated his fitness to speak on the campus.

"As a civil libertarian, I could not possibly sign any such pledge," Mr. Rustin said by telephone from New York. "My record as an anti-Communist is very clear," he added.

His refusal to sign the oath raised the question of whether university officials would allow him to deliver a scheduled speech October 12 at a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute, a training school for Maryland law officers.

Speech In Doubt

Whether he would speak was already in some doubt. State Police were directed by Governor Tawes yesterday to look into Mr. Rustin's background after a citizen wrote the Governor objecting to Mr. Rustin's appearance on the Maryland campus.

Governor Tawes declined today to identify the letter writer or to reveal what the letter said. The Governor said he was "a little surprised" that Mr. Rustin had been invited, but declined to say why. The Governor said the State Police would report their findings to Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, university president.

Mr. Rustin, 55, was a leader of the New York school boycott last year, and of the March on Washington in August, 1963. He heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York city.

He was a member of the Young Communist League in the la 1930's, but said he left it in 1941 because he disagreed with its aims.

[Continued, Page D 21, Column 5]

A Quaker, he served 28 months in Federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. He was convicted of a morals charge in 1935 and served 60 days in jail.

The university official whose office arranged the invitation said that he did not know then of Mr. Rustin's background, but that he favors letting the invitation stand.

Dr. Donald A. Deppe, director of conferences and institutes in the university's Center for Adult Education, said that the purpose in inviting Mr. Rustin to speak was to let law enforcement officers, who are called upon to control crowds during demonstrations, hear from someone who has led demonstrations.

"How Far It Has Come"

"We thought it would be a good idea for policemen to talk with somebody on the other side of the fence and see how he ticks," Dr. Deppe said. "It should give them a better working knowledge of the situation they face.

"We asked him to talk about the civil rights movement, how far it has come, where it stands, what its direction might be in the future . . . so that law enforcement officers can understand the nature of the movement as it continues to develop."

Dr. Deppe said that the invitation was extended early in July, and it was not until the end of July as the programs were being printed that his office learned of Mr. Rustin's background.

"It's Conceivable"

"It's conceivable that we could have chosen a man with not quite so controversial a background," Dr. Deppe said. "But the invitation has been extended, and to deny him an opportunity to speak now would be as wrong as to have invited him knowing his background.

"My point of view is that just because a man got in trouble with the law once doesn't prohibit him from speaking out for the rest of his life on any issue," Dr. Deppe added.

Doctor Deppe said that after learning of Mr. Rustin's background, "We asked the Justice Department whether he is on any subversive list, and they said they saw no reason why we couldn't invite him."

Dr. Deppe said that "we ask all our speakers to sign the Maryland Ober law loyalty pledge. Rustin has been sent this pledge.

I would refuse to sign any such statement."

Mr. Rustin said "it is a matter of public record" that he was a member of the Young Communist League while at New York City College from 1937 to 1941. He said he left the league in 1941 for three reasons:

1. He was "deeply impressed with the Communist party's anti-war position" before 1941. Then Hitler attacked Russia, and the "imperialist" war suddenly became a "people's" war. "This revealed to me that the Communist party had no principles, but operated in terms of what was best for the Soviet Union."

2. In June, 1941, when Russia was attacked, young American Communists were told to stop fighting for racial equality in the armed forces.

A Second Front

"The leaders of the Young Communist League said we needed a second front (against Germany in the West) an dthey did not want the question of segregation to interfere. And I saw that even their attitude on racial equality was determined by Soviet policy, and ever since that time I have fought any effort of the Communist party to get a foothold in the civil rights movement or any other social movement in this country," Mr. Rustin said.

3. "I had come to see that only by use of nonviolent means can true social progress be made."

"But I will not fight communism by Cmmunist means," Mr. Rustin said. "And that is exactly what such (loyalty) pledges are. They are anti-American and anti-civil libertarian."

Mr. Rustin said that his 1935 morals conviction in California was mentioned in 1963 by Senator Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.) "as an effort to obstruct the March on Washington."

"Complete Trust"

"At that time, Dr. (Martin Luther) King, Roy Wilkens, A. Philip Randolph and others stated that they had complete trust in my character, my ability and my integrity. Obviously, I do not intend to make any effort to defend myself."

If he is allowed to speak on the Maryland campus, Mr. Rustin said, he would "deal with a number of developments in the Negro community in the last ten years . . . and the basic factors underlying the riots in New York and Los Angeles.

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[illegible] Communist League in the la

[illegible], Column 5]

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Dr. Deppe said that "we ask all our speakers to sign the Maryland Ober law loyalty pledge. Rustin has been sent this pledge. I suppose if he refuses to sign it, the invitation would be canceled."

"Not A Subversive Person"

The loyalty pledge calls upon the signer to "certify that I am not a subversive person as defined by law, namely, that I am not a person who is engaged in one way or another in the attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States or the State of Maryland or any political subdivision of either of them, by force or violence, and that I am not knowingly a member of an organization engaged in such an attempt."

Mr. Rustin said that he sent a letter to the University of Maryland yesterday saying that he could not sign the pledge.

"As a Quaker, with a 300-year tradition, we never sign pledges, and in fact, the United States Government does not require us to take oaths," Mr. Rustin said.

(Quakers, members of the Religious Society of Friends, ordinarily are permitted to "affirm" that they intend to tell the truth in court or other place where sworn testimony is taken.)

"As A Good Quaker . . ."

"I affirm that I am a democrat, with a small 'd'," Mr. Rustin said. "I believe in the democratic process, and the democratic form of government. As a good Quaker, that is all I intend to do. But I don't want to hide behind my Quakerism. As a civil libertarian, I would refuse to sign any such statement."

Mr. Rustin said "It is a matter of public record" that he was a member of the Young Communist League while at New York City College from 1937 to 1941. He said he left the league in 1941 for three reasons:

1. He was "deeply impressed with the Communist party's antiwar position" before 1941. Then Hitler attacked Russia, and the "imperialist" war suddenly became a "people's" war. "This revealed to me that the Communist party had no principles, but operated in terms of what was best for the Soviet Union."

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"I would talk about the meaning of direct action and civil disobedience, and the effect of de facto segregation on the problems of order in the community.

"From Just Law"

"I would be saying to them that a discussion of law and order is a meaningless discussion because order proceeds, not from law, but from just law, and to the degree that one has justice, one has order. And to the degree that there is injustice, disorder is inevitable."

Mr. Rustin said he is leaving Tuesday for an eight-day trip to Africa, returning October 7.

Dr. Elkins said he learned only yesterday that Mr. Rustin was scheduled to speak on the campus.

"We are simply trying to find out what are the circumstances of the invitation, and the results of the investigation," the university president said.

Clarence M. Mitchell 3d, a Negro member of the House of Delegate from Baltimore's Fourth district, said that "I would hope the Governor is not conducting a witch hunt simply because a civil rights leader has been invited to speak. The State Police have far more to do than spend time investigating civil rights workers."

Austrian Product Up

Vienna—Austria's gross national product in real terms is estimated to have risen 6 per cent in 1964, the fastest rate of growth since 1960.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
COLLEGE PARK 20742

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

September 28, 1965

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Phillips Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Bayard:

As I start this note, I learn that your invitation to speak here is confirmed. I thought it would be. Even though it is known that the Ober Act is unconstitutional, since others patterned after it have been found to be, apparently Maryland would rather not enforce it than repeal it.

Some students who are planning a third attempt to get permission to start a campus CORE chapter have done me the honor of asking me to be their faculty sponsor, and SDS is suffered on the campus, so perhaps things are looking up. However, our Senate committee on academic freedom (on which I served last year but was not re-appointed) has had its recommended policy rejected for the second year running, by the Senate's executive committee (meaning the President and vice-president, I suspect) primarily on the grounds that the section "Academic Freedom for Students" was of no concern to the faculty, that "there is no such thing". A long way to go!

Regards. Hope I see you when you're here. I am sure you have many friends here, but if your plans permit we would be very happy to have you stay with us. Bienvenido!

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Adkins

AJA:slc

P.S.: these clippings from the student newspaper might interest you.

A.A.

1 October 1965

Fred Cappuccino
Unitarian Universalist Church
10309 New Hampshire Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland 20903

Dear Fred Cappuccino:

I was very pleased to receive the copy of your letter to Governor Tawes indicating your disapproval of the Maryland Loyalty Oath for speakers at the University.

I am sorry but I will not be able to attend your Sunday service, Oct. 10, as I will be in Washington, D.C that day, but many thanks for the invitayion.

Sincerly,

BR /cw

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Oct 10
am
301-589-8952

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST CHURCH
10309 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE
SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND 20903

September 24, 1965

Governor J. Millard Tawes
State House
Annapolis, Maryland

Dear Governor Tawes:

Today's Washington Post carried an article about hesitancy on your part in allowing Bayard Rustin to speak at the University of Maryland. It is inconceivable to me that anyone who is invited by an organization to give an address should be denied permission by some higher authority. What kind of democracy is it that must "protect the people" from free speech and free discussion?

Those of us who knew Rustin long ago were naturally disappointed at his morals conviction in 1953. There was some question in our minds whether he would have been convicted if he had not been a Negro. But we were heartened to see that he was able, in spite of this, to put his great talents to use in the cause of reconciling groups in the United States where there was the ominous potential of mass violence.

It was largely because of his efforts and his skill that the great March on Washington in 1962 was such a universal success, both in its restraint and in its power.

The fact that he refused to sign a loyalty oath is also, in my opinion, an indication of his dedication to principle and his commitment to true democracy. That a man who is one of the top five or six civil rights leaders in this country should be denied a platform is not a reflection upon him so much as upon the group that would deny him the right. Or is it feared in this case that his audience in the present instance, 550 local and state police officers, will have their characters and morals corrupted by a controversial speaker?

I sincerely hope he will be extended the privilege of speaking at the University of Maryland. In the meantime, he has a standing invitation to speak from the pulpit of the Unitarian Universalist Church of Silver Spring, Maryland.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Cappuccino

[illegible]/mo

We'd be delighted if you could speak with us Oct 10 at our Sunday service if you are in town. Please let us know.

Fred Cappuccino

October 5, 1965

Jules Bernstein
1311 Delaware Avenue
Apartment S-431
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jules;
Thanks for passing material on to Washington Post.

Sincerely,

BR/cw

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Bayard –
thought you
might appreciate seeing
how our little LID network
operates on the local level.
Tom

1311 Delaware Avenue
Apartment S-431
Washington, D. C.
October 1, 1965

Editor
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The recent controversy over the invitation to Bayard Rustin to speak at the University of Maryland and elsewhere in this area has to some extent obscured the fact that Rustin is one of our most acute political observers. An indication of this fact is the enclosed article which appears in the September 17, 1965 issue of New America which is the official publication of the Socialist Party. It is my understanding that this article was prepared especially for New America and has not been printed elsewhere.

In light of the article's significance, as well as the limited circulation of New America, I am forwarding it to you with the thought that you might give consideration to using it in the Outlook section of the Washington Post some Sunday. I am certain that if you should decide to use it, permission to do so would be readily forthcoming from either Rustin or New America.

Very truly yours,

Jules Bernstein

JB/mh
Enclosure
BCC: Tom Kahn ✓

COPY

October 11, 1965

Mr. John C. Bennett, Co-Chairman
Christanity and Crisis
537 Westnl21st Street

Dear Mr. Bennett;

I have just received your letter dated October 7, and I shall be glad to accept. I shall keeptthat date free.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/cw

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA 23368

COE AMERICAN INSTITUTE STUDIES

Oct 21

Dear Mr. Rustin –

You don't remember me but perhaps you do that of Matilda Robbins, my aunt and for a time SP secretary in L.A. Our paths have crossed several times. I'm a sociologist, mostly here, on leave from college jobs in Mass. In any case, I have begun a subscription to the local paper — far-right in its political views but fair-minded enough. A couple of days ago I noted the wild, silly letter from a reader on your role in civil rights & civil liberties, & felt it could not go unanswered. For your amusement, or whatever, I enclose both the reader's letter and my own rejoinder. The business about credentials on who-was-earlier-than-who in denouncing Stalinism is just to keep things fair-minded. It really doesn't matter a damn in 1965 where any of

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
FOUNDED 1944

stood in 1935. Matilda was on to Stalinism as early as 1925, and I learned whatever I have of political integrity from her. I miss her in many ways.

As I note, you are your own best defender. But I hope you don't mind my leaping into the breach since you can't keep track of every attack in every provincial paper south of New York.

Sincerely

Richard Rollin

October 29, 1965

Richard Robbins
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia 23368

Dear Mr. Robbins;

Thank you very much for your kind letter of October 21, I read it with gfeat interest, your letter to the local paper and in the interest of public discussion, I want to thank you for sending it to the paper. I think it is always helpful when local people do not permit this kind of attacks to proceed without having a "Say".

I do remember your Aunt very well and the good work she did. I do hope that when you pass through New York you give me a call.

Sincerely,

BR/Cw

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

CANCELED FBI TALK AT U.M., HOOVER SAYS

Denies Any Backing Of Program On Which Rustin Spoke

Lynchburg, Va., Oct. 20 (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, has said he canceled the engagement of an FBI speaker at the University of Maryland's recent Law Enforcement Institute after learning that Bayard Rustin, Negro integration leader, was scheduled to appear on the same program.

In a letter to a Lynchburg resident Mr. Hoover also made it clear that the FBI had no part in sponsoring the institute held last week on the university campus at College Park.

Mr. Hoover did not explain in his letter why he opposed having an FBI speaker on the same program with Mr. Rustin, an assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King.

Reply To Lynchburg Query

However, his letter was in reply to one asking him to explain how Mr. Rustin, with "a police criminal record," was selected to speak on a program "sponsored in part by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Mr. Rustin, a director of the 1963 march on Washington, is a former member of the Young Communist League. He served a Federal prison sentence as a draft dodger during World War II and a jail sentence after conviction in 1953 on a morals charge.

"Not Sponsored By Bureau"

Mr. Hoover, who said he had no objection to his letters being made public, wrote:

"With respect to your inquiry as to how Bayard Rustin was selected as a program speaker on a program sponsored in part by the FBI, I assure you that it was not sponsored by this bureau. When I learned of his proposed appearance, I canceled the engagement of the FBI speaker."

The Lynchburg resident, who released Mr. Hoover's letter to the press, asked that his name not be used. Mr. Hoover's letter was dated October 15.

Controversy Over Talk

Mr. Rustin's proposed appearance at the University of Maryland set off a controversy.

When he refused to sign a loyalty oath, Governor Tawes of Maryland ordered a State Police investigation of Mr. Rustin's background. He turned over the results to university officials who [illegible] speak.

Balt Sun PAGE C 22

Brewster Hits Canceled FBI Talk At U.M.

Washington, Oct. 21 (Special)—Senator Brewster (D., Md.) said today he found it "regrettable" that the FBI had chosen to cancel the appearance of an agent before the Maryland Law Enforcement Institute simply on the basis that Bayard Rustin had spoken there last week.

Earlier, J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, had confirmed a letter to a Lynchburg (Va.) resident in which he said he planned to cancel the appearance of a special agent as a lecturer before the institute.

Senator Brewster took the position that the institute, "an official undertaking to improve the caliber of our law enforcement officers and their professional abilities, should have the benefit of the best advice availabel in the United States."

Clearly one of the main sources of law enforcement information is the FBI," the Senator said.

"It is regrettable that the FBI is reluctant to send a speaker to a duly accredited official school run for the benefit of law enforcement officers," Senator Brewster challenged.

A spokesman for the University of Maryland, which sponsors the institute, said Special Agent Dwight Dalbe, of the FBI Legal Research Department, had been scheduled to address the institute December 14 at College Park and December 15 at Baltimore.

Proposed Topic

Mr. Dalbe was to speak on "due process in criminal interrogations with emphasis on the requirements of constitutional law bearing on the treatment of the arrested person under interrogation . . . particularly affecting the admission in evidence of any confession or admission in guilt that came from him."

The university spokesman said Mr. Dalbe was not paid the customary lecture fee for the two-day session, apparently because

[Continued, Page C 6, Column 7]

Brewster Hits Canceled Talk

[Continued From Page C 22]

his services are underwritten by the bureau.

A spokesman for Mr. Hoover said today the FBI director had "no further comment" on his letter to the Lynchburg resident.

The spokesman said there is "no way of knowing now whether the bureau will permit agents to speak at future sessions of the institute."

The spokesman also commented that the sudden cancellation of an agent's appearance as a speaker or panel member before public and private bodies was "not without precedent."

Mr. Hoover's letter, dated October 15 and mailed to a Lynchburg resident who declined to be identified, read:

"With respect to your inquiry as to how Bayard Rustin was selected as a program speaker on a program sponsored in part by the FBI, I assure you that it was not sponsored by this bureau. When I learned of his proposed appearance, I canceled the engagement of the FBI speaker."

Mr. Rustin addressed the institute amid great furor October 12 and 13. His first remarks were at a closed session for institute members only; his second lecture was opened to the public.

What critics in Maryland found objectionable about Mr. Rustin as a speaker is a record of having been a member of the Young Communist League; a Federal prison sentence for failure to register for the draft during World War II and a jail sentence after conviction in 1953 on a morals charge.

A WTOP EDITORIAL

A reasonable opportunity will be afforded to a responsible spokesman for the presentation of views contrasting with those expressed in this editorial upon request made within five days after the date of broadcast of this editorial. If more than one such request is received, WTOP reserves the right to designate the spokesman to present such views.

BROADCAST HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C. 244-5678 POST-NEWSWEEK STATIONS, A Division of the Washington Post Company

OCT 18 1965

(This Editorial was broadcast on October 13 and 14, 1965, over WTOP Radio and Television.)

This is a WTOP Editorial.

Our sympathies are entirely with the University of Maryland concerning the appearance Tuesday evening by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin in the university's adult education center.

There has been a great hulabaloo about the speaking invitation extended to Mr. Rustin in behalf of the Law Enforcement Institute, an organization of regional law officers. At various times in the last several weeks numerous prominent persons have been involved, including Dr. Wilson Elkins, the university president; Governor Millard Tawes and Attorney General Thomas Finan. Finally Mr. Rustin made his address, but now there are further mutterings and stirrings among some members of the Maryland Legislature, who demand to know why he was tolerated on the university campus.

We're aware that Mr. Rustin has had a somewhat checkered personal and political career. We're aware, too, that he refused--for reasons he considers good and sufficient--to sign any loyalty oath before his address at College Park. But we cannot comprehend how any thinking person could consider that a speech by Bayard Rustin before an audience of policemen in the university adult education center poses the slightest threat or creates the slightest impropriety. On the contrary, Mr. Rustin's experience as a very militant civil rights leader might very well be of great value to police officers. They ought to hear what he says.

And from a wider viewpoint, the university has a positive duty to protect what it describes as the "spirit of inquiry" and "freedom of expression." These are not just empty phrases. They mean a very great deal. If Maryland University should ever fall under the control of know-nothings, it might as well close its doors.

This was a WTOP Editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

Vol. 3 No. 37 MD MONITOR
SEPT 16, 1965
PUBLISHED BY MONIT
3 North Perry Street, Re

Convicted Sex Pervert And Civil Rights Leader To Be Police Lecturer

Bayard Rustin Chosen For Talks At Md. University

by Betta Grouell

A controversial civil rights leader who has been convicted of sex perversion and draft dodging, and who served as Martin Luther King's secretary for five years, is among "experts" on law enforcement chosen to lecture at the University of Maryland's 16th annual Law Enforcement Institute which gets under way this week and last through next May 11.

Some 550 local and State police will attend the Institute designed to "provide police an opportunity for professional improvement through education". Institute sponsors include the College, Maryland Law Enforcement Officers, Inc., Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia, Maryland Municipal League, United States Park Police, Maryland State Police and police departments of Maryland and Virginia.

Scheduled to speak on both College Park and Baltimore campuses in October is Bayard Rustin, 53-year-old Negro lecturer who has been described as "Mr. March-on-Washington himself" because of his organizational role in the mass demonstration and "march" on the Nation's capital in 1963.

Rustin and his background became the subject of a stormy protest by U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond (R -S. C.) and appeared in official congressional records at the time of the 1963 "march", and after a complimentary article on Rustin appeared August 11, 1963, in a downtown daily.

In his recitation, the Senator placed eight pages of evidence against Rustin in the August 13, 1963, Congressional Record.

"Mr. Rustin's criminal record serves as a good beginning point in demonstrating distorted and slanted reporting..." began the Senator, and added:

"Mr. Rustin is reported as having served 28 months during World War II as a conscientious objector.

"The true facts are," he continued, "that he was sentended for failing to abide by the selective service law. He failed to report for work of national importance and also for physical examination."

(Rustin was sentenced to three years on the latter charge in New York on Feb. 28, 1944. In March, 1944, he was sent to the Federal Correctional Institution at Ashland, Ky.)

Senator Thurmond also said, "The article states that he was convicted in 1953 in Pasadena, Calif., of a morals charge after being arrested with two other men.

"The words 'morals charge' are true," said the Senator, "but this again is a clearcut case of toning down the charge.

"The conviction was sex perversion and a subsequent arrest of vagrancy and lewdness," he added. "Mr. Rustin pleaded guilty to the sex perversion charge."

According to a news story in the Los Angeles Times on Jan. 23, 1953, "Pasadena Judge Burton Noble yesterday sentenced Bayard Rustin, 40-year-old Negro lecturer, to 60 days in the county jail on a morals charge."

The Times also said Rustin pleaded guilty and that two men arrested with him were given similar sentences.

"Rustin had been scheduled to address the American Friends Society at the Pasadena First Methodist Church the day he was arrested," the paper continued. It also reported that shortly before his arrest, Rustin spoke on world peace before the American Society of University Women at the Pasadena Athletic Club.

In his protest, Senator Thur-

(Continued on Page 8)

Rustin

(Continued from Page 1)

mond said, Rustin was a member of the Young Communist League and attended the Communist Party convention in 1956 in New York as an observer.

He said Rustin "quit the Young Communist League because he was nonviolent and because the league accepted racial segregation in the Armed forces after Hitler attacked Russia. "There is no mention, however, of his denouncement of Communist ideological dogma."

From 1955 to 1960, Rustin was secretary to Dr. Martin Luther King and in 1958, attended a conference of the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons which met in Russia.

Rustin is to lecture at the Institute on the College Park campus on Oct. 12 and give the same lecture on the Baltimore campus the following evening. He will discuss today's Civil Rights movement.

Rustin's participation in the program was arranged by Dr. Donald Deppe of the administrative office of the University.

He said Rustin had been asked to speak to local and state police "to present the other side."

Rustin appeared as a featured speaker at the Washington Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action conference on "community action after home rule" held at Georgetown University's Hall of Nations last Saturday.

BALTIMORE EVENING SUN
SEPT 23, 1965

State Police Probe U. Of M. Speaker

Governor Tawes has directed the State Police to look into the background of Bayard Rustin in the wake of a citizen's complaint that the Negro civil rights leader should not be allowed to speak at the University of Maryland.

Edmund C. Mester, administrative aide to the Governor, said the results of the investigation should be known by tomorrow, and would be submitted to Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, president of the university.

Dr. Elkins said he learned only yesterday that Mr. Rustin was scheduled to speak on the campus.

"Trying To Find Out"

"We are simply trying to find out what are the circumstances of the invitation, and the results of the investigation," the university president said.

Mr. Rustin, a leader of the New York school boycott last year, and of the march on Washington in August, 1963, has been invited to speak October 12 at a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute. The institute is part of the University College.

Mr. Rustin heads the A. Philip Randolph Instiution in New York city. He was a member of the Young Communist League, but said he left that organization in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

A Quaker, he served 28 months in Federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. He was convicted of a morals charge in 1935 and served 60 days in jail.

The university official whose office arranged the invitation said that he did not know then of Mr. Rustin's background, but that he favors letting the invitation stand.

Dr. Donald A. Deppe, director of conferences and institutes in the university's Center for Adult Education, said that the purpose in inviting Mr. Rustin to speak was to let law enforcement officers, who are called upon to control crowds during demonstrations, hear from someone who has led demonstrations.

"'How Far It Has Come"

"We thoughgt it would be a good idea for policemen to talk with somebody on the other side of the fence and see how he ticks," Dr. Deppe said. "It should give them a better working knowledge of the situation they face.

"We asked him to talk about the civil rights movement, how far it has come, where it stands, what its direction might be in the future . . . so that law enforce-

[Continued, Page D 6, Column 3]

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U.M. Speaker Being Probed

[Continued From Page D 22]

ment officers can understand the nature of the movement as it continues to develop."

Dr. Deppe said that the invitation was extended early in July, and it was not until the end of July as the programs were being printed that his office learned of Mr. Rustin's background.

"It's conceivable that we could have chosen a man with not quite so controversial a background," Dr. Deppe said. "But the invitation has been extended, and to deny him an opportunity to speak now would be as wrong as to have invited him knowing his background.

"My point of view is that just because a man got in trouble with the law once doesn't prohibit him from speaking out for the rest of his life on any issue," Dr. Deppe added.

"Asked The Justice Department"

Doctor Deppe said that after learning of Mr. Rustin's background, "We asked the Justice Department whether he is on any subversive list, and they said they saw no reason why we couldn't invite him."

Dr. Deppe said that there could be one hitch.

"We do ask all our speakers to sign the Maryland Ober law loyalty pledge. Rustin has been sent this pledge. I suppose if he refuses to sign it, the invitation would be canceled," Dr. Deppe said.

Clarence M. Mitchell 3d, a Negro member of the House of Delegate from Baltimore's Fourth district, said that "I would hope the Governor is not conducting a witch hunt simply because a civil rights leader has been invited to speak. The State Police have far more to do than spend time investigating civil rights workers."

THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, Sept. 24, 1965 B5

Rustin's Scheduled Speeches In Maryland Stir Controversy

Two scheduled speeches at the University of Maryland next month by Bayard Rustin, a Negro civil rights leader, erupted into controversy yesterday, leaving the question of his appearance up in the air.

In Annapolis, Gov. J. Millard Tawes said he had ordered a State Police investigation of Rustin's background after a citizen complained that Rustin should not be allowed to speak. Tawes did not identify the citizen.

In New York, Rustin mailed back to the University, unsigned, a copy of Maryland's Ober (anti-subversive) Oath that the University sent to him ten days ago.

The University said it was awaiting return of the oath before making a final decision on Rustin's appearance.

Asked to Address Police

Rustin was invited to speak on civil rights Oct. 12 at College Park and Oct. 13 in Baltimore, before some 550 local and State police officers attending the University's 16th annual Law Enforcement Institute.

Joshua B. Zatman, Maryland's publicity director, said that Rustin was invited after police officials themselves suggested that "one of the other side" speak on civil rights.

Zatman said the University checked with the Justice Department to determine if there was any reason not to invite Rustin and "we were told that there was no reason." Rustin was invited in July and accepted.

Rustin was sent a tax withholding certificate, because he would be paid for his speeches, and a copy of the Ober Oath ten days ago. The Ober Ooth asks the signer to swear his loyalty.

Zatamn said it formerly was standard practice to request visiting speakers to sign the Ober Ooth until Attorney General Thomas B. Finan ruled that the practice was unnecessary "for one-shot or two-shot appearances."

However, Zatman said, "We have been using our discretion and in cases where a speaker is very contoversial, we have been sending it."

Rejects Loyalty Oath

"The mere fact that you ask me to swear an oath that I am not a "subversive person" before I can be allowed to give a public speech at the University of Maryland is an attack upon my civil liberties," Rustin wrote in a letter that he sent back with the unsigned oath.

Tawes said that the citizen who complained to him referred to an article last week in the Maryland Monitor, a weekly newspaper published in Rockville.

The Monitor article reported Rustin's background, including his former membership in the Young Communist League and his conviction in 1953 in Pasadena, Calif., on a morals charge.

Rustin, 55, did not comment on the morals charge but acknowledged in his letter that he joined the YCL "as a young man" and left it "when I realized that communism used the rhetoric of justice to mask the reality of injustice."

Rustin, an organizer and leader of the civil rights March on Washington in 1963, is executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York. He has been speaking on civil rights around the country and has made many campus appearances.

In a standard speech that he has given before several college groups, Rustin has urged that Negroes turn from active civil rights demonstrations to a more basic concern with social, economic and political progress.

"What I would tell the average Negro," Rustin said in a recent interview, "is that the most sacred responsibility he has is to register and to vote and to organize at the local level to utilize his political power."

"Most of the so-called Negro problems that remain today are simply American problems which most affect the Negro and which cannot be solved except politically," he said last week at the annual conference of the Greater Washington Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action at Georgetown University.

BAYARD RUSTIN
. . . appearance in doubt

Rustin Cleared For Talks at U. of Maryland

By Alan L. Dessoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

The president of the University of Maryland said yesterday that Bayard Rustin, a Negro civil rights leader, will be allowed to deliver two scheduled campus speeches next month without signing the State's loyalty oath.

President Wilson H. Elkins said the University will abide by a 1960 ruling of Attorney General Thomas B. Finan that the loyalty oath is not required of visiting speakers.

In addition, Elkins said, Gov. J. Millard Tawes's office reported after a State Police investigation of Rustin's background that "there is no indication that he should not be invited" to speak.

In New York, Rustin said, "I shall speak. I think the University has taken a very progressive and democratic position and has done itself proud."

Rustin had accepted an invitation to speak on civil rights Oct. 12 at College Park and Oct. 13 in Baltimore, before some 550 local and State police oficers attending the University's 16th annual Law Enforcement Institute.

Earlier this month, the University sent Rustin a copy of the State's Ober anti-subversive oath and asked him to sign it. The oath is required of all State officials and employes and the University has been using its discretion since 1960 in sending it to visting speakers.

Rustin sent it back, unsigned, contending that signing it would violate his political and religious convictions.

Meanwhile, Tawes had ordered a police inquiry into Rustin's background after an unidentified citizen complained that Rustin should not be allowed to speak.

Edmund C. Mester, an aide to the Governor, said yesterday that the inquiry amounted to checking Rustin's background as it has been reported in various magazine and newspaper articles.

Before the results of the investigation were reported yesterday, it was denounced as a "witch hunt" by Fred E. Weisgal, chairman of the legal panel of the Maryland branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Weisgal said "it would be a sorry situation indeed if free speech is abridged in the Free State of Maryland because of a speaker who is regarded by some unnamed source as controversial."

The Baltimore chapter of CORE also wired Tawes that the investigation was "symptomatic of Citizens Council mentality" and urged the Governor to "welcome Mr. Rustin to Maryland in the name of freedom of speech."

Rustin's Refusal to Sign Oath Revives Ober Act Controversy

When Bayard Rustin, a Negro civil rights leader, refused this week to sign a loyalty oath in connection with an invitation to speak at the University of Maryland, he rekindled a 17-year controversy in the Free State.

It had its roots in the Communism scare and the "witch hunts" that swept the country after World War II.

The result came out of the Maryland General Assembly in 1949—the Ober Law, with provisions that gave Maryland the most sweeping powers in the United States against subversion.

The Ober Law made it a crime to conduct subversive activities or to participate in subversive organizations. It required, among other things, that all State employes and even candidates for public office sign a loyalty oath.

Text of Oath

The oath reads:

"I do hereby certify that I am not a subversive person as defined by law, namely that I am not a person who is engaged in one way or another in an attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the State of Maryland, or any political subdivision or either of them, by force or violence, and I am not knowingly a member of an organization engaged in such an attempt."

A similar oath is required of Government employes in Washington, but not in Virginia. Officials in Maryland and Washington cannot recall any cases that have reached the courts from refusal to sign the oaths, but there have been refusals.

In 1960, the president of the American Association of University Professors refused to sign Maryland's oath and thereby rejected an appointment by Gov. J. Millard Tawes to the State's Radiation Control Advisory Board.

Also in 1960, Attorney General Thomas B. Finan ruled that the University of Maryland did not have to require guest lecturers to sign the oath. Previously, the University had requested their signatures as a matter of course.

'Controversial' Cases

Since then, Joshua B. Zatman, the University's director of public relations, said the institution has used its "discretion" in asking guest speakers to sign the oath, but has made the request "in cases where a speaker is very controversial."

Rustin was considered controversial. His background includes former membership in the Young Communist League, refusal to serve in the military, conviction on a morals charge and leadership of civil rights activities, including the March on Washington in 1963.

Rustin, in a letter to the University, explained why he refused to sign the oath.

"I have long opposed all totalitarianism, both Communist and Fascist," he wrote, "and one of my main reasons for doing so is precisely that in such systems, the state invades every area of life and even attempts to police the spirit.

"The loyalty oath which you have asked me to sign is tainted with this totalitarian philosophy."

"In short," he continued, "this oath has no serious function other than to create an atmosphere of suspicion and conformity."

Even before Rustin returned the oath, unsigned, the State was moving to take another look at his invitation to speak at the University.

Probe Ordered

Tawes, at the request of an unidentified citizen who referred to an article in an ultraconservative weekly newspaper, asked the State Police to investigate Rustin's background.

Ironically, Rustin was invited to speak to a group of professional law enforcement officers—State and County police and FBI agents—at the University's annual Law Enforcement Institute.

University president Wilson H. Elkins said that on the basis of the police report, which showed no reason to cancel Rustin's invitation, and Finan's opinion, Rustin would be allowed to speak as scheduled on Oct. 12 and 13.

The Ober Law, meanwhile, remains in effect, and Finan's office is using its authority under the measure to maintain a close watch on right-wing extremists.

Deputy Attorney General Robert C. Murphy said "a substantial file on extreme groups other than Communist" is being developed by the subversive activities control unit in the State's legal office.

Registered United States Patent Office

SUN

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U. Of M. Drops Oath Bar To Rustin Talk: Page 32

PAGE 32

OATH POLICY ON SPEAKERS VOIDED BY U.M.

'60 State Ruling Cited; Invitation To Rustin Is Reaffirmed

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

The University of Maryland dropped its loyalty-oath requirement for guest speakers yesterday and announced that Bayard Rustin, a nationally prominent civil rights leader, would be allowed to lecture at the university without signing the oath.

Dr Wilson H. Elkins, university president, directed campus officials to observe a 1960 attorney general's ruling that exempted guest lecturers from the oath.

He also said Mr. Rustin would be told that his signature was not required and that the invitation to lecture is still open, a spokesman reported.

Oath Is Returned

Mr. Rustin, who was invited to speak to the university's Law Enforcement Institute on policing civil rights demonstrations, had returned the oath unsigned "on the grounds of democratic principle."

The university spokesman reported that Dr Elkins had received a report from Governor Tawes's office that an investigation ordered by the Governor had turned up "no indication . . . that Mr Rustin should not be invited."

Mr. Tawes told the State Police to look into Mr. Rustin's background after an unnamed caller protested that he was unfit to speak at the university.

Acceptance Tied To Oath

Mr Rustin said Thursday he would accept the invitation to lecture if he could speak without signing the loyalty pledge.

The oath is the one required of State employees under the Ober Act — the State's "anti-subversive" law. The State attorney general held in 1960 that lecturers invited for one or two appearances are not State employees, even if they are paid.

LOYALTY PLEDGE IS VOIDED BY U.M.

1960 Ruling On Speakers Is Cited In Rustin Case

By ARNOLD R. ISAACS

The university explained Thursday that the pledge had been sent to Mr. Rustin "as a matter of [illegible] only a few [illegible] yesterday the Mar[illegible] the oath requirement and to the Governor's investigation of Mr Rustin's background.

The Rev. Irving R. Murray, chairman of the civil liberties organization, said in a formal statement that the Governor's actions "constitute a shockingly direct and political interference in the university's affairs."

The investigation, Mr. Murray said, is a "breach of the university's academic integrity and violation of accepted tenets of academic freedom."

He called the university's oath requirement "at least questionable under the United States Constitution and . . . obviously stultifying to the atmosphere of free exchange of ideas that is essential to a great university."

Mr. Rustin, a long-time veteran of the civil rights and peace movements, was coordinator of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington and organised the Harlem school boycotts in New York last year.

He has been a target of attack, because of his membership in the Young Communist League from 1937 to 1941 and because he served a prison term as a conscientious objector in World War II.

In his letter accompanying the unsigned loyalty pledge, Mr. Rustin described himself as opposed to "all totalitarianism, both Communist and racist."

He is scheduled to speak at the College Park campus October 12 and in Baltimore the next day. The Law Enforcement Institute is a training conference for Maryland police agencies.

Good for Dr. Elkins

The turmoil over whether the Ober loyalty oath should be required of a speaker at the University of Maryland and even whether the background of the speaker in dispute, Bayard Rustin, is unsuitable for a campus appearance has beclouded the main issue. The question at heart has been whether some 800 local and State police officers attending the University of Maryland's sixteenth annual Law Enforcement Institute are to hear from the man they sought to hear from, a recognized leader in the civil-rights movement with an adult lifetime's dedication to nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience. It may be assumed that most of the law officers will not be in agreement with Mr. Rustin, and most assuredly are not likely to be subverted by him, if that is anyone's worry. But he does help nationally to set the direction and pace of Negro protests, and it is with those protests that law enforcement officers have to deal, here and elsewhere. An enlightened group of police officers, looking ahead, trying to anticipate and understand what lies before them, would do well to listen to someone who has standing on the "other side," whatever his background. Dr. Elkins has now cut through the palaver to say the opportunity will not be denied them. Good for Dr Elkins.

The DIAMONDBACK
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - COLLEGE PARK
VOL. LVII. NO.6
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1963

Victory

Maryland wins the opening football game of the season by defeating Ohio University 24-7. Story on page 6.

Rustin

President Elkins is commended for his refusal to bow to political pressure. See Editorial on page 4.

Invitation Stands: Rustin Will Speak

The Reaction

By JOHN RENNER

Grover L. Bertram, a John Birch Society member and owner of the American Opinion Library in Towson, Maryland, criticized the University of Maryland this week for inviting Bayard Rustin to speak before the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12th. Rustin, once a member of the Young Communist League, was coordinator of the August, 1963 Civil Rights march on Washington.

Phones Freedom Message

Bertram is criticizing the University through "Let Freedom Ring," a recorded telephone message that he wrote, and for which his wife, Carolyn, supplied the voice. In his message Bertram calls Rustin a "living breathing example of the need for law enforcement." Mrs. Bertram compares letting Rustin speak at the Law Enforcement Institute with allowing criminals to teach at police schools.

The Bertrams also feel that in view of Rustin's past involvement with the Young Communist League, he is a threat to this country's well being.

2000 Callers a Day

Bertram estimates that his message is heard by 2000 people a day in the Baltimore area and he hopes this will influence the University to withdraw Rustin from its list of speakers.

When asked what he would do if Rustin was to be allowed to speak, Bertram said that he would publicize Rustin's criminal record on his telephone message.

Petition Circulating

Also being distributed at the American Opinion Library is a petition signed by H.E.L.P.,--the Committee to Help and Encourage Local Police, but bearing no individual's name and urging removal of Dr. Donald A. Deppe, who invited Rustin to speak, from his position at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center. The petitions are meant to be sent to Governor Tawes.

Bertram says that his office had nothing to do with the bringing of the petitions but was unable to say who was responsible. Bertram also said that he did not necessarily approve removing Dr. Deppe from his position. He added that his only interest in the matter was to prevent subversive individuals from speaking at the University.

Education Subverts American Youth

A Bertram added "Subversion of the minds of our children through faulty educational processes is not new, but the new mathematics is a new approach in the tragic plan to destroy the American intellect. A comprehensive look at the new math might awaken the complacent parent as to how his child's mind is being twisted and confused."

Bertram hopes that his library, as well as the telephone messages, will help head off a Socialistic takeover in the United States. Many of the books, leaflets, and records that are sold in the library come from the John Birch Society.

The Decision

By CAROLYN HOLSTEIN

The invitation to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin will stand. This decision, announced by President Wilson H. Elkins last Friday, was based on a statement from the office of Governor J. Millard Tawes.

Rustin, invited to speak before a University group by Dr. Donald Deppe, director for the University College's conferences and institutes division, had refused on "democratic principles" to sign a loyalty pledge. This pledge is required of all persons on the state payroll in compliance with the Ober Law passed some years ago by the state Legislature.

Pledge Not Required

"The loyalty pledge, according to the Attorney General, is not required for 'one or two shot' appearances," announced the Governor's Office.

A citizen's complaint about Rustin's projected speech before the University College's Law Enforcement Institute on October 12 and 13, prompted Tawes to order a State Police investigation into the civil rights leader's background.

A Quaker, Rustin served time in prison during World War II as a conscientious objector to the draft, and was again imprisoned in 1953 on a "trumped up" morals charge.

Stall-in Leader

Rustin has belonged to the Young Communist League, but emphasizes that he disagreed with the group and resigned in 1941. He was a leader of the World's Fair stall in, the 1963 march on Washington, and the New York school boycott.

The report from the State Capital concluded, "There is no indication from the Governor's investigation that Mr. Rustin should not be invited to speak."

Commented Deppe, "I am delighted that he will speak. Having extended the invitation in ignorance of the accusations about him. . .we did not want to withdraw the invitation. I am glad he will be here, and I am looking forward to hearing him."

Commendation

For the DBK View on VMH, see page 4.

The DIAMONDBACK

L. LVII No. 7 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - COLLEGE PARK WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

Give Credit

Don Simmons pats Terp Soccer team's back on page 6.

Two Politicians Blast Rustin's Rights Talk

By Eileen Burke

A member of the Maryland House of Delegates and a Baltimore County Councilman have voiced objections to Bayard Rustin's speaking engagement at the University next month.

Bernard J. Mediary, a Democratic delegate from Baltimore County stated Monday that he “most strongly” opposes the use of taxpayer's money to pay Rustin and to provide a ready audience for his speech.

Rustin will be paid $160 honorarium and traveling expenses for his speeches to University College's Law Enforcement Institute on Oct. 12 and 13. The office of University Relations has pointed out that the costs for presenting the Institute are met from fees paid by the law attending officers.

Councilman Williams Objects

Baltimore County Councilman Wallace A. Williams asked Governor J. Millard Tawes to keep Rustin from appearing at the University. Williams objected to Rustin's alleged record of communist affiliation and “sexual perversion.” Williams called Rustin's proposed speech “an outright insult to the taxpayers who support the University of Maryland.”

The Democratic councilman said that Tawes should order the invitation withdrawn and make public that any student participating in any opposition to his orders should immediately be dropped from the college.”

To Address Lawmakers

Rustin, a controversial civil rights worker, was invited to speak at the Institute by Dr. Donald Deppe, director of University College's division of conferences and institutes.

Rustin is scheduled to explain the problems of the civil rights workers to the police officers who attend the Institute.

The proposed speech first came to public attention last Thursday when Rustin refused to sign the loyalty oath which is required from every person on the state payroll.

Elkins Approves Invitation

University President Wilson H. Elkins announced Friday that Rustin's invitation to speak would stand despite his refusal to sign the oath. The decision was based on a statement from Tawes' office that the oath did not apply to “one or two shot appearances.”

Rustin was a leader of several civil rights demonstrations, including the World's Fair stall-in and the 1963 march on Washington. He was a conscientious objector during World War II and was convicted in 1935 on a “trumped up” morals charge. He once belonged to the Young Communist League, but resigned in 1941.

DIAMONDBACK EDITORIAL

A Silly Tempest

It is hard to understand why civil rights leader Bayard Rustin was sent a Maryland loyalty-oath card to sign in the first place. Rustin had been invited to speak at the University's Law Enforcement Institute on Oct. 12; and guest speakers, under a 1960 state attorney general's ruling, are not bound by the so-called Ober loyalty pledge required of all Maryland state employes.

Nevertheless, the University sent him the pledge on the basis on a "new policy" adopted a few months ago. Rustin returned it unsigned and University President Elkins finally had to step in, nullify the pledge requirement and reinvite Rustin on a no-strings basis.

The state ruling about campus speakers seems plain enough. Why did the University disregard it? About the only sensible action taken in the whole affair was President Elkins' decision to scrap the requirement. If this had been done in a more timely way, the University wouldn't now be getting both barrels from the civil-liberties groups.

The DIAMONDBACK

VOL. LVII. NO. 18 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND -COLLEGE PARK OCT. 15, 1965

Rustin Speech Sparks Vote

By Carolyn Holstein

The appearance of civil rights leader Bayard Rustin before the Law Enforcement Institute yesterday sparked the Maryland House of Delegates to adopt a resolution urging greater care in the selection of college lecturers.

University officials were criticized in the original resolution for extending an invitation to Rustin, but no mention was made of this in the final amended resolution.

Passing by a vote of 104-21, the resolution did not refer to Rustin by name, but referred instead to "a sexual offender and selective service dodger."

Rustin, a Quaker, served time in prison during World War II as a conscientious objector, and was imprisoned in 1953 on a morals charge.

"The House is cognizant of the necessity of guaranteeing academic freedom and protecting the right of freedom of speech," according to the resolution, "but feels that consideration ought to be given to morality and criminal records" of persons using state facilities.

Opponents of the resolution termed it "unworthy of the time of the House."

Republican Delegate [illegible] W. Hardwick called it an "act of foolishness," and sought to amend the resolution to include recording the House as against using school facilities for any controversial or subversive group. Hardwich later indicated that the amendment was intended to kill the resolution.

Alexander Stark (D-6th Dist.) said the action was "against queer communists, but not against the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council."

Sponsor of the resolution, Eastern Shore Senator Frederick C. Malkus, claimed that he was "interested in clearing up rumors about Rustin."

A suggestion that the police investigation of Rustin be made available to the delegates was approved by the House.

Rustin, in a news conference prior to his scheduled appearance at the Adult Education Center, said that policemen are the "fall guys, the patsies for the community which could make the changes that would affect the Negro cause." He added that he would "attempt to show them the special problems of the Negro community as it faces the police.'

The civil rights leader, who was permitted to address the Institute despite his refusal to sign a loyalty oath required state employees under the controversial Ober Law, also discussed the problems of Negro employment in an era of automation. "The most serious challenge" to the civil rights movement, is "the technical revolution," he said. "Putting the poor to work is the most urgent problem that needs to be solved."

The DIAMONDBACK

VOL. LVII, No. 16 University of Maryland October 13, 1965

Rustin Maintains Stand On Loyalty Oath Dispute

By JOHN M. PURNELL
and ANNE GROER

The controversial Ober loyalty oath came under fire again last night when civil rights leader Bayard Rustin spoke to a group of newsmen before his lecture before the Maryland Law Enforcement Institute.

Although picketers threatened to appear, there were no gatherings or disturbances as Rustin spoke to a capacity crowd at the Adult Education Center.

"I don't think any university should engage in loyalty oaths. I believe that if a university asked me to sign one, it would not only be against my religious convictions, but my civil convictions as well," he said.

University officials had asked Rustin to sign a loyalty oath. After the civil rights leader refused, they withdrew the request over the protests of right-wing groups.

Citing collegiate participation in the civil rights movement, Rustin noted that there are groups of students working in many urban areas in the North. "As they become involved in eliminating rats or patching up houses, they come to see that what they thought were Negro problems are not--they are society's problems," he observed.

Rustin mentioned that demonstrations will continue "as long as injustice exists." He added that in the past, demonstrations called attention to the evils existing in public accommodations. He maintained that the problem of civil rights cannot be solved solely by demonstration. "The major emphasis must be through voter registration," he added.

"The problems that the mass of Negroes face--education, jobs and the elimination of slums--would require billions of dollars from Congress. He noted that an effort on the part of labor, churches, intellectual leaders and students would build a political movement that would lessen the problem.

His talk, which was closed to the press, covered the Negro panorama. In his lecture, Rustin said that he would discuss the historical development of the civil rights movement.

"Family life and culture w systematically destroyed throu slavery and further deteriorat through reconstruction." He also added that the Negro revolt today is a rejection of the 'Uncle Tom and Sambo" concepts.

In his talk, he planned to reject the "bootstrap concept," a process by which minority groups seek self improvement.

He sympathized with policemen when he observed that "the cop becomes the fall guy, the patsy, for a society which is not prepared to make changes."

Rustin also described the eco-

(Continued on Page 9)

Rustin Talks

(Continued from Page 1)

nomic frustration of the Negro.

He claimed that many industrialists are going out of their way to get employment for Negroes; but automation, not prejudice, stands in their way.

Prior to his press conference which was called after the Institute's Advisory Committee banned the press from the lecture, Rustin said, "It is a pity that when there is this much interest, the press should not be admitted.

The Committee is composed of University administrators and representatives of the Law Enforcement Institute.

University College Dean Ray Ehrnsberger answered, "I have no comment," when questioned by reporters on the press stand.

Interpretative Report

Rustin Speech Raises Oath Issue

By WARREN LEWIS

Controversy over a loyalty pledge that must be signed by Maryland employees, including University professors and student workers, was kindled last week when a guest speaker, Bayard Rustin, refused to sign the pledge upon being invited to the University.

The oath reads:

"I do hereby certify that I am not a subversive person as defined by law, namely that I am not a person who is engaged in one way or another in an attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the State of Maryland, or any other political subdivision or either of them, by force or violence, and I am not knowingly a member of an organization engaged in such an attempt."

The oath had its beginnings more than 17 years ago during the national Communist scare and the "witch hunts" that hit the country after World War II.

Ober Law Passed

At the 1949 session of the Maryland General Assembly, the Ober Law was passed giving the state sweeping authority to combat subversion. It became a crime under the law to become a member of a subversive organization or to conduct subversive activities, and it required that employees of Maryland and candidates for public office take the loyalty oath.

Only six other states in the United States require the oath: New York, California, Colorado, Indiana, Michigan and Vermont. Federal government employees also are required to sign a similar oath.

Maryland and Federal officials report that no cases have reached the courts in this area from refusal to sign the oaths.

In recent years, though, several cases have gone to court in other states over the constitutionality of the oaths for public employees.

In 1964, the Supreme Court ruled against an oath required at Washington State University. The court said it was "constitutionally vague" and "no fair

(Continued on page 5)

Rustin, MU Oath Stir Controversy

(Continued from page 1)

guide" for public employees and teachers.

NYU Abolishes Oath

New York State University abolished an oath similar to the Maryland pledge last July 1 shortly before the oath was to be contested in court by five university professors. The New York oath required the signer to state he was not a member of the Communist Party.

Last year a 27-year-old philosophy teacher at Brooklyn College, N.Y., was fired because he "abjoured" the oath of allegiance he had signed. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), an organization that has taken an active stand against loyalty pledges, the teacher, Dr. Robert Sitton, is planning to bring up a case against the school.

Sitton charged that the oath is, "unconstitutional, unjust and discriminatory." He added, "The right of free speech and free assembly cannot be compromised. I am part of a new generation in which violation of constitutional rights is no longer tenable. "Asking people if they are faithful to the government is an insult."

General Oposition Cited

College newspapers across the country have struck out against the oaths. "Its mere existence is a misconstruction of democracy," an article in the "Dakota Student" charged in its March 5, 1965 issue. The article continued, "It publicly questions and challenges their (teachers') allegiance."

Dr. Richard F. Davis, head of the Dairy Science Department and president of the Maryland chapter of the American Association of University Professors, said Monday the local association "does not plan any action against the oath at this time.

"No problems have come to my attention concerning the signing of the oath by University employees," he said.

Rustin Refutes Oath

Bayard Rustin, who recently refused to sign the oath, is a civil rights worker. He said he would not sign because, "I have long opposed all totalitarianism both Communist and Fascist, and one of my main reasons for doing so is precisely that in such systems, the state invades every area of life and even attempts to police the spirit."

He charged, "The loyalty oath which you have asked me to sign is tainted with this totalitarian philosophy. In short, this oath has no serious function other than to create an atmosphere of suspicion and conformity."

Rustin has been permitted to speak on campus by President Wilson H. Elkins despite the refusal to sign the oath. According to Elkins, the loyalty oath is not required of one or two-time visiting speakers and "there is no indication that he should not be invited" to speak after an investigation in Rustin's background by the Maryland State Police.

The DIAMONDBACK

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - COLLEGE PARK

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

Give Credit

Don Simmons pats Terp Soccer team's back on page 6.

Two Politicians Blast Rustin's Rights Talk

By Eileen Burke

A member of the Maryland House of Delegates and a Baltimore County Councilman have voiced objections to Bayard Rustin's speaking engagement at the University next month.

Bernard J. Mediary, a Democratic delegate from Baltimore County stated Monday that he "most strongly" opposes the use of taxpayer's money to pay Rustin and to provide a ready audience for his speech.

Rustin will be paid $160 honorarium and traveling expenses for his speeches to University College's Law Enforcement Institute on Oct. 12 and 13. The office of University Relations has pointed out that the costs for presenting the Institute are met from fees paid by the law attending officers.

Councilman Williams Objects

Baltimore County Councilman Wallace A. Williams asked Governor J. Millard Tawes to keep Rustin from appearing at the University. Williams objected to Rustin's alleged record of communist affiliation and "sexual perversion." Williams called Rustin's proposed speech "an outright insult to the taxpayers who support the University of Maryland."

The Democratic councilman said that Tawes should order the invitation withdrawn and make public that any student participating in any opposition to his orders should immediately be dropped from the college."

To Address Lawmakers

Rustin, a controversial civil rights worker, was invited to speak at the Institute by Dr. Donald Deppe, director of University College's division of conferences and institutes.

Rustin is scheduled to explain the problems of the civil rights workers to the police officers who attend the Institute.

The proposed speech first came to public attention last Thursday when Rustin refused to sign the loyalty oath which is required from every person on the state payroll.

Elkins Approves Invitation

University President Wilson H. Elkins announced Friday that Rustin's invitation to speak would stand despite his refusal to sign the oath. The decision was based on a statement from Tawes' office that the oath did not apply to "one or two shot appearances."

Rustin was a leader of several civil rights demonstrations, including the World's Fair stall-in and the 1963 march on Washington. He was a conscientious objector during World War II and was convicted in 1935 on a "trumped up" morals charge. He once belonged to the Young Communist League, but resigned in 1941.

U.M. CHIDED FOR INVITING RUSTIN TALK

Delegates Adopt Toned Down Resolution Of Criticism

State Senate apportioning vote delayed ....Page A 21

[Annapolis Bureau of The Sun]

Annapolis, Oct. 13—The Maryland House of Delegates today adopted a watered down resolution criticizing the University of Maryland for allowing Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, to speak there.

During the debate preceding the 116-to-21 vote, one delegate hinted strongly his apparent belief that a few John Birch Society and White Citizens Council members or sympathizers were among those participating in the voting.

As originally introduced by 22 delegates Bayard Rustin was named in the resolution which accused the university of an "error n judgment" in allowing the man who years ago admittedly had Communist ties to speak at closed meetings of a Maryland law enforcement institute seminar.

Changed Drastically

The powerful House Rules Committee changed it around drastically before bringing it to the floor for today's vote—but the meaning was still there.

It contended the university had invited a speaker (unnamed) who had been "convicted of Selective Service Law violations and of sexual offenses," then added:

"While the House of Delegates is cognizant of the necessity of guaranteeing academic freedom and protecting the right of freedom of speech, it is the sense of the House that consideration ought to be given to the morality and or criminal records of invited lecturers who would be using the facilities of State supported and funded institutions."

Called "Bunch Of Foolishness"

And it called on State-supported colleges to "be more careful in the future", in the selection of public speakers.

Delegate John W. Hardwicke (R., Harford), calling the whole resolution and debate "a bunch of foolishness", tried to delay adop-

(Continued, Page C 8, Column 8)

THE SUN, BALTIMORE, THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 14, 1965

U.M. CHIDED BY DELEGATES

House Adopts Toned Down Resolution On Rustin

(Continued from Page C 26)

tion of the resolution by an amendment he knew had no chance of acceptance.

That amendment, which was shouted down, would have put the delegates on record as frowning on the appearances of any extremist speakers at the university, "including members of the Communist party, the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council."

Mr. Hardwicke said he knew no one in the House was a Communist or Ku Kluxer, then added that "the John Birch Society and the White Citizens Council might touch a few members."

Delegate Robert J. Dentz (D., Prince Georges), who said he was once a member of the university's faculty, argued the House should adopt the resolution and "put the University of Maryland on notice that we don't want anyone like that on the campus."

Seen Getting Out Of Hand

But Delegate Alexander Stark (D., Fifth Baltimore) retorted that the whole debate was getting out of hand and declared "If we have nothing better to do than to play with this nonsense, I suggest we go home."

While the house debate swirled, State Senators had available for their private reading a State police report on Mr. Rustin which had been compiled at the request of Governor Tawes.

10/14/65 Evening Sun

Educator Raps Delegates For U.M. Censure

By James Kelly
[Staff Correspondent]

Annapolis, Oct. 14—The head of the Maryland chapter of the American Association of University Professors today accused the House of Delegates of trying to restrict academic freedom on State campuses.

Dr. Michael Beer said a resolution adopted by the House yesterday carries the "unhappy prospect of directing the university in the selection of its lecturers."

He was referring to a legislative censure of the University of Maryland for inviting Bayard Rustin, noted civil rights leader, to address its Law Enforcement Institute this week.

Although Dr. Beer publicly criticized House action, Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, president of the University of Maryland, was practically mum on the matter.

Consideration Vowed

"We'll be glad to consider any resolution that is passed," he said pointing out that he has not yet seen anything official.

The House voted by an overwhelming 106 to 21 to adopt an amended version of the resolution. It called on State-supported colleges to "be more careful in the future" in the selection of speakers.

The document failed to mention Mr. Rustin by name, but left little doubt of its objections to his appearance.

It cited Mr. Rustin's past violation of the draft laws in World War II and a conviction on a morals offense in 1953.

Importance Of Choice

Dr. Beer, a biophysics professor at the Johns Hopkins University, said it is important for colleges and universities to be able to choose lecturters, "regardless of former considerations."

He emphasized that an institute of higher learning must be allowed "to investigate thoroughly any question it believes in" in its search for academic truth.

Mr. Rusin addressed members of Maryland's Law Enforcement Association yesterday and Tursday. He spoke on methods of controling civil rights demonstrators. Mr. Rustin was organizer of the dramatic "March on Washington" on August 23, 1963.

RUSTIN URGES POLICE TO SEEK CIVILIAN AID

Oct. 13, 1965

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12—Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, said he would tell a group of law enforcement officers tonight that they should be the first to advocate creation of civilian boards to review charges of police brutality.

Mr. Rustin's speech at the University of Maryland was closed to the public.

His appearance before the university's Law Enforcement Officers' Institute followed a controversy involving charges by state legislators who have protested his appearance.

At one point, the university asked Mr. Rustin to sign a loyalty oath. He refused, saying:

"I have long opposed all totalitarianism, both Communist and Fascist, and one of my reasons for doing so is precisely that in such systems, the tate invades every area of life and even attempts to police the spirit.

"The loyalty oath which you have asked me to sign is tainted with this totalitarian philosophy. In short, this oath has no serious function other than to create an atmosphere of suspicion and conformity."

Later, when the oath requirement was dropped, the university president, Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, and an advisory committee of Washington area policemen decided that the meeting would be closed in order to preserve it as a "educational experience."

Rustin's Talks Closed To Public and Press

Post 10/9

Associated Press

Two speeches by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin to Maryland law enforcement officials next week will be closed to the public, a University of Maryland spokesman said yesterday.

He said the decision, which also excludes the press, was made by University officials and the planning committee of the Law Enforcement Institute so as not to "detract from the purpose of the program."

Rustin was invited to speak to the police officials because of his experience in dealing with civil rights demonstrations, including the march on Washington in 1963, which he helped organize.

Rustin will speak Tuesday night in College Park to one section of the Institute and will deliver basically the same talk the next night to a second section in Baltimore.

The University spokesman said only law enforcement officials registered for the lecture series will be allowed to attend either meeting.

CONTROVERSIAL SPEAKER

Wash News 10/13/65

Police Applaud Rustin; Security Was Tight

By SAMUEL STAFFORD

Bayard Rustin, possibly the civil rights movement's most advanced thinker, last night tried to talk 200 area policemen into joining the movement. He spoke at a Maryland Law Enforcement Institute.

"I told them," Mr. Rustin said later, "that they were patsies, fall guys for a society that has not been willing to solve its social problems.

"And I said that the police, who are called upon to quell riots and otherwise pick up the pieces, should put themselves on record firmly as favoring civil rights legislation — for their own self-interest, if nothing else."

That Mr. Rustin and 200 lawmen got together at all is a minor miracle. After Mr. Rustin was invited to speak, he was asked to sign a loyalty oath. He refused, and right wing groups, state legislators and others said they didn't think the University should give a forum to Rustin, who often is accused of leftist leanings.

The University dropped its loyalty oath request. But it decided that both press and public would be banned from Mr. Rustin's address. They were — security wasn't half as tight at President Johnson's inauguration.

I arrived at the university's adult education buildng at about 5 p.m., with John Purnell, managing editor of The Diamond Back, the school newspaper.

We noticed that entrances were guarded so we tried to sneak in the kitchen.

We walked in and four or five burly men in blue suits converged upon us.

"What do you want?" one demanded.

"We're here to see a friend, Ann Smith," I said.

"Nobody by that name here." Then, tougher, "Why are you here?"

"We're textbook salesmen,"I said, "came here to see Prof. . . . ."

They clustered around us, belly to belly. "Who are you?" Why are you here?"

We retreated, having tested the defenses and found them solid.

Afterward, Mr. Rustin said the policemen had behaved in an "intellectual and pleasant manner," and roundly applauded him.

If you have turned your back on

BAYARD RUSTIN, CRIME AND COMMUNISM

come to our meeting at 8 p.m., Saturday, October 9, to be held at the Park and Planning Commission Bldg., 8787 Georgia Ave., Silver Spring, Md. B. M. Langhenry will discuss crime and disorder, Tom Foley will talk on what price terror.

Join War on Poverty, Rustin Urges Police

By Jean R. Hailey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bayard Rustin, controversial Negro civil rights leader, urged Maryland law enforcement officers last night to support the battle against poverty in order to simplify their own jobs.

The problem to be solved today is not one of law and order but of social and economic evils, of housing, jobs, education and day-to-day living, he said.

He told a University of Maryland session of the Law Enforcement Institute that policemen should join labor, church leaders and students in their fight for just laws and a chance for all poor people to live with dignity.

The Institute sessions are closed to the public, but Rustin briefed reporters both before and after last night's session at conferences set up by the Institute.

Rustin caused a flurry in the Maryland Legislature by refusing to sign the State's Ober loyalty oath required of State employes and sometimes asked of guest speakers by the University. Resolutions asking probes of Rustin and the circumstances under which he was invited to address the Institute were introduced in both the Senate and House of Delegates.

After a brief, spirited debate yesterday, the House voted to delay action on a resolution criticizing the University for inviting Rustin to speak.

He had refused to sign the Ober oath, he said, because it doesn't mean anything. "A Communist would simply put his name on it," he explained, and go right on being loyal to his own beliefs.

He said he welcomed a probe by the Legislature and added, "maybe the Legislature will give its approval, exonerate the university, and that will be a big help to the intellectual community."

Rustin said he told the policemen that they were "fall guys" and "patsys" for those in society unwilling to face the fact that relations have changed between Negroes and whites.

He urged them to strive for establishment of police review boards for their own protection and the protection of society.

The policeman must understand, Rustin said, that even though the Negro has his civil rights, the doors to quality education and good jobs still are closed to him.

The use of force abets disorder, he said, and the Negro's economic frustration can be dissipated only through voter registration, voter education and the election of political leaders who will better social and economic conditions for everybody.

Rustin emphasized that he did not speak before the Institute to lambaste or criticize police but to help them understand the [illegible]

He told the press later that he did not foresee further riots if the American people are ready to deal forthrightly with problems of slums, education and employment.

Some 550 local and State police officers are in attendance at the University's 16th annual Institute.

Rustin, 55, is executive director of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute in New York and has been speaking on civil rights at campuses around the country, urging that Negroes turn from active demonstrations to give more attention to their social, economic and political progress.

Rustin is scheduled to address law infrocement officers in Baltimore today.

Washington Post, Oct 13

Rustin Gives Press Details of Closed Talk

By Jean R. Hailey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bayard Rustin,, controversial Negro civil rights spokesman, held a press conference yesterday afternoon in which he told newsmen what he intended to tell a University of Maryland session of the Law Enforcement Institute.

Rustin causedd a flurry in the Maryland Legislature by refusing to sign the State's Ober loyalty oath required of State employes and sometimes asked of guest speakers by the University. Resolutions asking probes of Rustin and the circumstances under which he was invited to address the Institute were introduced in both the Senate and House of Delegates.

After a brief, spirited debate yesterday, the House voted to delay action on a resolution criticizing the University for inviting Rustin to speak.

The Institute sessions are closed to the press, but Rustin said he would address the law enforcement officers in attendance on their duties and problems from a civil rights standpoint.

He had refused to sign the Ober oath, he said, because it doesn't mean anything. "A Communist would simply put his name on it," he explained, and go right on being loyal to his own beliefs.

He also thought the school "behaved like a good University" when it permitted him to address the Institute even after he refused to sign the oath.

Rustin said he would tell the assembled policemen that they are "fall guys" and patsies" for those in society unwilling to face the fact that there is a change in relations between Negroes and whites.

The Uncle Tom and Sambo concepts of the Negro are out, Rustin explained, and the revolt of the Negro today is a rejection of those concepts.

The policeman must understand, Rustin said, that even though the Negro has his civil rights, the doors to quality education and good jobs still are closed to him.

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THE EVENING SUN, BALTIMORE, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1965

State Police Probe U. Of M. Speaker

Governor Tawes has directed the State Police to look into the background of Bayard Rustin in the wake of a citizen's complaint that the Negro civil rights leader should not be allowed to speak at the University of Maryland.

Edmund C. Mester, administrative aide to the Governor, said the results of the investigation should be known by tomorrow, and would be submitted to Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, president of the university.

Dr. Elkins said he learned only yesterday that Mr. Rustin was scheduled to speak on the campus.

"Trying To Find Out"

"We are simply trying to find out what are the circumstances of the invitation, and the results of the investigation," the university president said.

Mr. Rustin, a leader of the New York school boycott last year, and of the march on Washington in August, 1963, has been invited to speak October 12 at a meeting of the Law Enforcement Institute. The institute is part of the University College.

Mr. Rustin heads the A. Philip Randolph Instiution in New York city. He was a member of the Young Communist League, but said he left that organization in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

A Quaker, he served 28 months in Federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. He was convicted of a morals charge in 1935 and served 60 days in jail.

The university official whose office arranged the invitation said that he did not know then of Mr. Rustin's background, but that he favors letting the invitation stand.

Dr. Donald A. Deppe, director of conferences and institutes in the university's Center for Adult Education, said that the purpose in inviting Mr. Rustin to speak was to let law enforcement officers, who are called upon to control crowds during demonstrations, hear from someone who has led demonstrations.

"'How Far It Has Come"

"We thoughgt it would be a good idea for policemen to talk with somebody on the other side of the fence and see how he ticks," Dr. Deppe said. "It should give them a better working knowledge of the situation they face.

"We asked him to talk about the civil rights movement, how far it has come, where it stands, what its direction might be in the future . . . so that law enforce-

[Continued, Page D 6, Column 3]

U.M. Speaker Being Probed

[Continued From Page D 22]

ment officers can understand the nature of the movement as it continues to develop."

Dr. Deppe said that the invitation was extended early in July, and it was not until the end of July as the programs were being printed that his office learned of Mr. Rustin's background.

"It's conceivable that we could have chosen a man with not quite so controversial a background," Dr. Deppe said. "But the invitation has been extended, and to deny him an opportunity to speak now would be as wrong as to have invited him knowing his background.

"My point of view is that just because a man got in trouble with the law once doesn't prohibit him from speaking out for the rest of his life on any issue," Dr. Deppe added.

"Asked The Justice Department"

Doctor Deppe said that after learning of Mr. Rustin's background, "We asked the Justice Department whether he is on any subversive list, and they said they saw no reason why we couldn't invite him."

Dr. Deppe said that there could be one hitch.

"We do ask all our speakers to sign the Maryland Ober law loyalty pledge. Rustin has been sent this pledge. I suppose if he refuses to sign it, the invitation would be canceled." Dr. Deppe said.

Clarence M. Mitchell 3d, a Negro member of the House of Delegate from Baltimore's Fourth district, said that "I would hope the Governor is not conducting a witch hunt simply because a civil rights leader has been invited to speak. The State Police have far more to do than spend time investigating civil rights workers."

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, Oct. 13, 1965

Join War on Poverty, Rustin Urges Police

By Jean R. Hailey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Bayard Rustin, controversial Negro civil rights leader, urged Maryland law enforcement officers last night to support the battle against poverty in order to simplify their own jobs.

The problem to be solved today is not one of law and order but of social and economic evils, of housing, jobs, education and day-to-day living, he said.

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Rustin emphasized that he did not speak before the Institute to lambaste or criticize police but to help them understand the need for social legislation.

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Rustin is scheduled to address law inforcement officers in Baltimore today.

LAW ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTE

1965 · 66

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BALTIMORE CAMPUS

CENTER OF ADULT EDUCATION
COLLEGE PARK CAMPUS

STATEMENT

The purpose of the Law Enforcement Institute is to provide law enforcement personnel with an opportunity for professional improvement through education.

The theme of this year's Institute is **Law Enforcement and the Social Sciences.** Throughout the series of lectures, attempts will be made to reveal the relationships that exist between Law Enforcement and the Social Sciences . . . their mutual inter-dependence and their unique contributions to social betterment.

The goals are twofold: initially, an immediate analytical reckoning with problems old and new; and secondly, the application of knowledge gained to future endeavors.

As a result of the purpose, theme and goals of this Institute, we expect each officer who enrolls in the program to contribute to the enhancement of professional standards in Law Enforcement.

PROGRAM

FIRST SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, September 14, 1965
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, September 15, 1965

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

For the last 200 years there has been a controversy between the approaches to crime and delinquency on the part of law enforcement and the social scientists, such as sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, etc. We need a better understanding and better coordination in practice of the two methods.

Dr. Peter P. Lejins
Professor of Sociology
University of Maryland

SECOND SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, October 12, 1965
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, October 13, 1965

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT TODAY

Mr. Rustin will discuss the significance of the decade between the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Emphasis will be placed upon four particular developments which have implications for law enforcement personnel: the shift in focus of the civil rights movement in the South as symbolized by Birmingham; the spread of the revolution to the North; the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community; and the rise of **de facto** segregation in our fundamental socio-economic institutions.

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

THIRD SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, November 9, 1965
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, November 10, 1965

NATURAL LAW VERSUS HUMAN LAW

Throughout history there is an expressed opposition between natural law and human law. Until the eighteenth century natural law was predominantly invoked by the government, since that time used mostly by the governed. A discussion of this history will include its relevance to today's world.

Dr. Elbert Byrd
Associate Professor of Government and Politics
University of Maryland

FOURTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, December 14, 1965
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, December 15, 1965

DUE PROCESS IN CRIMINAL INTERROGATION

"Due Process in Criminal Interrogation" deals with those requirements of constitutional law bearing on the treatment of the arrested person under interrogation as particularly affecting the admissibility in evidence of any confession or admission of guilt obtained from him. Special attention will be given to the rules laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in **Escobedo vs. Illinois,** decided in 1964, on the necessity of advising the person under interrogation of his right to remain silent and his right to counsel.

Special Agent Dwight J. Dalbey, F.B.I.
Legal Research Desk

FIFTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, January 11, 1966
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, January 12, 1966

BATTERED CHILD SYNDROME

This presentation is intended to dramatize through case histories, x-rays and photographs, the terrible plight of abused children. The lives and limbs of these unfortunate, helpless children depend on early diagnosis and reporting such cases to the proper authorities. Reporting and effective prosecution may require overdue legislation geared to this particular problem.

Dr. Linwood L. Rayford
Deputy Coroner
Washington, D.C.

ALCOHOLISM

The subject of this talk concerns the presence of alcohol in the bloodstream as evidenced in a study of 100 deaths by the Coroner's Office in Washington, D.C. Of particular importance to this discussion is the relationship of the Metropolitan Police Department's investigation of these deaths to the Coroner's autopsy findings.

Dr. Richard L. Whelton
Coroner
Washington, D.C.

SIXTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, February 8, 1966
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, February 9, 1966

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Intensive and continuing research in the field of reading has resulted in new techniques and innovative methods. This presentation is a review of efficient reading developments designed to assist the modern law enforcement officer in keeping well-informed on contemporary issues.

George L. Stevens
Reading Consultant
Washington, D.C.

SEVENTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, March 8, 1966
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, March 9, 1966

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND COMPUTER SCIENCE

This discussion includes a brief description of what generalized information storage and retrieval systems are and their application to local government; a review of the "Databank" with special emphasis on law enforcement data; and, planned and possible future applications of the "Databank" by law enforcement agencies both on a local government level and on a regional basis.

Robert J. Breimann
Director of Data Processing
City of Alexandria, Virginia

EIGHTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, April 12, 1966
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, April 13, 1966

CRIMINAL ABORTION IN OUR SOCIETY

Criminal abortion means interruption of pregnancy by the mother or another person. It is estimated that about one and a half million such abortions occur annually in the United States. Various methods used to induce abortion and the medico-legal significance will be discussed and also will be illustrated with color slides.

Dr. Rudiger L. Breitenecker
Assistant Medical Examiner
City of Baltimore

NINTH SESSION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, May 10, 1966
Baltimore Campus	Wednesday, May 11, 1966

PREVENTION, CORRECTIONS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

The law enforcement officer is not alone in his efforts to control crime and delinquency; probation and parole officers, court and institutional workers, workers in the preventive projects, all are engaged shoulder to shoulder with him in the same task. A better understanding of the roles, points of view and the goals of the two teams must be reached in order to make their efforts more effective.

Dr. Peter P. Lejins
Professor of Sociology
University of Maryland

CERTIFICATION

College Park Campus	Tuesday, June 7, 1966

COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER

The Honorable Theodore Souris
Supreme Court of Michigan

The College Park and Baltimore groups will assemble on the first Tuesday in June for a Certification Ceremony. Participants earning certificates are requested to appear in uniform if they are ordinarily uniformed personnel.

POLICE TRAINING ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Representing Law Enforcement:

CAPTAIN WILLIAM J. COUPERTHWAITE
Metropolitan Police Academy

CAPTAIN ROLAND A. FALLON
United States Park Police

MAJOR MARTIN M. PUNCKE
Maryland State Police

CAPTAIN NORMAN J. SCHLEIGH
Baltimore Police Academy

CAPTAIN LEWIS H. SHUMATE
Fairfax County Police

INSPECTOR EARL H. SMITH
Baltimore County Police

MAJOR RALPH C. STOVER
White House Police

INSPECTOR ROLAND SWEITZER
Prince George's County Police

CAPTAIN LESLIE B. THOMPSON
Montgomery County Police

SPECIAL AGENT EDWIN R. TULLY
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DEPUTY CHIEF ARCHIE M. WINFREE (Retired)
Metropolitan Police

CHIEF DANIEL B. WISEMAN
University Police Department

Representing the University of Maryland:

DR. THOMAS G. ANDREWS
Professor and Head
Department of Psychology

DR. DONALD A. DEPPE
Director of Institutes

DR. STANLEY J. DRAZEK
Associate Dean
University College

DR. R. LEE HORNBAKE
Vice President for Academic Affairs

DR. PETER P. LEJINS
Professor, Sociology Department

MR. RICHARD H. STOTTLER
Director
Center of Adult Education

MR. CHARLES A. ZUZAK
Conference Coordinator

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

College Park Location

The Law Enforcement Institute is offered on the second Tuesday evening of each month, September through May, in the Center of Adult Education on the College Park Campus. Participants will use parking lot 17 (adjacent to the Center).

Baltimore Location

The Baltimore sessions meet on the Wednesday evening following each Tuesday meeting at College Park in the auditorium of the Health Sciences Library located on the corner of Lombard and Greene Streets, Baltimore.

Time of Sessions

All sessions at both locations are held from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. on the dates listed in the program.

Awarding of Certificates

A certificate of attendance will be awarded to each officer who attends seven of the nine lecture sessions. No additional absences will be permitted for any reason and the official attendance roster will be the "final court of appeal." Each officer is personally responsible for seeing to it that his presence is recorded at each meeting.

REGISTRATION

Please fill out the official registration form and return (prior to September 7, 1965) to the address indicated on the registration form.

Registration fee: $12.00 per person. Please make your check or money order payable to the University of Maryland.

Requests for additional information and registration forms should be addressed to the Director of Institutes or phone 927-3800, extension 7571.

CANCELLATIONS

Cancellations of registrations and refund fees will be honored if notice is received before September 13, 1965.

The DIAMONDBACK

VOL. LVII, NO.6 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - COLLEGE PARK MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1965

Rustin

President Elkins is commended for his refusal to bow to political pressure. See Editorial on page 4.

Victory

Maryland wins the opening football game of the season by defeating Ohio University 24-7. Story on page 6.

Regents Approve Record Budget

Baltimore, Sept. 24--The Board of Regents approved a record $60 million budget for 1966-'67 at a smoothly run meeting marked by Pres. Wilson H. Elkins' opening impromptu remarks concerning crowding and congestion this fall on the College Park campus.

The Regents-approved budget runs $8 million more than the amount approved for 1965-'66, the previous year. The state will be asked to provide $5.6 million of the increase, and special funds--provided in large part by student fees and tuition--will account for $2.4 million of the budget's growth. Less than $100,000 of the additional funds are expected from the federal government.

The total proposed budget came to $60,136,614. The 1965-'66 working budget amounted to almost $52 million.

Report on Enrollment

At the beginning of the meeting, Elkins gave an unscheduled report on this fall's enrollment. Through last Wednesday, he reported, students at the College Park campus numbered 26,164. The figure for the same date a year ago was 22,229.

Conditions, the President said "are extremely crowded. This is the first I have felt that we were jammed." He emphasized the need for the University to give 'determined and serious study" to enrollment projections and admissions requirements. The alternative, he said, was that the University could "grow completely out of bounds at College Park."

Before giving approval of the budget as a whole, the Regents gave point-by-point consideration of detailed changes in fee structures, personnel policies and new programs.

Higher Graduate Fees

Major changes were an increase from $18 to $24 per credit hour for graduate instruction, and an increase in undergraduate fixed charges from $250 to $270 a year for College Park students. The credit-hour charge for part-time undergraduates is to be increased from $15 to $18.

The Regents also approved budgeting $85,000 to establish a School of Architecture.

Creation of a comprehensive health plan for all University employees was again requested. Ths measure was denied by the State legislature last year. A retirement plan was also resubmitted. The budget additionally provides for a two-grade increase for all classified personnel. Faculty salary increases for all campuses would amount to close to $1.5 million.

Invitation Stands: Rustin Will Speak

The Reaction

By JOHN RENNER

Grover L. Bertram, a John Birch Society member and owner of the American Opinion Library in Towson, Maryland, criticized the University of Maryland this week for inviting Bayard Rustin to speak before the Law Enforcement Institute on October 12th. Rustin, once a member of the Young Communist League, was coordinator of the August, 1963 Civil Rights march on Washington.

Phones Freedom Message

Bertram is criticizing the University through "Let Freedom Ring," a recorded telephone message that he wrote, and for which his wife, Carolyn, supplied the voice. In his message Bertram calls Rustin a "living breathing example of the need for law enforcement." Mrs. Bertram compares letting Rustin speak at the Law Enforcement Institute with allowing criminals to teach at police schools.

The Bertrams also feel that in view of Rustin's past involvement with the Young Communist League, he is a threat to this country's well being.

2000 Callers a Day

Bertram estimates that his message is heard by 2000 people a day in the Baltimore area and he hopes this will influence the University to withdraw Rustin from its list of speakers.

When asked what he would do if Rustin was to be allowed to speak, Bertram said that he would publicize Rustin's criminal record on his telephone message.

Petition Circulating

Also being distributed at the American Opinion Library is a petition signed by H.E.L.P.,--the Committee to Help and Encourage Local Police, but bearing no individual's name and urging removal of Dr. Donald A. Deppe, who invited Rustin to speak, from his position at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center. The petitions are meant to be sent to Governor Tawes.

Bertram says that his office had nothing to do with the bringing of the petitions but was unable to say who was responsible. Bertram also said that he did not necessarily approve removing Dr. Deppe from his position. He added that his only interest in the matter was to prevent subversive individuals from speaking at the University.

Education Subverts American Youth

A Bertram added "Subversion of the minds of our children through faulty educational processes is not new, but the new mathematics is a new approach in the tragic plan to destroy the American intellect. A comprehensive look at the new math might awaken the complacent parent as to how his child's mind is being twisted and confused."

Bertram hopes that his library, as well as the telephone messages, will help head off a Socialistic takeover in the United States. Many of the books, leaflets, and records that are sold in the library come from the John Birch Society.

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The invitation to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin will stand. This decision, announced by President Wilson H. Elkins last Friday, was based on a statement from the office of Governor J. Millard Tawes.

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Pledge Not Required

"The loyalty pledge, according to the Attorney General, is not required for 'one or two shot' appearances," announced the Governor's Office.

A citizen's complaint about Rustin's projected speech before the University College's Law Enforcement Institute on October 12 and 13, prompted Tawes to order a State Police investigation into the civil rights leader's background.

A Quaker, Rustin served time in prison during World War II as a conscientious objector to the draft, and was again imprisoned in 1953 on a "trumped up" morals charge.

Stall-in Leader

Rustin has belonged to the Young Communist League, but emphasizes that he disagreed with the group and resigned in 1941. He was a leader of the World's Fair stall in, the 1963 march on Washington, and the New York school boycott.

The report from the State Capital concluded, "There is no indication from the Governor's investigation that Mr. Rustin should not be invited to speak."

Commented Deppe, "I am delighted that he will speak. Having extended the invitation in ignorance of the accusations about him. . .we did not want to withdraw the invitation. I am glad he will be here, and I am looking forward to hearing him."

Right and Left

YAF Chapter Starts with Bird; SDS Begins Seminar Series

SDS

Art Goldberg, a leader of last fall's demonstrations at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, will conduct a seminar at a meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society tomorrow in Room 120 of the Student Union at 7 p.m.

Goldberg will lead a discussion on civil liberties and answer questions in the first of a series of seminars designed to help students understand the fundamentals of university social action through self-education.

Dick Ochs, who was fundamental in founding the University chapter of SDS, states that the organization here is "geared toward education rather than demonstration." The main thrust of the group is aimed at understanding the causes of certain social actions such as ghetto rioting and the war in Vietnam with which SDS disagrees.

There are at least 75 chapters of SDS in the nation and about 25 members here. Ochs was the first chairman when the organization was established at the University in the spring of 1964.

Ochs is pleased at University President Wilson H. Elkins' decision to allow civil rights leader Bayard Rustin to speak here next

YAF

Although last year's attempt at forming a University Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) chapter failed, dedicated conservatives are ready to try again.

A pioneer group, interested in promoting understanding of conservative views met Thursday night to discuss problems of organization, objectives and finance.

Revision of the constitution was the main order of business, and the group, composed primarily of undergraduates, set up a contribution committee which will report back within a week. Other plans include issuing a newsletter, holding lectures by YAF members, nationally prominant conservative speakers, and possibly some liberals.

This year, under the leadership of John Bird, a physics graduate assistant, the group believes it will gain momentum and support.

"We should be the most effective conservative youth group on campus," stated Bird. "We have a national framework to hang on to, and we should be more effective working with national leaders who have a great reserve of knowledge and experience to draw on." Bird is currently

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William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the conservative National Review magazine and a current Conservative Party candidate for mayor of New York City, stated "YAF just possibly will influence the political future of this country, considering that its membership is young, intellignet, articulate and determined, its principles enduring, its aim to translate these principles into political action in the world which has lost its moorings and is looking about for them desperately."

Hillel Joins Vigil at Lafayette Square Protesting Treatment of Soviet Jewry

At the Vigil for Soviet Jewry, members of the University's Hillel Foundation joined a nationwide movement in protest of the treatment of Jews in the USSR. Preceding the Jewish New Year holiday of Rosh Hashana, the Vigil was staged last week in Lafayette Park.

religious books, produce religious articles, nor allow the Jews to import or produce them.

"The Jews of America are concerned for the Jews of Russia," said Maury Fechter, head of the Hillel Committee on Soviet Jewry. "We would like to make our stand known to the government of the Soviet Union and so

explained, "The Soviet Union is very interested in its public image. The USSR is sensitive to international criticism and has responded to it in the past."

The petition has a duel purpose, wrote Phyllis Mensh, a representative of George Washington University's Hillel. "We have done a double job; educated our own

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There are at least 75 chapters of SDS in the nation and about 25 members here. Ochs was the first chairman when the organization was established at the University in the spring of 1964.

Ochs is pleased at University President Wilson H. Elkins' decision to allow civil rights leader Bayard Rustin to speak here next month. However, he feels that Elkins' speech to the parents of incoming freshmen was "untactful, intimidating without provocation and totally uncalled for."

The speech was, in effect, a dare to students to do something contrary to University regulations, indicates Ochs.

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"We should be the most effective conservative youth group on campus," stated Bird. "We have a national framework to hang on to, and we should be more effective working with national leaders who have a great reserve of knowledge and experience to draw on." Bird is currently vice chairman of the state YAF.

YAF's principles, mainly concerning economics, government control, and communism are stated in the "Sharon Statement," adopted in a conference at Sharon, Conn., in September, 1960.

According to Bird, YAF advocates "isolating the communists, letting them flounder" by cutting off aid, and opposing the nuclear test ban treaty since the communists "have broken most of their treaties."

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Today millions of Jews across the globe are freely celebrating Rosh Hashana. In contrast, more than 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union are discouraged from celebrating this holiday by a progressive shortage of synagogues, closed by the government. The Soviet government will not print religious books, produce religious articles, nor allow the Jews to import or produce them.

"The Jews of America are concerned for the Jews of Russia," said Maury Fechter, head of the Hillel Committee on Soviet Jewry. "We would like to make our stand known to the government of the Soviet Union and so help to alleviate the plight of the Jews in Russia."

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Regarding the petition, Fechter explained, "The Soviet Union is very interested in its public image. The USSR is sensitive to international criticism and has responded to it in the past."

The petition has a duel purpose, wrote Phyllis Mensh, a representative of George Washington University's Hillel. "We have done a double job: educated our own public, plus made an impression on the Soviets."

The University's Hillel Foundation will continue to support the move to censor Soviet anti-Semitism and may bring speakers to campus to familiarize interested students with the situation of the Soviet Jews.

D-4 ★★★ **Metro Area** THE EVENING STAR Washington, D. C. Wednesday, Oct. 13, 1965

Reindictments Foreseen In Barring of Jury Oath

ANNAPOLIS (AP)—A substantial number of persons charged with crimes by Maryland grand juries will have to be reindicted as a result of the Court of Appeals ruling against requiring oaths of jurors.

The appelate court ruled Monday that it is unconstitutional for Maryland to require jurors to swear to a belief in God.

Aty. Gen. Thomas B. Finan said his office was trying to get out a memo as soon as possible to state's attorneys throughout the state explaining to them the impact of the ruling.

Members of a Prince Georges County Grand Jury wre dismissed yesterday after judges of the 7th Judicial Circuit conferred with Finan. The jurors were dismissed, a spokesman for the jurists said, because the jurors had been required to swear a belief in God.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Sweeney said the attorney general had been kept busy since the ruling was handed down by the state Court of Appeals.

Sweeney said he had no details on these cases but understood the Court of Appeals decision had caused considerable confusion in courts throughout the state.

The appellate court's 6-1 decision reversed the murder conviction of a Buddhist sentenced to life in prison for the shooting of his wife.

The court upheld his contention that he was denied equal protection under law because persons of his faith were barred by the state constitution from serving on the juries which indited and convicted him.

The state court said its decision was based on Supreme Court rulings declaring it unconstitutional to ask prospective jurors whether they believe in a supreme being. The Maryland Constitution requires that a juror believe "in the existence of God."

The Maryland court said its decision would apply retroactively only to cases in which a conviction had not yet become final.

In Prince Georges, it was estimated that 50 suspects who are awaiting trial will have to be reindicted, unless they waive new indictments.

Montgomery County had ceased using the oath some time ago.

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22 Delegates Criticize Md. U. in Rustin Case

By a Star Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS — Twenty-two members of the Maryland House of Delegates yesterday sponsored a resolution criticizing the University of Maryland for allowing Bayard Rustin, controversial civil rights leader, to speak last night on the campus. However, they voted to delay action on it.

The state Senate today postponed until tomorrow any action on the resolution which calls for the state police's and the university's investigation reports on Rustin's appearance.

The resolution urges "the various state-supported and state-funded institutions of higher education to be more careful in the future in the selection of public speakers who are permitted to use the facilities of the institutions."

The resolution noted published reports that Rustin has been convicted of draft dodging and sexual offenses.

Meanwhile at College Park last night Rustin expressed sympathy for the nation's policemen who he described as "the fall guys and patsies for the community" in the civil rights movement. His comments came during a brief press conference.

The New York civil rights leader originally was barred from addressing police and law enforcement officials attending the university's 16th annual Law Enforcement Institute because he had refused to sign a loyalty oath.

But Dr. Wilson H. Elkins, university president, later clarified the school's position and allowed Rustin to appear despite his refusal to sign the oath required of state employes under Maryland's controversial Ober Law.

Rustin used the press conference to outline his talk to the law enforecement officials. The institute was closed to the public and the press.

He said he believed it a privilege to discuss the civil rights movement with the law officers and would "attempt to show them the special problems (of) the Negro community as it faces the police."

"I have absolute sympathy for the job a policeman has to do," he told reporters. "They are the fall guys, the patsies for the community which could make the changes that would affect the Negro cause."

He said he believes the "most serious challenge" to the civil rights movement is "the technological revolution." He added that automation and cybernation are working against the movement.

He is fully aware and appreciates, he said, that businessmen have gone out of their way to provide jobs for Negroes, but foresees nothing but gloom because "it is precisely at this moment that the machine rears its head and says 'I can't use you because you can't work.' " Putting the poor to work, he added, is the most urgent problem that needs to be solved.

More On Section 14(B), Record Of Bayard Rustin

Rustin's Record

Editor, Daily Press:

Mr. Bayard Rustin when asked to sign a loyalty oath, refused with this explanation: "This loyalty oath which you have asked me to sign is tainted with totalitarian philosophy. In short, this oath has no serious function other than to create an atmosphere of suspicion and conformity."

Since Mr. Rustin's presence at the University of Maryland was to speak to a group of law enforcement officers to advocate creation of Civilian Review Boards to review charges of "police brutality", and since the term "police brutality" is a slogan coined by the Communist Party, his reluctance to take this oath was obviously for his own protection.

Bayard Rustin has a record reaching all the way back to 1936 of Communist Membership and since 1941 affiliations with Communist front organizations.

In 1957 Bayard Rustin spoke at the City College of New York, also present was Eric Haas, of the Socialist Labor party, Myra Tanner Weiss, of the Socialist Workers party and Joseph Clark, foreign editor of The Worker an east coast publications for the Communist Party.

In 1958 Rustin went to Russia under the sponsorship of a group known as the Non-Violent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons. On February 3, 1964, Mr. Rustin conducted the New York City school boycott. The next day he was photographed leaving a cocktail party at the Russian Mission to the United Nations. Rustin said his presence stemmed from his activities in the Committee for Non - Violent action, a Civil Rights group.

He has on occasion suggested the only hope for the Negro was to go LEFT, he also has encouraged "more Negro suffering so northern Negroes could be brought into line." Revolution, Rebellion, Civil War, maybe Mr. Rustin could explain, but don't expect any explanations from an ex-convict who has refused to defend the flag of the United States during World War II.

Expect nothing from this type but lies, treachery and treason.

WINFIELD G. LOWE

Seeks Publicity For Right Wing

Editor, Daily Press:

I would like to protest the "News - Black - out" that this paper and almost all papers practice to right - wing organizations.

All left - wing organizations that seek to destroy America with internal conflict gets top publicity, these people and communists, valid racial mixings, pacifists, crackpots, and just plain fools!

Whenever a patriotic American organization stands - up against tyranny, or exposes a communist or traitor, or holds a meeting or rally, it is either given a "News Block-out" or is smeared unmercifully!

A good example of this is the smear and blackout campaigns against "The John Birch Society", "The Ku Klux Klan," "The Minutemen," Republican John Bell Williams, Governor Wallace, Commander George Rockwell, and a score of other patriotic organizations and patriots!

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King has created racial hate and chaos throughout America, yet this troublemaker is the recipient of 68 communist - front citations! and is given front - page headlines every time he decides to cause more trouble!

I could go on with a long list of Communists and tyrants!

The American public should have the right to know the whole truth!

JOHN P. SPRUILL
Zuni

Complaint Against Police, Defense Of Bayard Rustin

Defends Rustin

Editor, Daily Press:

I protest vigorously the tenor of a letter from one of your readers, Mr. Winfield Lowe, which denounces in slanderous language Mr. Bayard Rustin, one of the leaders of the American civil rights movement. Characteristic of Mr. Lowe's thoughtful and logical argument is his last sentence: "Expect nothing from this (Rustin) type but lies, treachery and treason." Now Mr. Lowe has the right to criticize anybody on earth, Bayard Rustin included. I think Mr. Rustin is mostly right about civil rights, Viet Nam, and poverty, mostly wrong in his assumption that the trade unions are soon going to emerge from hibernation and do something serious about discrimination and poverty. Mr. Lowe thinks that Mr. Rustin is wrong about everything. Well and good. But that gives Mr. Lowe no licence to build rumor and gossip into a personal assault on Mr. Rustin's character. Mr. Lowe says Mr. Rustin spoke in 1957 from the same platform as a Socialist and Communist. This makes him one or the other by definition, but which one Mr. Lowe? If a Socialist is Mr. Lowe aware that there are socialists and socialists including those who aren't plotting anything except how to win the next democratic election. Mr. Lowe meet Prime Minister Wilson. Mr. Lowe says that the day after Mr. Rustin led the school boycott in New York City in February, 1964, he was photographed leaving a cocktail party at the Russian Mission to the United Nations. Is Mr. Lowe paying tribute to communism? If the Kremlin can open and shut P.S. 123 way over there in Manhattan it must have a pretty good thing going. Or is he saying that anyone who succeeds in closing the schools is part of the Soviet conspiracy? Mr. Lowe meet the school officials of Prince Edward County as well as some distinguished public figures of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Mr. Rustin's radical and personal past is on record and Mr. Rustin is the kind of eloquent and forceful man who can defend himself very well without assistance from me. He may well have made errors of judgment, political and otherwise, in the past. So have I and so have most people except, of course, Mr. Lowe. (In the old days Mr. Rustin was not sufficiently aware, for example, of Stalinist racism directed against the Jews and other minorities.) In the last analysis, however, it is clear to me that Mr. Lowe and those like him are not really interested in the personal oddysey of Mr. Rustin. Rather, these foolish little biographies are offered in the vain hope of tainting the civil rights movement as a whole. It can't be done. If it were not Mr. Rustin, with all his admirable qualities and admitted frailties, it would be someone else, with all HIS qualities and frailties, who would be playing a central role in the struggle for nothing less than complete freedom of opportunity, irrespective of color. History, the true judge, will grant to Mr. Bayard Rustin, I think, an honored place. It will have nothing to say about Mr. Lowe. But the discussion of events in this country since 1954 may end with this observation: "We expect nothing from those who contract out of the great task of ensuring peaceful change."

RICHARD ROBBINS
Visiting Lecturer
Hampton Institute

Baltimore Afro-American

BALTIMORE, MD., OCTOBER 16, 1965

BAYARD RUSTIN

Rustin has his say

By RAY ABRAMS

For all the sound and fury, some of which still echoes in the state, Bayard Rustin came to Maryland this week, delivered the two letcures he had been invited to give before law enforcement agents and helped strike a significant, intellectual blow in favor of free speech not only here, but for the nation as a whole.

As he was giving his final speech Wednesday evening at the University of Maryland's Baltimore Campus, speaking in the Health and Science Library at Greene and Lombard Sts., the House of Delegates in Annapolis took time out of its busy schedule to ram through a mild condemnation of the University of Maryland for having extended the invitation to him.

At an AFRO interview, shortly before his lecture Wednesday, Mr. Rustin, who gives the apearance of being much younger than his 51 years, was asked what kind of reception he had received by the 300 police during his session with them at College Park the previous evening.

He replied: "I think cooly at the beginning and increasingly warmer as time went on."

After the formal lecture which lasted for one hour, he had submitted himself to an hour of questioning from the floor.

Many of the questions he was asked probed the theme of his words — the "psychology of the ghetto." Others raised elementary issues such as, "The Colored people want their freedom, but are they ready to accept responsibility."

Mr. Rustin, in his clear, concise words explained that he was interested in what was being asked, because it gave him some important insights into the makeup of the policemen.

He felt that they were aware of the problems facing the colored community but because they were baffled as to how to react to them, had done what was human, namely ignored the matters they could not resolve.

The meeting with the police, Mr. Rustin asserted, was mutually instructive. Just as the police are often quite removed from the heart of the civil rights struggle, so too are the civil rights leaders often removed from the problems and needs of the police.

What was needed, he suggested, was better communication between the police and the movement.

* * *

"**I TOLD** them I thought the civil rights movement was an ally of policemen everywhere," Mr. Rustin stated. "At first they looked baffled, but when I explained what I meant, when I said they were the 'Patsies' for society, they began to understand."

What Mr. Rustin was getting at was this: A society which refuses to give some of its people equal rights and opportunities, create frustrations for which there must be some relief. The brunt of the frustrations are thrown at the police because they are the obvious protectors of an unjust order.

"I told them that when the civil rights movement struggles to change the slums people live in, when it struggles to get a better school system for all, when we are trying to get jobs, we are in fact being the policeman's best friend."

* * *

TO THE degree that the civil rights fight gets rid of frustrations caused by injustice, to that degree the police are protected from the inevitable avenues of violent release of these who feel the horrors of oppression.

As far as the future of the civil rights movement is concerned, Mr. Rustin pointed out, it will now have to take a new approach. What is needed is for the movement to forge an alliance with labor, religious groups, intellectual activists and aim for political action.

Where as in the equal accommodation fight, demonstration were useful not only in the area of calling attention to evil, but could by direct action also supply a remedy, the new objective of the civil rights leaders, that of political participation, will have to be dealt with differently.

Demonstrations will still be important in calling attention to problems, but will not be enough to obtain the political remedies needed. For this, a strong and vital coalition is the answer, he suggested.

Mr. Rustin, whose new slogan is "From Protest to politics," is convinced that a wide based cooperation is forthcoming, a new movement based on necessity if not on love. Labor, for example, is faced by the awesome problem of automation. It will have to join with the other group if it wants to survive.

THE HOUSE, which had been called into special session to reapportion the State, passed the anti-free speech motion by a vote of 116-21. One delegate hinted a belief that among the majority were a number of John Birch Society and White Citizens Council members or sympathizers.

One thing was clear, the amendment introduced by the Hartford legislator, an amendment which would have put the House on record condemning all extremist speakers, "including members of the Communist Party, the John Birch Society and the white Citizens' Council" was shouted down in no uncertain terms.

Baltimore, Wednesday, THE EVENING SUN October 13, 1965

Understand The Negro, Rustin Tells Lawmen

By Johnathan Cottin
[Staff Correspondent]

College Park, Md., Oct. 12—Bayard Rustin, controversial civil rights leader, told Maryland law enforcement officers today their job would be made easier if they supported massive Federal aid programs and made an effort to understand the Negro.

Mr. Rustin, whose appearance was protested by Maryland lawmakers, appeared behind closed doors at the Maryland Law Enforcement Institute's annual session at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center.

University police guarded all doors to the building and lecture hall. The school had ordered the session closed to press and public.

Gave Briefing

Mr. Rustin gave a press briefing on his remarks and response from the more than 300 policemen after the two-hour session.

Mr. Rustin said law officers shouldn't fight police review boards since they offer a useful relief "valve" ofr Negro communities.

He also soid if policemen understood that the reason many Negroes played pool, pushed narcotics, nr the numbers is because it is the only way they can "stay alive," the "character of the arrest" would change markedly.

After the lecture during an informal discussion he told the policemen being arrested reminds the dow trodden Negro of his plight. "They hate police because they make them hate themselves," he said.

Federal Aid Needed

Massive doses of Federal aid for training, public works and other economic opportunity programs are needed soon, he said.

Law officers, often criticized in the Negro community, are being made "patsies" because of failures by Government to provide the programs which will raise the economic level of the Negro, Mr. Rustin said.

Once the economic level is up, racial peace can be achieved, he explained.

Carefully weighing his words, Mr. Rustin told reporters:

"If the American people are

[Continued, Page B 6, Column 4]

MAKING A POINT—Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin gestures as he chats with newsmen before speaking to Maryland law enforcement officers attending seminar at University of Maryland.

Rustin Speaks To Lawmen

[Continued From Page B 40]

prepared to deal forthrightly with the need for education and training and work, we will not have another riot" such as the upheaval in Los Angeles.

"Riot Is Inevitable"

"If not," he added, "riot is inevitable." Mr. Rustin said this was neither a "prediction" nor a "warning."

He added; "I pray to God there will not be another riot."

Mr. Rustin welcomed efforts in the Maryland legislature to investigate his appearance at the institute. He said he hoped the university will be "exonerated" from any blame and that the probe would provide a "stamp of approval" on his appearance.

He said the appearance of either right or left wing advocates wouldn't "subvert" the school.

Was Investigated

Mr. Rustin's appearance was questioned after he refused to sign a loyalty oath required of all State employees. A former mem-
Tawes.
ber of the Young Communist League, Mr. Rustin was investigated on orders of Governor Tawes.

The school upheld the appearance of the executive directorof the A. Philip Randolph Institute after the probe.

Mr. Rusin said the school had the right to close such session to press and public. However, he added, his appearance, which made national news, "might have been opened to the pness."

Policeman emerging from the talk were hesitant to comment. One office would only say he learned nothing he didn't already know. Another officer said the civil rights leader "is right," but wouldn't elaborate.

March In, Out

Two earnest-looking young men and a grey-haired woman marched into the lecture hall while Mr. Rustin was talking informally with a handful of officers, then marched out again. The woman said huffily: "Diisgusting."

The young men with her passed out pamphlets to the law officers suggesting America is controlled by Communists. The leaflets was published by the American Speakers' Bureau, of Woodbine, Md., an arm of the militantly conservative John Birch Society.

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1965 28

Maryland Will Probe Rustin's Background

Baltimore, Sept. 23 (AP)—Gov. Tawes has ordered an investigation into the background of Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader who is scheduled to speak at the University of Maryland.

Edmund C. Mester, administrative assistant to the Governor, said state police were ordered to investigate after a citizen called to say Rustin should not be permitted to speak on the campus.

Rustin, a leader of the New York school boycott in February, 1964, and of the March on Washington in 1963, has been invited to address a meeting of the university's Law Enforcement Institute on Oct. 12.

Rustin, heads the A. Philip Randolph Institution in New York City. He had been a member of the Young Communist League but said he quit that organization in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

A Quaker, Rustin served 28 months in federal prison during World War II as a conscientious objecter. He was convicted on a morals charge in 1935 and served 60 days in jail.

Mester said the results of the state police investigation should be known by tomorrow.

Rustin Won't Sign Md. U Loyalty Oath

Bayard Rustin, prominent integrationist whose background is being investigated by state police in connection with his scheduled appearance at the University of Maryland, says he will not sign a loyalty oath required of speakers at the University.

Dr. A. Deppe, whose office arranged for Rustin to speak at the university in College Park on Oct. 12, said "Rustin has been sent this pledge. I suppose if he refuses to sign it, the invitation would be canceled.

Rustin said here that "as a civil libertarian, I could not possibly sign any such pledge. My record as an anti-Communist is very clear."

An aide to Gov. Tawes said Wednesday night the governor had ordered an investigation of Rustin's background after a citizen complained in a letter about Rustin's scheduled speech at a Maryland law enforcement officers' training school.

Rustin, 55, who now heads the A. Philip Randolph Institute here, was a leader in the school boycott last year and the August, 1963 March on Washington.

Rustin said "it is a matter of public record" that he was a member of the Young Communist League, but said he quit it in 1941 because he was in conflict with its aims.

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Editorial

Elkins and Rustin

In his remarks at the September 12, Parents' Convocation, University President Wilson H. Elkins expressed the belief that "the primary responsibility of the University is intellectual development." He has now proved that his statement was not an exercise in idle polemics but rather a firm commitment to the principle of free pursuit of academic truth.

Bayard Rustin, a controversial Negro Civil-Rights leader, had been scheduled to address University College's Law Enforcement Institute on October 12 and 13. A loyalty oath is administered to all individuals on the state payroll under the anti-subversive Ober Act; Rustin was to receive an honorarium (an honorary payment) for his appearance. His refusal to sign the oath and a citizen's complaint to Governor Tawes concerning Rustin's background triggered a controversy which left the pressure of the situation upon Dr. Elkins. Friday afternoon he wisely decided to proceed with Rustin's appearance as planned. Supporting his decision was a five year old opinion by the State Attorney-General that guest lecturers are not "in the legal sense contemplated" by the Ober Act.

We believe that exposure to many diverse ideas is essential to a college education. We realize that this course is not an easy one at a state university where one must operate primarily with state funds and must deal with all varieties of politicians. We applaud President Elkins' response to an embarrassing dilemma and his refusal to let ill-considered political pressures dictate his decision. We trust that his actions in this situation have safely laid to rest the criticisms of the sincerity or the resolve of his commitment to academic freedom.

Meanwhile, though, the affair does leave some unanswered questions. On the University level, what possible sense does a policy make that exempts non-controversial speakers from a loyalty oath and provides instead that they be sent only to precisely those individuals that might be expected to respond exactly as Mr. Rustin did? And on the state level what justification can there be for a policy that enables any complaining citizen to remain anonymous? In the present instance a complaint was sufficient to cause the Governor to institute a State Police investigation. The Governor and his administration are accountable to the voters at the polls, but should not any individual involved in such a controversy be made available for legal libel or slander action by any individual that feels he has a case? Anonymity defeats responsibility.

BACKTALK

Backtalk letters must contain the full name of the writer, year, and phone number. Letters without this information will not be printed. Names will be withheld for an adequate reason. In most cases letters over 250 words will not be published. The Diamondback reserves the right to edit or condense any letter. The decision to publish or reject a letter lies solely with the Editor.

Housing Answer

Dear Editor:

In reply to Mr. Hannawald's letter of Sept. 22 (Housing Woes), I should like to inform Mr. Hannawald and others in the same predicament that the Fraternity Advisers Council is fully aware of the problems and harrassment of the "off-campus" fraternity and sorority houses. We are meeting to try to iron out these differences and we will continue to meet until we are assured of just and equitable treatment for all off-campus fraternal organizations.

In the near future, we will have definite proposals for the solution of the presently untennable situation.

Leon R. Young, Chairman,
Fraternity Advisers Council

Rustin Commended

Dear Editor:

Mr. Bayard Rustin is to be commended for his refusal to sign a loyalty oath prior to his scheduled speaking dates here at the University next month. Mr. Rustin realizes, as all of us should by now, that not only is the loyalty oath a relic from the absurdity of the McCarthy era but that it (the loyalty oath), in itself, is meaningless. This university contradicts its basic purpose as a forum for all ideas when it insists upon such worthless restraints as the loyalty oath.

Secondly, I feel that the Administration need not be concerned about Mr. Rustin's past as an obstacle to his projected speaking dates. Regardless of past or present beliefs, Mr. Rustin has every right to speak. It is our (students, faculty, and administration) right as an audience to choose if we wish to hear and to believe this noted speaker.

I hope that this problem will be quickly solved and that the University of Maryland will have the pleasure (or pain) of hearing Mr. Rustin.

Glenn Greisman

THE MARCH ON ALBANY

WILSON 1-1069

MRS. DONALD BUDD ARMSTRONG
SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON
NEW YORK

February 4, 1964

Dear Mr. MacLaren,

The news of the boycott is really thrilling. I hope Donovan will not survive in office through many such "fizzles."

The manuals did not arrive, but I gave Mrs. Schultz the information and your telephone numbers and I hope she telephoned you, but ~~she~~ you certainly did not need Westchester's help! Please let me know any time that I can be a messanger. At present I cannot contribute money for your boycott expenses, as I am sending to SCEF and SNICK and SLICK and CORE and on and on because I do think that everyone who is working for peace must necessarily work for civil rights, too.

Sincerely yours,

Eunice Armstrong

Eunice B. Armstrong

MANUAL FOR SCHOOL BOYCOTT
Monday 3rd February 1964

MEMO TO: Civil Rights, Fraternal and Religious Organizations and Local Boycott Committees

FROM: The City-Wide Committee for Intergated Schools

ORGANIZING SUGGESTIONS FOR FREEDOM DAY SCHOOL BOYCOTT
Monday Feb. 3rd.

I. Why We Boycott -- And What We Demand

As early as December, 1954, the New York City Board of Education recognized that the city schools were segregated. It pledged to:

> "devise and put into operation a plan which will prevent the further development of such schools and integrate the existing ones as quickly as practicable."

At that time there were 51 "X" schools (those where the percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican children exceeded 90% on the elementary level and 85% on the junior high level). Today, after nine years, there are 165 such schools--and none of the original have been desegregated.

Therefore, we demand:

1) A plan for the effective indgration of all city schools; [illegible].
2) A timetable that clearly indicates when the plan will go into effect, when each progressive step will be taken, and when total integration will have been achieved.

II. How to Moblize For the Boycott

We have little time--only several days. Therefore, while the development of organizational commitment is still encouraged, our primary approach must now be personal and direct. Emphasis should be on leaflet distribution, chain telephoning, etc.

A) Leaflet

Local groups should print or mimeograph leaflets which include listings of nearby Freedom Schools or Freedom Centers. These should be locally distributed. Meanwhile, the City-Wide Committee has available, in limited quantities, leaflets distributions in places where women gather--beauty shops, laundromats, small groceries, etc.

Our office will provide, upon request, quantities of a special letter leaflet addressed to parents. This should be distributed on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday to children in segregated elementary schools, with instructions to take the letter home to their children out of schools February 3rd.

Find out when and where local groups are holding meetings and saturate those meetings with leaflets.

B) Churches

Be sure each minister in your area has leaflets by Saturday and is committed to distribute them on the day before the boycott. Ask him to announce the Boycott from the Sunday pulpit-- and to make his church available as a Freedom School or Freedom Center!

C) Phones

Obtain lists of your local PTA, members. Call parents and ask them to join the Boycott. Ask teachers to 1) picket their schools in the morning and 2) to teach in the Freedom Schools or Freedom Ceters in the afternoon.

D) News Releases

Newspaper publicity is very important -- particularly at this late hour. Keep your local newspaper informed of your activities. Be sure they have a list of your Freedom Schools or Freedom Centers for publication.

III. Picketing on February 3rd.

A. Why?

We picket to dramatize our demands for integrated and better schools, and to encourage sympathetic teachers to join our Boycott. Naturally, in keeping with the dignity of our cause, picket lines must be quiet and orderly. In the event of improper police intervention immediately call St 9-7050

In the event thay pickets are asked the location of the nearest Freedom Schools or Freedom Centers, a list of such schools and centers should be available on the scene. Local groups should also make certain that responsible persons-- including high school students -- are on hand to take children to the Freedom Schools or Freedom Centers.

B . Where?

Our objective is to encourage the largest number of parents to keep their children out of school. The success of the boycott depends upon closing down as many segregated schools as possible. When local groups have accomplished this, they should then concentrate -- in order -- on high schools, junior high schools, and elementary schools.

For maximim efficiency in recruiting and deploying pickets, each bourough should establish a central headquarters. Pickets should then be assembled at these headquarters no later than 5 AM on February 3rd. (Remember, many dey schools are on double or triple session and begin early. We want to be their before the teachers arrive).

At this meeting, a list of all the public schools in the bourough should be available. Depending on the number of schools and the available pickets teams should then be assigned to cover as many of the schools as possible (preferably all).

Picketing will begin at 6:30 A.M. and end at Noon. In some boroughs demonstrations will be held when picketing ends. If there is no demonstration in your borough you should join the Brooklyn demonstration in front of the Board of Ecucation, 110 Livingston Street.

Parents who for any reason are unable to join the picket lines, are urged to telephone the Board of Education (UL8-100) and express their support of the Boycott. If the Board of Education lines are busy, call the officers of Mayor Wagner (CO 7-100) and Governor Rockerfeller (JE 2-7030) and say "I want the Mayor (or Governor) to know that I am supporting the School Boycott."

C. Placards

Local groups must make their own picket signs. The Brooklyn Committee, for example, is holding a mass rally Sunday night and asking people to stay afterwards to paint signs.

To guarantee unity of purpose and to propose and to prevent the injection of extraneous or ambiguous issues -- which would be obviously unfair to the participants only signs bearung the following slogans should be permitted on the lines:

1) We Demand a Real Integration Timetable now
2) Fight Jim Crow Boycott School
3) Integration Means Better Schools For All
4) Integration is Education
5) Jim Crow Can't Teach Democracy

IV Freedom Schools or Centers

To insure the safety of the children, their parents should be encouraged to take them to Freedom Schools or Centers. Local groups must take the responsibility for securing -- in advance-- nearby churches and community centers to serve as Freedom Centers. Also, extra space should be reserved in the event of overcrowding.

Each Freedom School or Center should be briefed in advance, arriving at The Freedom Schools of Centers. by 7;A.M. and remaining until 5:P.M. (since many students whose parents work usually stay for afternoon activities).

Our office has prepared a detailed cirriculum for the Freedom Schools or Centers. Copies are available upon request. The school day should begin with safety instructions, including a practice fire drill.

Parents should also be urged to send lunch with their children (Peanuts butter and jelly sandwiches are simple and nutritious.) Nonetheless, local groups must sensitive to the fact that for many children the many free school lunch is customarily their first meal of the day. In addition many parents may not heed our suggestion. Therefore, be sure that an ample supply of food and drink is available at the Freedom School or Center.

Parents should also be urged to pick up their children at the Freedom School or Center -- or to arrange for a responsible person to do so to insure their safety.

Each school should be staffed with a nurse's aid. You should be in touch with the Medical Committee for Civil Rights which has offered assitance. A new first aid kit must be on hand including the following items:

1) bottle of clear water
2) bottle of soapy water
3) sterilized gauze pads
5) roller bandages
6) adhesive tape
7) antisptic

V,Keep us informed

The office of the City-Wide Committee must be kept informed of your progress if the Boycott is to be smoothly and efficiently conducted. Specifically, we must know:

1) the locations of your Freedom Schools and Centers (so that we may direct unaffilliated parents to them)
2) the names and addresses of your Freedom Schools or Center principals
3) whether you need you need--or can supply-- additional teachers.

We would also like to know the area in which groups are organizing.

You are also urged to notify this office of newsworthy information, that we can coordinate a steady flow of publicity.

The Manhattan groups are considering a March to City H all following the pickiting of the schools. Under these circumstances Bronx groups migh go to City Hall and Queens groups to the demonstration at the B oard of Education.

Information may be obtained from Borough Organization and Committee's by calling the following numbers:

Bronx	Brooklyn	Queens	Manhattan
LU9-8409	ST9-8017	JA6-9070	AU1-6333
JE7-6200	ST9-8861	RA1-6855	MO6-0400
		HO5-9088	SP7-9090

Each borough has a Youth Coorinator for the Boycott. Their names and telephone numbers are as followes:

Bronx--Judy Howell, LU9-8409
Queens-- Dan Rosenberg, HO5-8088
Manhattan--Charles Sanders, MO6-0400
Brooklyn, Isiah Brunson UL7-9200

The City-Wide office where coordination takes place has the following numbers: ST9-8861, ST9-8017, ST9-8132, ST9-8127

City Wide Committee for Intergrated Scholls
260 Jefferson Avenue
Brooklyn 16, New York

Rev. Dr. Milton Galamison
Chairman

Bayard Rustin
Director

Boycott Won't Affect State Aid

[illegible] L. I. Press

ALBANY (UPI) — A spokesman for the State Education Department said today that the boycott of schools in New York City will not affect state aid unless it is extensive.

"Aid for education is based on an average daily attendance," the spokesman said. "The schools have an option of picking the best attendance periods when reporting."

State aid to education in New York City runs about $1.5 million a day, the spokesman said.

In reporting for aid, school boards pick the best four of eight attendance periods. Each period is five weeks. The spokesman said most districts pick the first three periods in the fall and the last before school is out in the spring.

115-43 180 St.
St. Albans, 34, N.Y.
Feb. 6, 1964.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am sending you the attendance information which may help plans for the future.

Unfortunately for the few of us (colored) in my area, — of about one hundred in teaching positions we number about eighteen. Our school was *purposely* *integrated* by choice of *site* eight years ago — and buses which transport mostly white children *over* to Springfield Gardens."

I am *not* representing a group — only asking *one* question — that is, why aren't more teachers consulted on situations in the schools? We *can* be of help.

For the benefit of many students who were in sympathy but did not know *where* to go — please be sure to send a list of all *Freedom Schools* to our local L. Island newspapers.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Margot S. Webb

Mr. Rustin -

If this schedule will help in your planning the eight attendance periods are;

1. Sept. 9 to Oct. 11, 1963
2. Oct. 14 to Nov. 15
3. Nov. 18 to Dec. 20
4. Jan. 2, '64 to Jan. 31
5. Feb. 3 to March 6
6. Mar. 9 to Apr. 17
7. Apr. 20 to May 22
8. May 25 to June 30

Since your demonstration activity took place in period 5 of the yearly attendance it would seem that other periods could be disturbed -

MARCH ON ALBANY
13 Astor Place
New York, N.Y.
OR3-5120

February 28, 1964

March on Albany
Mobilization Meeting
Wednesday, March 4th, 2:30 PM
Office of Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.

Dear Friend,

Minutes after the last bus load of people left Washington in August the newspapers began to herald a period of slowdown and retrenchment. The climax of the civil rights movement had been reached and now came the denouement, they predicted. There did indeed follow a period of quiet. However, that relative quiet did not indicate the movement had stopped. On the contrary, the principles of the March on Washington were carried forward in Marches on Trenton, Cincinnati and St. Louis -- to name just a few. Further, the demands of the March were quietly being applied to local situations.

In New York a movement began to develop around the issues of housing, jobs and schools. Until now these issues have been fought effectively but separately. We have long understood that the issues were really part and parcel of the same fight for freedom and equality, and that pressure on, or even victory at, City Hall is meaningless (as the $1.50 minimum wage proved) without legislation and intervention from Albany. The March on Albany is an effort to unite the fight for a decent minimum wage, quality and integrated education, better housing and an end to literacy tests. Moreover, it is the fulfillment of the Lincoln Memorial Pledge and the logical next step in our struggle.

I have enclosed the Manual for the March on Albany in the hope that you will use it as a basis for organizing your group to go to Albany. Time is short! I must urge you to begin to move immediately on the steps outlined in the Manual, and to attend this important mobilization meeting prepared to raise any questions it may leave unanswered.

The March on Albany will cost $4,000. Understandably, we do not want to conduct a new campaign to finance it. I am therefore asking those of you who worked so hard on the March on Washington and who understand deeply the meaning of March 10th to come to the meeting prepared to make a financial contribution or pledge on behalf of your trade union or organization.

Sincerely,
Bayard Rustin
BAYARD RUSTIN
Director

MARCH ON ALBANY
TUESDAY, MARCH 10th 1964

LEGISLATIVE DEMANDS

We call for the enactment of law, during the 1964 session of the New York State Legislature to:

1. ESTABLISH A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.50 AN HOUR, COVERING WORKERS IN BOTH INTERSTATE AND INTRASTATE COMMERCE, INCLUDING ALL WORKERS CURRENTLY EXCLUDED FROM PROTECTION OF ANY MINIMUM WAGE LAW.

2. INVEST NEW YORK CITY AND OTHER MUNICIPALITIES WITH EMERGENCY POWERS TO TAKE OVER BUILDINGS WITHIN 10 DAYS ONCE THE LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT FINDS ONE OR MORE CONDITIONS DETRIMENTAL TO HEALTH SUCH AS RAT INFESTATION OR LACK OF HEAT, HOT WATER, LIGHTS, ELECTRICITY, SEWAGE DISPOSAL, JANITORIAL SERVICES, AND THAT THE LOCAL REAL ESTATE DEPARTMENT (or its equivalent) RECEIVE RENTS FROM SUCH PROPERTIES AND USE THIS AND APPROPRIATED MONIES TO ASSIGN EMERGENCY SQUADS TO ACT IMMEDIATELY TO CORRECT SUCH HEALTH VIOLATIONS.

3. EXTEND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RIGHTS TO EMPLOYEES OF VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS ON A STATEWIDE BASIS AND TO BRING SUCH WORKERS UNDER PROTECTION OF STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS.

4. RAISE THE AMOUNT OF AID PER PUPIL FROM THE PRESENT $500 TO AT LEAST $585 TO AID THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUALITY, INTEGRATED EDUCATION THROUGHOUT THE STATE, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO NEW YORK CITY.

5. ELIMINATE THE LITERACY TEST REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING.

6. APPROPRIATE FUNDS FOR A MASSIVE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM TO PROVIDE INTEGRATED HOUSING AT RENTS WORKING PEOPLE CAN AFFORD TO PAY.

7. PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION BY UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS BY AMENDING SECTION 43 OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW TO INCLUDE SUCH PROHIBITION AND BY AMENDING SECTION 45 OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW TO STATE THAT THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER "SHALL" RATHER THAN "MAY ACT TO ENFORCE SECTION 43.

8. ESTABLISH A PERMANENT EXECUTIVE AGENCY ON AUTOMATION COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC MEMBERS.

9. GUARANTEE TUITION FREE EDUCATION IN ALL STATE SUPPORTED COLLEGES.

also, WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE BILLS RECENTLY SIGNED INTO LAW WHICH GRANT NEW POLICE POWERS THAT INFRINGE UPON THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES GIVEN TO ALL CITIZENS TO BE FREE FROM UNREASONABLE SEARCH AND SEIZURE.

SPONSORED BY

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN N.Y. STATE
CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE FOR DECENT HOUSING
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DISTRICT 65, RETAIL, WHOLESALE, DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PUERTO-RICAN CIVIL RIGHTS
NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE OF NAACP BRANCHES

* These legislative demands are basic and not all-inclusive; there are many additional measures of importance to the people of New York State which should be acted on affirmatively in this session of the legislature.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller   Executive Chamber   State Capitol   Albany, N.Y.

Queens (Queens County)

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	Party Aff.
5	Jack E. Bronston	184-37 Hovendon Road, Jamaica	Dem.
6	Irving Mosberg	141-05 228th St., Springfield Gdns.	Dem.
7	Seymour R. Thaler	41 Deepdene Road, Forest Hills	Dem.
8	Thomas A. Duffy	33-32 75th St., Jackson Heights	Dem.
9	Thomas J. Mackell	61-15 97th St., Rego Park	Dem.

Assemblymen

Assembly District			
1	Thomas V. LaFauci	25-52 14th St., Long Island City	Dem.
2	William C. Brennan	55-27 84th St., Elmhurst	Dem.
3	Robert E. Whelan	66-27 Fresh Pond Road, Ridgewood	Dem.
4	Jules G. Sabbatino	23-06 21st St., Long Island City	Dem.
5	Martin M. Psaty	64-29 110th St., Forest Hills	Dem.
6	Michael G. Rice	18-09 Murray St., Whitestone	Dem.
7	Moses M. Weinstein	138-33 78th Dr., Flushing	Dem.
8	Michael J. Capanegro	38-25 Parsons Blvd., Flushing	Dem.
9	Fred W. Preller	218-05 100th Ave., Queens Village	Rep.
10	Louis Wallach	60-03 Hewlett St., Little Neck	Dem.
11	Alfred D. Lerner	155-01 90th Ave., Jamaica	Rep.
12	J. Lewis Fox	1179 Beach 9th St., Far Rockaway	Dem.
13	Anthony P. Savarese, Jr.	109-42 Park Lane So., Richmond Hill	Rep.

Brooklyn (Kings County)

State Senators

Senate District			
10	Simon J. Liebowitz	156 Sunnyside Avenue	Dem.
11	Walter E. Cooke	50 Plaza Street	Dem.
12	Jeremiah B. Bloom	350 Sterling Street	Dem.
13	Guy James Mangano	202 Seely Street	Dem.
14	William T. Conklin	7905 Colonial Road	Rep.
15	Frank J. Pino	1855 West 3rd Street	Dem.
16	William Rosenblatt	2519 East 19th Street	Dem.
17	Samuel L. Greenberg	1111 Ocean Avenue	Dem.
18	Edward S. Lentol	152 Russell Street	Dem.

Assemblymen

Assembly District			
1	Max M. Turshen	1392 East 49th Street	Dem.
2	Samuel Bonom	1521 Oriental Boulevard	Dem.
3	Joseph J. Dowd	786 Carroll Street	Dem.
4	Harold W. Cohn	171 Heywood Street	Dem.
5	Leonard E. Yoswein	1037 Hendrix Street	Dem.
6	Bertram L. Baker	399 Jefferson Avenue	Dem.
7	Louis Kalish	4001 6th Avenue	Dem.
8	William J. Farrall	423 9th Street	Dem.
9	Robert F. Kelly	7401 Ridge Boulevard	Rep.
10	John J. Ryan	295 Clinton Avenue	Dem.
11	George A. Cincotta	214 Maple Street	Dem.
12	Luigi R. Marano	1371 73rd Street	Rep.
13	Lawrence P. Murphy	4408 Flatlands Avenue	Dem.
14	Edward A. Kurmel	54 Russell Street	Dem.
15	Alfred A. Lama	9029 Kings Highway	Dem.
16	Irwin Brownstein	8655 Bay Parkway	Dem.
17	Thomas R. Jones	1231 Dean Street	Dem.
18	Stanley Steingut	1298 President Street	Dem.
19	Joseph Kottler	4910 15th Avenue	Dem.
20	Joseph R. Corso	1579 DeKalb Avenue	Dem.
21	Bertram L. Podell	1155 Ocean Avenue	Dem.
22	Anthony J. Travia	38 Jerome Street	Dem.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Names and Addresses

Manhattan (New York County)

State Senators

Sen. Dist.	Name	Address	Party Aff.
20	MacNeil Mitchell	755 Park Avenue	Rep.
21	James L. Watson	676 Riverside Drive	Dem.
22	Jerome L. Wilson	517 East 82nd Street	Dem.
23	Joseph Zaretzki	160 Cabrini Boulevard	Dem.
24	Joseph R. Marro	453 Hudson Street	Dem.
25	Manfred Ohrenstein	215 West 90th Street	Dem.

Assemblymen

Assembly District			
1	Wm. F. Passannante	72 Barrow Street	Dem.
2	Louis F. DeSalvio	425 West Broadway	Dem.
3	Jerome Kretchmer	106 West 69th Street	Dem.
4	Jerome W. Marks	457 F.D.R. Drive	Dem.
5	Albert H. Blumenthal	235 West 76th Street	Dem.
6	Paul J. Curran	3 Stuyvesant Oval	Rep.
7	Daniel M. Kelly	924 West End Avenue	Dem.
8	Dorothy Lawrence	415 East 52nd Street	Rep.
9	John Robert Brook	7 East 75th Street	Rep.
10	Carlos M. Rios	215 East 102nd Street	Dem.
11	Lloyd E. Dickens	25 West 132nd Street	Dem.
12	Mark T. Southall	481 West 159th Street	Dem.
13	Orest V. Maresca	500 West 141st Street	Dem.
14	Jose Ramos-Lopez	1421 Madison Avenue	Dem.
15	John J. Walsh	81 Park Terrace West	Dem.
16	Frank G. Rossetti	295 Pleasant Avenue	Dem.

Bronx (Bronx County)

State Senators

Senate District			
26	Harry Kraf	711 Walton Avenue	Dem.
27	Ivan Warner	748 East 175th Street	Dem.
28	Abraham Bernstein	660 Twaits Place	Dem.
29	Joseph E. Marine	2408 Westevelt Avenue	Dem.

Assemblymen

Assembly District			
1	Donald J. Sullivan	780 Grand Concourse	Dem.
2	Burton M. Fine	1000 Grand Concourse	Dem.
3	Jerome Schutzer	1740 Grand Concourse	Dem.
4	Frank Torres	750 Manida Street	Dem.
5	Melville E. Abrams	1160 Evergreen Avenue	Dem.
6	Murray Lewinter	1510 Crotona Park East	Dem.
7	John E. Satriale	2508 Belmont Avenue	Dem.
8	Alexander Chananau	1833 Loring Place	Dem.
9	Burton Hecht	2715 Grand Concourse	Dem.
10	Ferdinand J. Mondello	256 Calhoun Avenue	Dem.
11	Aileen B. Ryan	1129 Beach Avenue	Dem.
12	Fred W. Eggert	643 East 235th Street	Dem.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller   Executive Chamber   State Capitol   Albany, N.Y.

Westchester County

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
30	Hunter Meighan	727 Bleeker Ave.	Mamoroneck	Rep.
31	George W. Cornell	72 Greenacres Ave.	Scarsdale	Rep.
32	William F. Condon	25 Holls Terrace No.	Yonkers	Rep.

Assemblymen

Assembly District				
1	Christian Armbruster	154 Boulder Trail	Yonkers	Rep.
2	P. Boice Esser	256 Old Colony Road	Hartsdale	Rep.
3	George E. VanCott	4 Laurel Ave.	Mount Vernon	Rep.
4	Anthony B. Gioffre	12 Rex Road	Port Chester	Rep.
5	John J.S. Mead	Mead St.	Waccabue	Rep.
6	Bernard G. Gordon	117 Nassau Pl.	Peeksill	Rep.

Orange County

State Senator

Senate District				
33	D. Clinton Dominick	R.D. # 1, Sloane Rd. 3rd	Newburgh	Rep.

Assemblymen

Assembly District				
1	Daniel Becker	Dogwood Lane, M.D. 25	Newburgh	Rep.
2	Wilson C. VanDuzer	Reservoir Road, R.D.	Middletown	Rep.

Rockland County

State Senator

Senate District				
33	D. Clinton Dominick	R.D. # 1, Sloane Rd. 3rd	Newburgh	Rep.

Assemblyman

Assembly District				
1	Joseph F.X. Nowicki	149 N. Middletown Rd.	Nanuet	Rep.

Putnam County

State Senator

Senate District				
35	Ernest I. Hatfield		Hyde Park	Rep.

Assemblyman

Assembly District				
1	Willis H. Stephens	R.F.D. # 3	Brewster	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller Executive Chamber State Capitol Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
Suffolk County				
1	Elisha T. Barrett	161 Concourse West	Brightwaters	Rep.
Nassau County				
2	Norman S. Lent	48 Plymouth Rd.	East Rockaway	Rep.
3	Henry M. Curran	41 Florence St.	Oyster Bay	Rep.
4	Edward J. Speno	863 Richmond Rd.	East Meadow	Rep.
Richmond County				
19	John J. Marchi	37 Lawrence Ave.	Staten Island	Rep.

Assemblymen

County					
Suffolk	(1)	Perry B. Duryea, Jr.		Montauk	Rep.
	(2)	Prescott Huntington	Long Beach Rd.	St. James	Rep.
	(3)	John G. McCarthy	70 E. Rogues Path	Huntington Station	Rep.
Nassau	(1)	Anthony Barbiero	47 Law St.	Valley Stream	Rep.
	(2)	Joseph F. Carlino	605 East Bay Dr.	Long Beach	Rep.
	(3)	John E. Kingston	97 Ward St.	Westbury	Rep.
	(4)	Edwin J. Fehrenbach	14 Manchester Dr.	Bethpage	Rep.
	(5)	Francis P. McCloskey	200 Twin Lane	Levittown	Rep.
	(6)	Robert M. Blakeman	50 Kent Road	Valley Stream	Rep.
Richmond	(1)	Edward J. Amann, Jr.	285 Kissel Ave.	Staten Island	Rep.
	(2)	Lucio F. Russo	82 Romer Road	Staten Island	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller Executive Chamber State Capitol Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
50 (Ontario, Schuyler, Seneca, Wayne and Yates counties)				
	Dutton S. Peterson	Town of Hector	Odessa	Rep.
51 (Monroe County)				
	Frank E. VanLare	96 Roxborough Rd.	Rochester	Rep.
52 (Monroe County)				
	Thomas Laverne	4199 St. Paul Blvd.	Rochester	Rep.
53 (Allegany, Genesee, Livingston, Orleans and Wyoming counties)				
	Barber B. Conable, Jr.		Alexander	Rep.

Assemblymen

County				
Allegany	Don O. Cummings		Wellsville	Rep.
Genesee	John E. Johnson		LeRoy	Rep.
Livingston	Kenneth R. Willard		Nunda	Rep.
Monroe (1)	J. Eugene Goddard	211 East Spruce St.	East Rochester	Rep.
(2)	S. William Rosenberg	1866 Clover St.	Rochester	Rep.
(3)	Paul B. Hanks, Jr.	317 So. Main St.	Brockport	Rep.
(4)	Charles Stockmeister	74 Second Ave.	Rochester	Dem.
Ontario	Fred L. Warder	100 Lewis St.	Geneva	Rep.
Orleans	Alonzo L. Waters	410 W. Center St.	Medina	Rep.
Schuyler	Jerry W. Black	R.D. # 1	Trumansburg	Rep.
Seneca	Theodore D. Day		Interlaken	Rep.
Wayne	Joseph C. Finley	38 Sherburne Rd.	Walworth	Rep.
Wyoming	Harold L. Peet		Pike	Rep.
Yates	Paul R. Taylor		Penn Yan	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller   Executive Chamber   State Capitol   Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
34 (Delaware, Greene, Sullivan and Ulster counties)				
	E. Ogden Bush		Delancey	Rep.
35 (Columbia, Dutchess and Putnam counties)				
	Ernest I. Hatfield		Hyde Park	Rep.
36 (Albany County)				
	Julian B. Erway	37 Morris St.	Albany	Dem.
37 (Rensselaer and Washington counties)				
	Albert Berkowitz	38 Columbus St.	Granville	Rep.
38 (Schenectady and Schoharie counties)				
	Owen M. Begley	1708 Lexington Pkwy.	Schenectady	Dem.
39 (Essex, Saratoga and Warren counties)				
	George E. Paine		Willsboro	Dem.
40 (Clinton, Franklin and St. Lawrence counties)				
	Robert C. McEwen	R.F.D.	Ogdensburg	Rep.

Assemblymen

County				
Albany (1)	Frank P. Cox	17 Warren St.	McKownville	Dem.
(2)	Harvey M. Lifset	380 Albany-Shaker Rd.	Loudonville	Dem.
Clinton	Robert J. Feinberg	110 Court St.	Plattsburgh	Rep.
Columbia	Willard C. Drumm		Niverville	Rep.
Dutchess	R. Watson Pomeroy		Wassaic	Rep.
Delaware	Edwyn E. Mason		Hobart	Rep.
Essex	Grant W. Johnson		Ticonderoga	Rep.
Franklin	Hayward H. Plumadore	Birch St.	Saranac Lake	Rep.
Greene	Clarence D. Lane		Windham	Rep.
Putnam	Willie H. Stephens	R.F.D. # 3	Brewster	Rep.
Rensselaer	Douglas Hudson	116 Green Ave.	Castleton	Rep.
Saratoga	Stanley VanRensselaer	153 Phila St.	Saratoga Springs	Rep.
Schenectady	Joseph F. Egan	2509 Hilltop Rd.	Schenectady	Rep.
Schoharie	Russell Selkirk		Cobleskill	Rep.
St. Lawrence	Verner M. Ingram		Potsdam	Rep.
Sullivan	Hyman E. Mintz		So. Fallsburg	Rep.
Ulster	Kenneth L. Wilson		Woodstock	Rep.
Warren	Richard J. Bartlett	Star Route	Glens Falls	Rep.
Washington	Lawrence E. Corbett, Jr.		Fort Edward	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller Executive Chamber State Capitol Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
43 (Jefferson, Lewis and Oswego counties)				
	Henry A. Wise	252 Thompson Blvd.	Watertown	Rep.
44 (Onondaga County)				
	Lawrence M. Rulison	328 Farmer St.	Syracuse	Rep.
45 (Onondaga County)				
	John H. Hughes	311 Brookford Rd.	Syracuse	Rep.
46 (Cortland---also Chenango, Madison and Otsego counties)				
	Leighton A. Hope	39 Prospect Terr.	Cortland	Rep.
48 (Cayuga---also Tioga and Tompkins counties)				
	George R. Metcalf	R.D. # 2	Auburn	Rep.
50 (Seneca---also Ontario, Schuyler, Wayne and Yates counties)				
	Dutton S. Peterson	Town of Hector	Odessa	Rep.

Assemblymen

County				
Cayuga	George M. Michaels	10 Norman Ave.	Auburn	Dem.
Cortland	Louis H. Folmer	86 So. Main St.	Homer	Rep.
Jefferson	Orin S. Wilcox		Theresa	Rep.
Lewis	Dwight N. Dudo		Lowville	Rep.
Onondaga(1)	Robert Hatch, Jr.	8 Meadow Dr. R.D. # 3, Clay		Rep.
(2)	John H. Terry	99 Wellesley Rd.	Syracuse	Rep.
(3)	Philip R. Chase	Hunt Lane	Fayetteville	Rep.
Oswego	Edward F. Crawford	129 W. 6th St.	Oswego	Rep.
Seneca	Theodore D. Day		Interlaken	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller Executive Chamber State Capitol Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
40 (Clinton, Franklin and St. Lawrence counties)				
	Robert C. McEwen	R.F.D.	Ogdensburg	Rep.
41 (Fulton, Hamilton, Herkimer and Montgomery counties)				
	Walter VanWiggeren	184 John St.	Ilion	Rep.
42 (Oneida County)				
	Fred J. Rath	1640 Sunset Ave.	Utica	Rep.
43 (Jefferson, Lewis and Oswego counties)				
	Henry A. Wise	252 Thompson Blvd.	Watertown	Rep.

Assemblymen

County				
Clinton	Robert J. Feinberg	110 Court St.	Plattsburgh	Rep.
Franklin	Hayward H. Plumadore	Birch St.	Saranac Lake	Rep.
Fulton-Hamilton	Joseph R. Younglove	14 Hoosac St.	Johnstown	Rep.
Herkimer	Leo A. Lawrence	209 Prospect St.	Herkimer	Rep.
Jefferson	Orin S. Wilcox		Theresa	Rep.
Lewis	Dwight N. Dudo		Lowville	Rep.
Madison	Harold I. Tyler		Chittenango	Rep.
Montgomery	Donald A. Campbell	89 Locust St.	Amsterdam	Rep.
Oneida (1)	Paul A. Worlock	1008 Westbrook Dr.	Rome	Dem.
(2)	William S. Calli	215 Higby Rd.	New Hartford	Rep.
Oswego	Edward F. Crawford	129 West 6th St.	Oswego	Rep.
St. Lawrence	Verner M. Ingram		Potsdam	Rep.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN ALBANY

Governor

Nelson A. Rockefeller Executive Chamber State Capitol Albany, N.Y.

State Senators

Senate District	Name	Address	City/Town	Party Aff.
54 (Niagara County)				
	Earl W. Brydges	82 Lake St.	Wilson	Rep.
55 (Erie County)				
	Walter J. Mahoney	646 Lafayette Ave.	Buffalo	Rep.
56 (Erie County)				
	Frank J. Glinski	1913 Bailey Ave.	Buffalo	Dem.
57 (Erie County)				
	Richard T. Cooke	1705 Exchange St.	Alden	Rep.
58 (Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties)				
	Jeremiah J. Moriarity	2 Maple Ave.	Franklinville	Rep.

Assemblymen

County					
Cattaraugus		James F. Hastings	124 Second St.	Allegany	Rep.
Chautauqua		A. Bruce Manley	40 Curtis Pl.	Fredonia	Rep.
Erie	(1)	Stephen R. Greco	795 Richmond Ave. 7	Buffalo	Dem.
	(2)	William E. Adams	143 Doncaster Rd.	Kenmore	Rep.
	(3)	Vincent P. Arnone	78 Inwood Pl.	Buffalo	Dem.
	(4)	Francis J. Griffin	120 McKinley Pkwy.	Buffalo	Dem.
	(5)	John B. Lis	117 Thomas St.	Buffalo	Dem.
	(6)	Albert J. Hausbeck	315 Dartmouth Ave.	Buffalo	Dem.
	(7)	Julius Volker	44 Bloomfield Ave.	Depew	Rep.
	(8)	William Sadler	114 Crestwood Dr.	Hamburg	Rep.
Niagara	(1)	Harold H. Altro	242 So. Transit St.	Lockport	Rep.
	(2)	Ernest Curto	782 VanRensselaer Ave.	Niagara Falls	Rep.

Corrections

MANUAL

MARCH ON ALBANY

TUESDAY, MARCH 10th, 1964

A one day demonstration to press for civil rights and social legislation in this session of the legislature.

SPONSORS

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN N.Y. STATE Randolph—
CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE FOR DECENT HOUSING Jesse Gray
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY ——Farmer
DISTRICT 65, RETAIL, WHOLESALE, DEPARTMENT STORE UNION Livingston
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PUERTO-RICAN CIVIL RIGHTS —— B.V.
NEW YORK STATE ~~COUNCIL~~ conference OF NAACP BRANCHES Reed

Central Headquarters
13 Astor Place
New York, New York
OR 3-5120

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Honorary Chairman

BAYARD RUSTIN
Director

DR. EUGENE REED
~~Honorary~~ Chairman

DEMANDS

WE DEMAND THAT THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTION DURING THIS SESSION. *

1. A state law to provide a $1.50 minimum hourly wage covering workers in both interstate and intrastate commerce including all workers currently excluded from the protection of state and federal minimum wage laws.
2. A state law making rent strikes legal; and the appropriation of funds for a massive program to provide integrated housing for working people at rents they are able to pay.
3. A state law extending collective bargaining rights to voluntary hospital workers throughout the state and bringing these workers under the protection of the state unemployment insurance and anti-discrimination laws.
4. A state law prohibiting discrimination by unions and management in apprenticeship training programs.
5. Provisions for substantial financial aid for the development of quality, integrated education throughout the state with special attention to New York City. And a state law guaranteeing tuition free education in all state supported colleges.
6. A state law eleminating the literacy test as a requirement for voting.
7. The setting up of a permanent joint legislature committee to deal with the problems of automation.

WE, further, urge Governor Rockefeller to veto the bill which infringes upon the constitutional guarantees given to all citizens to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures.

* These demands are simply stated. However, soon we will have available a lobbying guide, listing our complete legislative program including the number and discription of all bills we are supporting.

THE MARCH

The March through the streets of Albany is to be a quiet dignified and non-violent demonstration.

The march committee has agreed on the following slogans for posters and asks that no other slogans be used. Each slogan will begin with:

FIGHT POVERTY IN NEW YORK

WE DEMAND:

1. $1.50 MINIMUM WAGE LAW
   STATE-WIDE
2. LEGALIZE THE RENT STRIKES
3. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FOR
   VOLUNTARY HOSPITAL WORKERS
4. STATE HUMAN-RIGHTS LAW
   PROTECTION FOR HOSPITAL WORKERS
5. END BIAS IN--
   APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS
6. STATE AID FOR--
   QUALITY
   INTEGRATED
   EDUCATION
7. NO LITERACY TESTS FOR VOTING
8. FREE TUITION AT
   CITY COLLEGES
9. MASSIVE LOW-COST PUBLIC HOUSING

Organizations, and only those organizations that are accepted as sponsors or cooperating groups may place their identification on posters. Such groups are encouraged to make their own posters using the above slogans. They should be neatly made, weather proofed and not be attached to sticks.

WHAT IS THE MARCH ON ALBANY?

WHO IS GOING TO ALBANY

It is a one day demonstration called for a week day Tuesday, March 10th, because the legislature sits only on the first three days of the week. This is a politically non-partisan movement. The March Committee urges all people of good will to attend under the discipline, slogans and program outlined in this manual. We urge civil rights, labor, fraternal and religious groups to join the March as cooperating groups. The March will be held regardless of weather conditions.

LUNCH AND DINNER

Because of the tightness of our schedule and the thousands of persons expected, we urge all participants to bring their lunch. We will make arrangements to have a hot drink on sale at a reasonable price at the ARMORY headquarters. Each group should make arrangements to have dinner either in Albany or on the route home.

REGISTRATION

It is imperative that all persons attending the March register to insure complete records should we have to return. Bus and Train Captains are asked to obtain registration cards from the central office in advance, and have them filled out on route to Albany. The captain will then turn over the cards to the March registrar as soon as he or she reaches the headquarters at the Armory.

LOBBYING

LOBBYING will be carried out at three levels:

1. The leadership of sponsoring groups are seeking appointments with the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. In addition they will meet with the Republican and Democratic leaders of the Assembly and Senate, and with all key committees.

2. In advance appointments will be made with Assemblymen and Senators for special key areas by delegations from their districts.

3. The peoples lobby will be most important. The peoples lobby will consist of the march around the Capitol and the mass rally. It is the presence of thousands of people marching through the street that will back up and give substance to our leadership who have appointments with the Governor, legislature leaders, and leaders of all key committees.

THE MASS MEETING

The Mass Rally will give our leadership an opportunity to report on their lobbying and provide a rallying point and focus for the restatement of our demands.

HEADQUARTERS IN ALBANY WILL BE AT:

THE STATE ARMORY
195 WASHINGTON AVENUE
ALBANY, NEW YORK

The ARMORY is only four blocks from the Legislature, and a short distance from the train station. All persons should come to the ARMORY on reaching ALBANY where registration will take place, instruction on mass lobbying given and where you can eat the lunch you have brought and buy a hot drink.

TIME TABLE

10:00-11:30 A.M.	REGISTRATION AT ARMORY
10:30-12:30 P.M.	SPECIAL LOBBYING
11:30-12:30 P.M.	LUNCH
12:30-2:00 P.M.	PEOPLES LOBBY MARCH FROM ARMORY 4 BLOCKS EAST ALONG WASHINGTON AVENUE AROUND THE CAPITOL AND RETURN BY SAME ROUTE
2:00-4:30 P.M.	MASS RALLY AT ARMORY
5:00 P.M.	DEPART FOR HOME

HOW TO REACH ALBANY

BY TRAIN

The regular New York-Albany round trip fare is $13.58. However, for groups of 500 or more people, the New York Central railroad has a special price of $6.80 per person, round trip. Smaller groups wishing to go by train should pool together to enjoy the special rate. Contact Mr. Healy, New York Central Railroad at MU 9-8000 Ext. 3489. (Be sure to fill out attached train captains form.) Individuals who wish to buy train tickets should call Mr. Bobby Berse at OR 3-5120.

BY BUS

Each group is responsible for chartering its own bus. Buses should leave New York by 7:00 A.M. The following bus companies have proved reliable:

SCENIC PLEASURE TOURS 225 W. 34th STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. LO 5-2894 MRS. ROBERTS	TRAVELERS BUS CO. MU 7-8810 MR. GOLDMAN	EMBASSY MOTOR COACH 147 W. 42nd STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. OX 5-2121

Travelers Bus, for example, will provide a 44 passenger bus for $165.00, making it possible for groups to sell tickets at $4.00 per person round trip. You will note that 44 tickets at $4.00 per person round trip, totals $176.00--the difference of $11.00 permits a tip for the driver and insurance in case one or two places are not sold. (Be sure to fill out the attached bus captains form.) Individuals who wish to go to Albany can obtain information and bus seats by calling their local (city or borough) NAACP OR CORE office.

BY CAR

Cars should leave New York no later than 7:00 A.M. Car travel is encouraged, but drivers are urged to:

1. fill their cars
2. remind passengers to bring lunch.

Headquarters in Albany will give you instructions on where to park when you arrive in Albany.

SPECIAL NOTES TO GROUPS OUT-SIDE NEW YORK CITY

1. Make certain that delegations arrive at the ARMORY in time for registration.
2. Regarding lobbying, we urge you to make appointments with your legislators prior to March 10th. You should request to see them between 10:30 A.M. and 12:30 P.M., if possible.
3. Please notify the central office immediately of the number of people coming from your area or district and of any appointments you have made with legislators.
4. Do all you can to get civil rights, fraternal, labor and religious groups from your community to come to ALBANY and to make appointments with legislators.

COOPERATING GROUPS

(PARTIAL LISTING)

Civil Liberties Dept, N.Y. State Ass., I.B.P.O.E. of W.
NEW YORK STATE ELKS

NEW YORK STATE PRINCE HALL MASONS

COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING
— Met. Council on Housing
LOWER EAST SIDE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

LOCAL 1199 DRUG & HOSPITAL WORKERS

LOCAL 144 HOTEL & ALLIED EMPLOYEES

LOCAL 32 BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES

BAPTIST MINISTERS CONFERENCE OF GREATER NEW YORK & VICINITY x

A.M.E. MINISTERS ALLIANCE

BROOKLYN MINISTERS COMMITTEE FOR JOB OPPORTUNITIES

HARLEM NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS

UNITED FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

A.M.E. ZION MINISTERS ASSOCIATION

NEGRO ACTION GROUP OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

LOCAL 100 TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

Inc

We urge those church, fraternal, labor and civil rights groups wishing to cooperate with the March to notify the central office in order that they may be included in future listing.

Council of Puerto Rican + Spanish Org. of Lower East Side
American Communications Ass.
Parents Workshop
Siloam Pres. Church, Brooklyn

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME________________________________

ORGANIZATION________________________________

ADDRESS________________________________

____
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS________________________________

____
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE________________ ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE________________

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES__________

TIME OF DEPARTURE____________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE________________

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN____________

TIME OF DEPARTURE________________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE________________

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS?____ IF SO, HOW MANY?______

SIGNED________________________________

MARCH ON ALBANY

Tues. March 10, 1964

LEGISLATIVE DEMANDS*

We call for the enactment of law, during the 1964 session of the New York State Legislature, to:

1. ESTABLISH A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.50 AN HOUR, COVERING WORKERS IN BOTH INTERSTATE AND INTRASTATE COMMERCE, INCLUDING ALL WORKERS CURRENTLY EXCLUDED FROM PROTECTION OF ANY MINIMUM WAGE LAW.

2. INVEST NEW YORK CITY AND OTHER MUNICIPALITIES WITH EMERGENCY POWERS TO TAKE OVER BUILDINGS WITHIN 10 DAYS ONCE THE LOCAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT FINDS ONE OR MORE CONDITIONS DETRIMENTAL TO HEALTH SUCH AS RAT INFESTATION OR LACK OF HEAT, HOT WATER, LIGHTS, ELECTRICITY, SEWAGE DISPOSAL, JANITORIAL SERVICES, [redacted] AND THAT THE LOCAL REAL ESTATE DEPARTMENT (or its equivalent) RECEIVE RENTS FROM SUCH PROPERTIES AND USE THIS AND APPROPRIATED MONIES TO ASSIGN EMERGENCY SQUADS TO ACT IMMEDIATELY TO CORRECT SUCH HEALTH VIOLATIONS.

X.

3. EXTEND COLLECTIVE TO BARGAINING RIGHTS TO EMPLOYEES OF VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS ON A STATEWIDE BASIS AND BRING SUCH WORKERS UNDER PROTECTION OF STATE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS.

4. RAISE THE AMOUNT OF AID PER PUPIL FROM THE PRESENT $500 TO AT LEAST $585 TO AID THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUALITY, INTEGRATED EDUCATION THROUGHOUT THE STATE, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO NEW YORK CITY.

X.

5. ELIMINATE THE LITERACY TEST REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING.

6. APPROPRIATE FUNDS FOR A MASSIVE PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM TO PROVIDE INTEGRATED HOUSING AT RENTS WORKING PEOPLE CAN AFFORD TO PAY.

7. PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION BY UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT IN APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS BY AMENDING SECTION 43 OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW TO INCLUDE SUCH PROHIBITION AND BY AMENDING SECTION 45 OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW TO STATE THAT THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER "SHALL" RATHER THAN "MAY" ACT TO ENFORCE SECTION 43.

8. ESTABLISH A PERMANENT EXECUTIVE AGENCY ON AUTOMATION COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC MEMBERS.

9. GUARANTEE TUITION FREE EDUCATION IN ALL STATE SUPPORTED COLLEGES.

also, WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE BILLS RECENTLY SIGNED INTO LAW WHICH GRANT NEW POLICE POWERS THAT INFRINGE UPON THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES GIVEN TO ALL CITIZENS TO BE FREE FROM UNREASONABLE SEARCH AND SEIZURE.

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* These legislative demands are basic and not all-inclusive; there are many additional measures of importance to the people of New York State which should be acted on affirmatively in this session of the Legislature.

Sponsored by

Sent 12:00 pm

SENT TELEGRAM TO

STATE CAPITOL
ALBANY NEW YORK

HON. JOS F CARLINO
SPEAKER OF THE ASSEMB.

SEN. WALTER J MAHONEY

SEN. MAJORITY LEADER

SEN. JOS ZARETZKI
SEN. MINORUTY LEADER

HONORABLE MALCOM WILSON
LUT. GOVERNOR

LOUIS J LEFKOWITZ
ATTORNEY GENERAL

ASSEM. ANTHONY P SAVARESE
CHAIRMAN JOINT LEGISLATURE COMMISSION ON
LABOR & INDUSTRY

SEN. JOHN J MARCHI
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON NEW YORK CITY AFFAIRS

SEVERAL THOUSAND DELEGATES REPRESENTING CIVIL RIGHTS, CHURCH, HOUSING, & LABOR ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE STATE WILL BE IN ALBANY ON TUESDAY, MARCH 10th TO SEEK PASSAGE OF VITALLY NEEDED SOCIAL LEGISLATION. REPRESENTATIVES OF SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS WILL ASK FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU ON THAT MORNING TO DISCUSS OUR PROGRAM. MAY WE URGE CONFERENCE BE HELD BETWEEN 10:00 AM AND 12:30 P.M.

BAYARD RUSTIN
DIRECTOR OF THE MARCH ON ALBANY
FOR
6 groups

Malcolm

TO BAYARD

PROMPT SIGNS WILL PRINT UP 140 SIGNS FOR $125.00 TO BE DELIVERED ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

THEY READ AS FOLLOWS:
FIGHT POVERTY IN NEW YORK

WE DEMAND
$1.50 MINIMUM WAGE LAW STATE WIDE 100

FIGHT POVERTY IN NEW YORK

WE DEMAND

NO LITERACY TESTS FOR VOTING ~~40~~ 20

FIGHT POVERTY IN NEW YORK
WE DEMAND

END BIAS IN
APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS 20

Copy

MEMO

TO CLEVE ROBINSON

FROM BAYARD RUSTIN

REMINDER TO CALL LABOR GROUPS TO FIND OUT HOW MANY BUSES THEY ARE SEDNING TO ALBANY AND TO CONTRIBUTE MONEY.

REMINDER: TO CALL MR HOROWITZ

March 8, 1964

Memo to: Bayard Rustin

From: Gus Sedares

Someone named Ed McLoughlin of the I.B.P.O.E. of W. (Elks) contacted me concerning what the Elks think is their proper role in the program on Tuesday; to wit, one speaker and "at least" six of their representatives to sit on the dais.

He was much less eager to discuss how many people they were sending to Albany in toto. From what I could gather it more than likely will be less than 100, perhaps substantially less.

He asked that you contact William Martin, executive assistant to Edward Nelson, their state president, concerning the above matter. His telephone number is: Ge 9-6010, area code 516.

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

March 6, 1964

Bayard Rustin
District 65 RWDSU
13 Astor Place
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I am writing to you because I understand you are managing the March on Albany on March 10th. I regret that I cannot go on that day to Albany but I want you to know of my sympathy and support for the March and for the measures in support of which the March is being organized. I should be glad to be quoted to this effect.

Fraternally yours,

Norman.

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

March 7, 1964

The Medical Committee for Civil Rights supports fully the legislative proposals being made by the MARCH ON ALBANY on March 10, 1964.

Especially important, because of their effect on health, are the proposals to establish a $1.50 minimum wage, an emergency housing program with increased appropriations for low cost public housing, and improved working conditions for hospital workers.

The prohibition of discrimination in apprentice training, financial support for high quality, integrated education, and elimination of literacy tests for voters are additional measures that will help to end the pattern of discrimination in our state.

A representative of the Committee, Miss Audrey Smith, a student nurse at the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York, will join the March to lend support to this first grass roots demonstration for social legislation before the New York State legislature.

The Medical Committee for Civil Rights is composed of doctors, dentists, nurses, psychologists, hospital administrators, pharmacists, and other health field workers who are opposed to dicrimination of any kind in patient care, training, or appointments in the field of medical care.

Apartment 11C
175 West 93 Street
New York, New York 10025

March 7, 1964

Dear Bayard,

Enclosed is another statement of support for the March. Miss Smith can be reached at Maxwell Hall, School of Nursing, Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center on Monday in case you have any special instructions for her.

Best wishes – take care of yourself.

Yours,
Sy Gold

NEW YORK 1, N.Y.
PM
8 MAR
1964
7A

5¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o March on Albany
District 65
13 Astor Place
N.Y.C.

BACKROUND INFORMATION ON THE CAMPAIGN FOR A STATEWIDE MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.50 AN HOUR

A. Governor Rockefeller

Representatives of the Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York State met with Governor Rockefeller on three occasions in 1963: February 12, April 2, and December 9. In each instance, particularly during the December 9 meeting, the urgency for action, and not another study committee, was impressed upon the Governor.

Despite this, the Governor proposed in his message to the Legislature on January 8 that a study committee be set up to study "in depth" the question of raising the state minimum wage to $1.50 an hour. The committee was not named until the middle of February and had its first meeting only last Friday, March 6. At that meeting, the matter of setting up an office for the committee, hiring of staff, and all the other elements of a long-range operation were discussed.

It is obvious that this committee was proposed by the Governor to afford him an excuse for his failure to propose action on the $1.50 proposal during the 1964 session of the Legislature. Had he been sincerely motivated, he would have set up any study committee he thought was necessary immediately after our meetings in February and April, 1963, and mandated the committee to have a report ready for submission to the 1964 session of the Legislature.

B. Assembly Speaker Carlino

Representatives of the Citizens Committee met with Speaker Carlino on January 16, 1964. He gave us a commitment that he would press within the Republican leadership conference for a report by the Governor's study committee to the 1964 session of the Legislature so that action on the $1.50 proposal could be taken this year. He further stated that regardless of the outcome of this attempt, he would support legislation to enable cities to enact local laws establishing higher minima than that set by the state law. The Speaker's office made this position public in a statement to the New York Times of February 7.

The Speaker reserved a bill filing number on February 18 (the last day for individual assemblymen to file bills) for the purpose of submitting a bill on the minimum wage question.

1. The Curran Bill (Assembly Intro. No. 5005, Print No. 5303)

Speaker Carlino assigned Assemblyman Paul J. Curran, Republican of Manhattan, to file a bill on the minimum wage question under the filing number the Speaker had reserved. Curran was elected to the Assembly from a traditionally Democratic district as a consequence of an internal fight among the Democrats in the district and he is being built up in the hope that he can hold the district.

The Curran bill provides that cities (of which there are 62 in New York State by definition) may enact local laws between October 15, 1964 and April 1, 1965 assuming full responsibility for the administration and enforcement of the state minimum wage law. This currently is the responsibility of the Industrial Commissioner.

It also provides that cities enacting such local laws may set up wage boards which may recommend, on an industry by industry basis, higher minima than that set by the state minimum wage law.

This bill, of course, is totally inadequate as it stands. The wage board procedure is an enormously cumbersome and time-consuming process and would constitute not a step forward, but a retrogression. It is clear, moreover, that the cut-off date of April 1, 1965, is another device by which to preclude action by the 1965 session of the Legislature on a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour on the ground that the cities are free to exercise their right to enact local laws establishing wage boards.

C. WHAT WE MUST DO

Two points must be borne in mind in the meetings with the Governor and the Republican leadership: (1) There will be no action on any proposal for a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour in this session of the Legislature; (2) Any bill on the minimum wage question that is enacted into law must be a Republican sponsored bill (there are a number of bills filed by Democrats that meet our requirements, but they will not get out of committee). There is no practical purpose served, therefore, in pressing for enactment into law of any bill filed by Democrats.

The only realistic and practical approach is to press for amendments to the Curran bill as follows:

1. Complete elimination of the wage boards proposal in its every aspect.

2. The bill should simply authorize cities to enact minimum wage laws that provide higher, but not lower, minimum wages than the minimum wage set by the state minimum wage law and more comprehensive coverage, including workers both in interstate and intrastate commerce, but not less coverage, than that of the state minimum wage law.

3. This act should take effect immediately.

It is absolutely essential that the dialogue with the Governor and the other Republican leaders be limited to this narrow area so that very clear and specific commitments can be obtained. You can be sure that they will make every attempt to discuss generalities in an effort to avoid being pinned down. We should not provide them with the openings to do so.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT WE OBTAIN SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS

FOR ACTION ON ENABLING LEGISLATION DURING THIS SESSION OF THE

LEGISLATURE !

ADDRESS BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR A $1.50 MINIMUM HOURLY WAGE IN NEW YORK STATE
MARCH ON ALBANY, TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1964

The question of poverty in the United States has recently become a subject of popular discussion----particularly among leaders of both major political parties. There has been much talk about launching a "War against Poverty."

We wholeheartedly agree that there is an urgent social, economic and moral imperative for the undertaking of such a war----and we believe that this war should commence immediately.

But we are here today, however, not only to talk about the "War against Poverty," but to demand immediate and meaningful action in the prosecution of this war. We want the slogans and the rhetoric translated into concrete action----and we want this to be done not tomorrow or next year, but now!

New York State is the economic capital of our so-called "affluent society." Yet, in our state, many hundreds of thousands of families live not in affluence, but in poverty and deprivation. This is due principally to the fact that a major section of the working population receives subtandard wages-----indeed, sweatshop wages.

The problem of substandard wages and mass poverty is one of enormous dimensions, affecting every racial and ethnic group. It is clear, however, that Negroes and Puerto Ricans constitute an increasingly larger and disproportionate segment of a growing underclass in our state-----men, women and children who, as a consequence of the fact that the family breadwinner receives substandard wages, are ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed and lack the educational and cultural opportunities necessary to their full development as individuals and as useful and responsible citizens of our state and of the Nation.

Nowhere is the toll in human suffering taken by mass poverty more painfully evident than in the Negro and Puerto Rican ghettoes of New York City and other towns and cities throughout the state. Thus, for members of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities of our state, the problem of substandard wages and mass poverty is one of especially critical nature.

We know, too, of the burden on our communities resulting from the existence in our midst of so large a number of poverty stricken families. The problems of health, police and fire protection, welfare, housing and education are all complicated, and the costs of government rise sharply. It has been estimated by the City Club of New York, for example, that more than 25% of the annual budget of New York City must be devoted toward meeting the problems of poverty. The case is similar in cities across the state.

Thus, both the individual worker who is the victim of sweatshop exploitation and the total community must suffer to subsidize employers who refuse to pay decent wages.

There is a close relationship between the proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in a particular industry or occupation and the level of wages; the more Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the lower the level of wages. Indeed, in some industries and occupations that not too many years ago stood in a relatively good wages position, there was a clearly perceptible deterioration of this relative position as the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the workforces increased.

There appears to be a tacit understanding among some businessmen, some public officials and even a few labor union officials that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are a breed apart----people who can and should live at a standard lower than the rest of the population, and who therefore need not receive decent wages. Indeed, in the thinking and actions of such people, it is obvious that they consider Negroes and Puerto Ricans as merely manpower grist for the state's sweatshop mills.

A brief examination of the industries and occupations that are the worst offenders in terms of substandard wages discloses the obvious pattern. For example, the overwhelming number of domestic and farm workers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. These workers are excluded from protection of any minimum wage law and it is reflected in the disgracefully low wages they receive. Long hours and extremely low pay----perfect jobs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

The low paying jobs in service industries covered by the state minimum wage law are manned largely by Negroes and Puerto Rican workers, most of whom receive wages at or scarcely above the totally inadequate $1.15 per hour state minimum.

In light manufacturing----the so-called "junk" industries that proliferate in New York City----such as the costume jewelry, toy and doll, ball point pen and plastics industries, as well as in the low paying jobs in the apparel industry, Negroes and Puerto Ricans comprise the bulk of the workforces----in many cases, virtually 100%. This is again reflected in the fact that most of these workers receive wages at or scarcely above the totally inadequate $1.25 per hour federal minimum.

It cam as no surprise, therefore, when the Bureau of Census reported last summer that the relative income position of the Negro as compared to the white had deteriorated over the last twenty years rather than improved.

The problem of substandard wages and mass poverty has touched the lives of all of us. It is not a problem that arose only yesterday and came to public notice only today.

This problem has been the ssubject of countless investigations and countless studies. It has been studied by government agencies, universities, foundations and by concerned individuals. It has been studied by economists, statisticians, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists and by practitioners in other disciplines. There is no dearth of information concerning the dimensions of the problem, its causes, its socio-economic implications and the groups it primarily affects.

We need no more studies----what is needed now is action, meaningful and concrete action to cope with the problem of substandard wages and mass poverty in New York State.

The federal and state minimum wage laws are totally inadequate----both in the minima they set and in their coverage----to provide the kind of protection that is so urgently needed by the large mass of low-paid, exploited workers in New York State, of whom Negroes and Puerto Ricans comprise the overwhelming number.

I submit that the time is long past due when this deplorable situation must be corrected. The New York State Minimum Wage Law must tbe improved----during the 1964 session of the Legislature----so that it begins to meet the needs of the people of this state.

It should be noted that the Fair Labor Standards Act provides that both states and municipalities may set minima for industries in interstate commerce higher than the federal minimum wage, as well as set minima for intrastate industries not covered by the federal law. It is time that New York State took the lead in this regard.

We therefore call for action----during the 1964 session of the Legislature----to establish a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour, covering workers in both interstate and intrastate commerce, including such groups as domestics and farm workers, who currently are excluded from protection of any minimum wage law. We also call for legislation to specifically authorize cities to enact local laws setting higher minima and affording more protection than provided by the state minimum wage law.

This session of the Legislature must not close without having taken affirmative action on this vitally needed legislation. The burden of responsibility falls upon the Governor, the leaders of both houses of the Legislature and upon each individual legislator. We shall hold them to account for this.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE
LEGISLATION COMMITTEE
40 Rockland Ave., North Babylon, N. Y.
MI 3-9033

DR. EUGENE T. REED
President

PETER NEWMAN, ESQ.
Chairman

Pertinent Information Regarding Pending Legislation

Date: February 29, 1964

Compiled by:

Calvin D. Banks
National Office
NAACP

BILLS PENDING IN THE SENATE:

1. Substance: Amending the labor law to increase the statutory minimum wage in three successive annual stages

   Print No: 3203 Intr. by Sen. Motley
   Referred to Labor and Industry Committee

2. Substance: To maintain complaint situation (status quo) in proceedings before State Commission for Human Rights

   Print No: 1770 Intr. by Sen Metcalf
   Referred to Committee on Finance

3. Substance: Creating commission to study automation and appropriating necessary funds

   Print No: 3199 Intr. by Sen. Motley
   Referred to Committee on Finance

4. Substance: Amendment providing State Commission for Human Rights with power to initiate regulatory action

   Print No: 3201 Intr. by Sen. Motley
   Referred to Committee on Finance

5. Substance: Prohibits discrimination by state contractors

   Print No: 2222 Intr. by Sen. Wilson
   Referred to Committee on Finance

6. Substance: Provides for revocation of licenses because of discriminatory acts

   Print No: 3066 Intr. by Sen. Kraf
   Referred to Committee on Finance

7. Substance: Prohibits employment disqualification for conviction in civil rights demonstrations

   Print No: 3196 Intr. by Sen. Motley
   Referred to Committee on Codes

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   Referred to Committee on Codes

8. Substance: Amendment increasing fines levied against those guilty of civil rights violations
   Print No: 386 Intr. by Sen. Warner
   Referred to Committee on Codes

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BILLS PENDING IN THE ASSEMBLY:

1. Substance: Amendment prohibiting discrimination in apprenticeship opportunities
   Print No: 102 Intr. by Assy. Fine
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

2. Substance: Companion bill to S2222
   Print No: 3424 Intr. by Assy. Rios
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

3. Substance: Amendment increasing powers of State Commission for Human Rights
   Print No: 3835 Intr. by Assy. Sullivan
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

4. Substance: Amendment to protect rights of those convicted in peaceful civil rights demonstrations
   Print No: 4091 Intr. by Assy. Jones
   Referred to Committee on Judiciary

5. Substance: Amendment expanding complaint procedures before State Commission for Human Rights
   Print No: 336 Intr. by Assy. Lewinter
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

6. Substance: Amendment giving State Commission for Human Rights power to prevent discrimination in mortgage financing
   Print No: 338 Intr. by Assy. Lewinter
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

7. Substance: Amendment prohibiting discrimination in medical staff appointments in hospitals
   Print No: 4118 Intr. by Assy. Ryan (Mrs.)
   Referred to Committee on Judiciary

8. Substance: Amendment creating a youth conservation corps for employment and training
   Print No: 145 Intr. by Assy. Jones
   Referred to Committee on Ways and Means

9. Substance: Amendment prohibiting discrimination in mortgage financing
   Print No: 2462 Intr. by Assy. Psaty
   Referred to Committee on Banks

NAACP

Mass Meeting

STATE ARMORY
ALBANY, N. Y.

ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE MOBILIZATION
MARCH 10, 1964 2:00 PM

Our Speakers

PRESIDING...DR. EUGENE T. REED
President, N. Y. State Conference of NAACP Branches

INVOCATION..REV. RICHARD HILDEBRAND
President, N. Y. C. Branch NAACP

PETER NEWMAN, Chairman
N. Y. State NAACP Legislation Committee

LEON DAVIS, President
Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employee's

JAMES FARMER, Director
National CORE

JESSIE GRAY, Chairman
City-wide Committee For Decent Housing

DAVID LIVINGSTDN, President
District 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union

SPECIAL WASHINGTON REPORT...............................CLARENCE MITCHELL
Director of The Washington Bureau of The NAACP

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Chairman
Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage

GILBERTO VALENTIN, President
Congress of Puerto Rican Municipalities

BAYARD RUSTIN, Director
Coordinated March on Albany

BENEDICTION...REV. MACK BRANDON
Chairman, N. Y. State NAACP Church Committee

Standing guard around the clock is the function of the NAACP. Your membership helps keep the NAACP on duty hour after hour, day after day, as it has been for half a century

---

JOIN NOW • RENEW TODAY

yes . . . STOP!
ask yourself . . .
"Am I doing all I can
for the cause of human
and civil rights"?
GIVE TO NAACP TODAY . . .
New York State Conference
2 Croydon Road
Amityville, N. Y.
Dr. Eugene T. Reed
President
O. C. Turner
Treasurer

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE

March 4, 1964

TO ALL MEMBERS - LEGISLATIVE CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION

ALL PRESS REPRESENTATIVES ARE INVITED TO A PRESS CONFERENCE TO BE HELD BY THE "MARCH ON ALBANY" LEADERSHIP.

WHEN: MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1964

WHERE: ASSEMBLYMAN FRED W. PRELLER'S OFFICE

TIME: 1:00 P.M.

ROOM: #342

Dr. EUGENE T. REED,
PRESIDENT
NEW YORK STATE NAACP
CHAIRMAN "MARCH ON ALBANY"

Bayard -
For your information
Cal

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE

Dr. Eugene T. Reed
President
2 Croydon Road
Amityville, L.I., N.Y.

Miss Florence V. Lucas
Publicity Chairman
95-23 Sutphin Blvd.
Jamaica, N.Y. 11435

STATEMENT OF DR. EUGENE T. REED, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE NAACP AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF NAACP, 20 W. 40th STREET, N.Y.C., MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1964.

The year 1964 finds the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York State once again embroiled throughout the entire state in pitched battle with those individuals and organizations which do not share our zeal in eradicating the vestigial, but never-the-less real, evidences of segregation and racial discrimination. Today's battle, however, has evolved into something different than in previous years. For, today, we approach the battle shoulder to shoulder with many allies such as the Committee for $1.50 hourly minimum wage; the Committee for Decent Housing; the Congress of Racial Equality; the District 65 Labor Union; the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights and several religious and fraternal groups proclaiming our rights and assuming our responsibilities. As a matter of fact, the response this year has been so overwhelming that we have had to change our Albany headquarters from the State Education Building to the State Armory in Albany. This is one of the immediate results of the revolution of 1963.

I want to make it clear that the N.Y. State NAACP welcomes the cooperation and support of other organizations on the legislative front. The Legislative proposals to be presented in Albany are not new. Not only have they been adopted by the 60 branches of NAACP in New York having a total paid membership of over 53,000, but also by our many allies with their total memberships. It is my firm belief that these legislative proposals represent the wishes of not only almost all Negroes and Puerto Ricans, but the majority of the total population of this State. Many of these proposals have in past years bogged down in legislative procedures. We expect to get them up for consideration this year---and we expect to get them passed.

There are six basic characteristics of this march that are significant and should be understood by all.

1. The demands cover many areas of need for meaningful social legislation.

2. It will be peaceful and non-violent.

3. It will be non-partisan.

4. It will be statewide.

5. It will be a bi-racial and inter-faith venture.

6. Although the Mass Rally which will be held in conjunction with the march will be the sole responsibility of the State NAACP as part of its Annual Mobilization, the march itself will be a joint endeavor co-sponsored equally by the six organizations mentioned above.

Finally, by mutual agreement of all of the six original sponsoring organizations, Mr. Bayard Rustin will serve as Executive Director.

#30#

MARCH ON ALBANY
13 Astor Place
New York, N.Y. 10003
Or. 3-5120

Honorary Chairman: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Director: BAYARD RUSTIN

FOR RELEASE: AFTER 6 P.M.
SUNDAY, MARCH 8,1964

RUSTIN ANNOUNCES"LARGEST PEOPLE'S LOBBY IN NEW YORK STATE'S HISTORY" TO ALBANY ON MARCH 10th---------

KEY DEMANDS $1.50 MINIMUM WAGE, HOUSING REFORMS----

Bayard Rustin, director of the March on Albany, announced today (Sunday, March 8, 1964) that the "largest people's lobby in New York State's history" will descend on Albany Tuesday, March 10, 1964, to press for civil rights and social legislation.

Mr. Rustin, who was chief strategist of the historic March on Washington and the New York City school boycott, said that upwards of 5,000 people will arrive in Albany next Tuesday from all parts of the state, travelling by train, bus and car, to participate in the March.

The key demands of the March are, Mr. Rustin said, "the establishment of a statewide minimum wage of $1.50 an hour housing reforms, including the legalization of rent strikes. This legislation is urgently needed," Mr. Rustin said,"and we fully expect that it be passed in this session of the Legislature."

Leaders of the March on Albany will meet with Governor Rockefeller at 10AM.

Following the meeting with the Governor, leaders of the March will meet with the majority and minority leadership of both houses of the Legislature and with Attorney General Lefkowitz.

In addition, appointments have been set up with all other legislators, who will meet with delegations from their respective areas.

The six organizations sponsoring the March are: Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York State; City-Wide Committee for Decent Housing; Congress of Racial Equality; District 65, RWDSU; National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights and the New York State Conference of NAACP Branches.

In addition to the sponsoring groups, dozens of other organizations throughout the state are participating in the March and will be sending delegations.

from the desk of | MATTHEW J. DOMBER
First Deputy Administrator

March 4, 1964

Assembly Majority Leader Joseph Carlino has now backed Senator Mahoney's proposal which will jeopardize the continuance of effective rent control. A similar threat at last year's legislative session was headed off by public outcry. Act now to make your views known before it is too late.

MJD

FOR RELEASE
WEDNESDAY PM
MARCH 4, 1964

CITY RENT AND REHABILITATION ADM.
280 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.
566-5264

Matthew J. Domber, Acting Rent and Rehabilitation Administrator, today released the following statement:

"Senate Majority Leader Walter J. Mahoney has proposed a slash in the budget of the City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration which would seriously jeopardize continuing effective rent control for five million tenants and landlords in New York City.

"According to newspaper reports, Senator Mahoney is proposing to cut $998,000 earmarked for mandatory increments to maintain the agency at existing levels from the 1964-65 budget of the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration.

"This reckless proposal would require more than a 20% reduction in the agency's staff. It would mean a cut of approximately 200 essential employees at a time when the agency is striving to combat the spread of slums and to speed up processing of applications.

"It is a back-door method of decimating rent control, all the more inopportune in view of the finding of the New York City Council that an emergency housing shortage still exists in New York, and that retention of effective rent control is essential.

"The $998,000 figure in Governor Rockefeller's budget request to the Legislature includes no new staff or new programs. It is solely to meet operating increases mandated by law, such as mandatory Civil Service salary increments, health insurance, social security, retirement payments and rent for office space. Approximately $125,000 of the total amount is earmarked for a housing survey required every two years by State law.

"No increase in personnel is contemplated by the proposed budget. On the contrary, the 1964-65 budget provides for 26 fewer jobs than are authorized in the current budget.

"The Agency's budget is now pending before the State Legislature because the State Enabling Act transferring rent control jurisdiction to New York City states that the expenses of the program are to be paid by the State.

"The current RRA budget is $6,429,770. The proposed 1964-65 budget is $7,428,000.

"The proposed slash would be a boon to the slumlords who are now beginning to feel the effects of the RRA's pocketbook attack on slums, through rent reductions.

"This cut would adversely affect both tenants and landlords. A 20% reduction in personnel would make it impossible to maintain the present rate of processing applications and would also necessitate eliminating programs now being developed to encourage landlords to rehabilitate and improve their properties.

"It would severely limit the Agency's ability to give prompt attention to tenant complaints and to give priority to referrals of hazardous violations in our worst slum buildings by the Departments of Buildings and Health. More than 25,000 such referrals were received in 1963. In about 17,000 cases full restoration of services were obtained and in the balance, rent reductions were ordered. The ability of the Rent Administration to move swiftly in cases of rat infestation in cooperation with the extermination program of the Department of Health similarly would be affected.

"It would subject landlords filing applications for rent increases to long delays in processing and would also delay the processing of review proceedings within the Agency and in the courts.

"The net effect could well be a breakdown in the effective operation of the rent law.

"It would further make it impossible for this Agency to conduct an effective survey of vacancies and housing conditions as required by State Law.

"The interests of both landlords and tenants require that the rent control law be administered effectively and that the rights of all citizens be protected. This cannot be done without adequate budget and personnel.

"The proposed budget slash would place undue hardship on New York's tenants and landlords and would make a mockery of the powers which the State delegated to the City to effectively administer rent controls."

BROOKLYN
Amsterdam News
EDITION

Vol. XLIII, No. 10 SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1964—B

3000 To Join In March On Albany

Albany March To Draw 3,000

By MALCOLM NASH

More than 3,000 Negroes and whites from 500 organizations in the state are expected to march on Albany next Tuesday to urge legislative action on the minimum wage, civil rights, housing, education and collective bargaining bills

The anticipated number of participants in the statewide, one-day protest march was given Monday by Bayard Rustin, mastermind of the Aug. 28 March on Washingtoon and the Feb. 3 citywide school boycott.

Rustin, who made the announcement at a press conference at Freedom House, 20 W. 40th St., will direct the demonstration which, he said, would be a local extension of the historic march on the nation's capital last year.

The march has been sponsored by the Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York State, the State NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Citywide Committee for Decent Housing, the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights and District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

Dr. Eugene T. Reed, president of the State NAACP Conference, said the march would be a "peaceful and nonviolent" demonstration that would be followed later by "the most intense voter registration campaign New York State has ever seen."

The marchers will register from 10 to 11:30 a.m. at the Washington Avenue Armory, four blocks from the Legislature in Albany, and then make the four-block trek from the armory to the state capitol at 12:30 p.m. They will assemble at a mass rally at 2 p.m. at the armory.

Manuals outlining the march's operation are being sent out from local headquarters here, at 13 Astor Place, to participating civic, civil rights, labor, fraternal and religious organizations.

Rustin said the demonstrators hope to meet with Gov. Rockefeller, Lieut. Gov. Malcolm Wilson and Republican and Democratic leaders of the State Assembly to urge action on:

1. increasing the present state hourly minimum wage from $1.15 (which goes to $1.25 on Oct. 1) to $1.50 to cover workers currently excluded from state and federal minimum wage levels.

2. enactment of a state law making rent strikes legal and the appropriation of funds for a massive program to provide integrated housing for working people at rents they are able to pay.

3. enactment of a state law extending collective bargaining rights to voluntary hospital workers in the state and bringing these workers under the protection of the state unemployment insurance and anti-discrimination laws.

4. the prohibition of discrimination by unions and management in apprentice training programs.

5. providing for substantial financial aid for the development of quality, integrated education in the state, with special attention to New York City.

6. elimination of the literacy test as a requirement for voting.

7. establihsment of a permanent joint legislative committee to deal with the problems of automation.

AMSTERDAM NEWS
Sat., March 7, 1964 • 7

Go To Albany For $7

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, will be one of the key speakers at next Tuesday's rally in Albany where more than 3,000 persons from all parts of the state will meet to press for legislative action on the minimum wage, housing and other problems.

Mitchell's scheduled appearance at the rally was announced this week by Dr. Eugene T. Reed, president of the State NAACP Conference, one of the six organizations sponsoring the march. Dr. Reed said he was confident attendance figures would approximate 10,000.

March director Bayard Rustin said this week persons planning to take part in the trek to Albany will be expected to go by train, bus or car, footing their own transportation expenses.

The regular New York-Albany roundtrip fare is $13.58, he disclosed. However, for groups of 500 or more the New York Central Railroad has a special price $6.80 each person, roundtrip. Additional train information can be obtained, Rustin said, by calling the railroad at MU 9-8000. extension 3489.

Groups planning to go by chartered buses are advised by Rustin to check with either the Scenic Pleasure Tours, 225 W. 34th St., Embassy Motor Coach, 147 W. 42nd St., or Travelers Bus Co., 565 Fifth Ave.

Travelers Bus, for example, noted Rustin, will provide a 44-passenger bus for $165, "making it possible for groups to sell tickets at $4 per person roundtrip."

Cars and buses have been advised to leave the city at 7 a.m. next Tuesday. They will be provided, on arrival in Albany, with information at the Washington Avenue Armory on where to park.

Rustin urged all march "participants to bring their lunch."

"We will make arrangements to have a hot drink on sale at a reasonable price at the armory headquarters," he added. "Each group should make arrangements to have dinner either in Albany or on the route home."

⑦ Bus Info

NOTICE
****

Mr Bayard Rustin
Local 65
I3 Astor Place

Dear Bayard;

Here is the names and address of the people that transport the passengers for the March on Washington without raising the prices.
please contact them and give them your work on March IO to albany.

Mr Buddy Peterson
370 Broad Street
Bloomfield. N.J.
2II -PI-8-08I7
Red White Bus Service

Mr Cole
Lindsay Bus Co
33 Lincoln Ave
New Rochell
New York
9I4 -BE-5-I444

Ps The Lindsay bus took the office down from the March Hq. on I30th St.

Yours Truly
Mr H Bennett
Mr H Bennett;

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME ST MARY EPISCOPAL CHURCH
REV CAMPBELL

ADDRESS 521 W. 126th ST.

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? YES
150 capacity
2 teachers

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? 2 teachers 2 curriculum

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION UN44 404

filled

NO ~~Answer~~

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME

Rev. Campbell

ADDRESS

St. Mary Episcopal Church
521 W. 126 St.

UN 44404

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL?

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED?

~~Called~~ if filled

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

send literature

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME **METROPOLITAN AME**

ADDRESS **58 W. 135th ST.**

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? **YES**
300-400 children
3 teachers

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? **3 manuals**
3 curriculum

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

filled

R~~I 2-0226~~

Mrs. D. Adams - Goo
OL 3-2704

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME Good Shepherd ~~Church~~ Faith Presbyterian Church (Mrs. Adams) ~~#~~ TR 7-0685

ADDRESS 152 - W 66th St. (bet. Amst. & Bdway)

Call back at 6 oclock.

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? yes

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

filled

MINISTERS LIST Inter-group Relations Comm.
5th A.D. Reg Dem. Club

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME Robert Becker

ADDRESS 285 Cozine ave
Brooklyn N.Y.

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL?

no

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL -- yes

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED?

None

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

filed

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME Dr. David W Barry
N Y C Mission Society

ADDRESS 105 East 22 St
New York 10 N.Y.

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? — Cap. —? yes
Staff —?

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL — no

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? — 6 (manual — Curriculum) —
send Dr. David Barry all infomation

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION — (

Filled

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME **MOTHER AME ZION CHURCH**
140 W. 137th STREET
REV DUNSTON

ADDRESS

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? **YES**
250 capacity
8 teachers

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? **8 manuals 8 curriculum**

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME **ST MARKS METHODIST CHURCH**
137th ST & ST NICHOLAS AVE

ADDRESS **REV WARREN**

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? **YES**
300- **400capacity**
2 teachers

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL --

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

filed

AX.7-5430

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME Rev. H. E. Pasley

ADDRESS 140-12 173 St. Jamica N.Y.

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? Yes

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL -- Yes

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? 50 —

Manual 50

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Filled

MINISTERS LIST

This is the City-Wide Committee for the School Boycott. We are asking for your pledge that you will join the Boycott. We know that you are as deeply concerned about this matter as we are, for the future of our children is at stake. We are asking for your much needed help in three areas.

NAME Church of the Master

ADDRESS 122 St. & Morningside Ave

will call back

MAY WE COUNT ON YOUR CHURCH TO BE A FREEDOM SCHOOL? - ~~yes~~ app cap. -
does hve staff

WILL YOU LEAD A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE SCHOOL -- ~~at least~~

HOW MANY LEAFLETS WILL YOU NEED? - ~~Manual - Parent Letter~~
~~yes~~ 5- Manuals.

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Filled

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Sylvia Zinn

ORGANIZATION Human Rights Council of United Community Centers

ADDRESS 819 Van Siclen

Brooklyn 7 N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS 1371 Linden Blvd

Brookly N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE D. 56954 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE N. 9-7979

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 1

TIME OF DEPARTURE 7:00 am.

PLACE OF DEPARTURE United Community Centers

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN

TIME OF DEPARTURE

PLACE OF DEPARTURE

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? Yes IF SO, HOW MANY? 10

SIGNED Gloria Malik
for H.R.C of U.C.C.

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Dr. Milton A. Galamison

ORGANIZATION Parents Workshop

ADDRESS 260 Jefferson Ave.

Brooklyn (CITY) 16 (ZONE) N.Y. (STATE)

HOME ADDRESS 1494 President St

Brooklyn (CITY) 16 (ZONE) N.Y. (STATE)

HOME TELEPHONE PR 4-6431 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE St 9-7050

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 1

TIME OF DEPARTURE 6:30

PLACE OF DEPARTURE 260 Jefferson Ave. Brooklyn

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN

TIME OF DEPARTURE

PLACE OF DEPARTURE

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? NO IF SO, HOW MANY? —

SIGNED Milton A. Galamison

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME FREDERICK E DENNARD

ORGANIZATION EAST HARLEM PROTESTANT PARISH

ADDRESS 2050 2ND AVE

NEW YORK 29 N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS 334 E. 108 TH ST. APT-18B

NEW YORK 29 NEW YORK
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE AT 9-8188 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE TR 6-4027

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 1

TIME OF DEPARTURE ______

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ______

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN ______

TIME OF DEPARTURE ______

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ______

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? ___ IF SO, HOW MANY? ___

SIGNED Frederick E Dennard

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME BLYDEN JACKSON

ORGANIZATION EAST RIVER CORE

ADDRESS 219 EAST 123rd STREET

CITY NY ZONE 35 STATE NY

HOME ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE

ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE TE 1-9411-12

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 2

TIME OF DEPARTURE 7:00 AM

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ABOVE

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN

TIME OF DEPARTURE

PLACE OF DEPARTURE

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? YES IF SO, HOW MANY? ?

SIGNED Blyden Jackson

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Pedro Otero

ORGANIZATION Council of Puerto Rican & Spanish orgns of the Lower East Side

ADDRESS 16 Clinton ST N.Y.C

New York 9 N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS 58 Ave C. apt 1A

New York 9 N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE GR-5-1760 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE same

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 2

TIME OF DEPARTURE 7 A.M.

PLACE OF DEPARTURE Houston & Ave B.

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN ____________

TIME OF DEPARTURE ____________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ____________

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? No IF SO, HOW MANY? ______

SIGNED Pedro Otero

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Mrs. Louise Bellamy

ORGANIZATION NAACP

ADDRESS 62 E. Harrison St

Long Beach N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS 29 E. Harrison St.

Long Beach N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

~~or~~ GE2-7348
HOME TELEPHONE ~~GE2-2061~~ ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE GE2-2061

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 2

TIME OF DEPARTURE 6:00 ~~pm~~ A.M. 3-10-64

PLACE OF DEPARTURE 466 Park Place – Long Beach, N.Y.

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN ____________

TIME OF DEPARTURE ____________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ____________

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? ____ IF SO, HOW MANY? ______

SIGNED Louise Bellamy

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Mr M. P. Redd

ORGANIZATION Portchester Rye Branch N. AA.C.P.

ADDRESS 70 Purdy Ave
Portchester, N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS Rye, Colony
Rye. N.Y.
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE W.O-7-1992 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE W.E.7-3376

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES Not knowen

TIME OF DEPARTURE Living with White Plains groupe refer to them

PLACE OF DEPARTURE White Plains, N.Y

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN ____

TIME OF DEPARTURE ____

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ____

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? ____ IF SO, HOW MANY? ____

SIGNED Mr M. P. Redd

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME The Reverend Richard Gary

ORGANIZATION St. Mary's Episcopal Church

ADDRESS 521 West 126th Street

CITY New York ZONE 27 STATE New York

HOME ADDRESS 521 West 126th Street

CITY New York ZONE 27 STATE New York

HOME TELEPHONE MO 3-8285 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE UN 4-4404

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES one

TIME OF DEPARTURE 7:00 a.m.

PLACE OF DEPARTURE St. Mary's Church

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN ____

TIME OF DEPARTURE ____

PLACE OF DEPARTURE ____

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? no IF SO, HOW MANY? ____

SIGNED R. E. Gary

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME Moe Foner

ORGANIZATION Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union

ADDRESS 300 West 45th Street

New York 36 NY
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS 48-28 196 Place

Flushing 65 NY
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE BA 9-7397 ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE JU 2 1890

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES 5

TIME OF DEPARTURE 7:30

PLACE OF DEPARTURE 300 West 45th Street

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN —

TIME OF DEPARTURE —

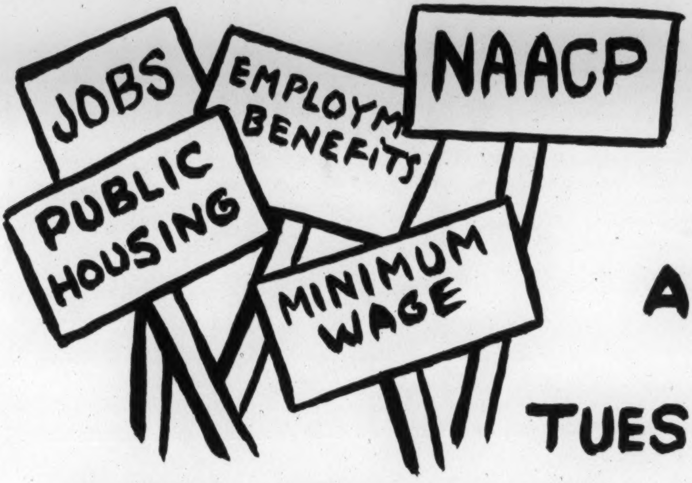
PLACE OF DEPARTURE —

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS? No IF SO, HOW MANY? ______

SIGNED Moe Foner

LET'S GO!

They say "the first 100 years are the hardest"
...and now they're behind us. So, LET'S GO!


JOBS
EMPLOYM
BENEFITS
NAACP
PUBLIC
HOUSING
MINIMUM
WAGE

WE
MARCH
TO
ALBANY
ON
TUES. MAR. 10

ARE YOU WITH US ?

MEET US AT

10:00 A.M.
Governor Clinton Hotel
For Registration and
Lobby Instructions

12:30 P.M.
Chancellar Hall of
State Education Bldg.
For Mass Rally

Sponsored by the
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York State Conference of Branches

New York State NAACP 1964 Legislative Program

1. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

A. $1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage.

It is clear that both the State and Federal minimum wage laws are totally inadequate, both on the minimum wage levels and in their coverage.

Therefore, we urge the immediate establishment of a statewide minimum wage law of a $1.50 per hour which would cover workers both within interstate and intrastate commerce. Included in such coverage should be such groups as domestics and farm workers, who in the past have been denied the protection of **any** minimum wage law. We also urge the enactment of a law enabling the major municipalities to enact local laws improving on the state minimum wage law both on a minimum wage level and incoverage.

B. Voluntary Hospital Workers

Our present Unemployment Insurance Law and Anti-Discrimination Laws do not cover the voluntary hospital workers, many of whom are Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Therefore, we urge the passage of legislation that will extend the coverage of our unemployment insurance and anti-discrimination laws to include all of the voluntary hospital workers.

C. Apprenticeship Training

Negroes and members of minority groups are often denied the right to seek apprenticeship training in the field of their choice.

Therefore, we urge the amendment of Section 43 of the Civil Rights Law to include prohibitions against discrimination in apprenticeship or other training, whether in unions, managements or jointly administered programs. In order to make crystal clear the obligation of the Industrial Commissioners to enforce the provisions of Civil Rights Law, Section 42, 43, 44 and etc., the law should read "shall" enforce rather than "may" enforce.

D. Automation

Many workers displaced because of automation need assistance.

Therefore, we urge the establishment of a permanent, Executive Agency on automation.

II. HOUSING

A. Metcalf-Baker Bill

The enforcement provision of the present anti-discrimination law in the field of housing is inadequate.

Therefore, we urge an amendment to the present law which would authorize the State Commissioners on Human Rights to exercise injunctive powers which would prevent the sale or rental of any house or apartment by any person, or firm, against whom a claim of discrimination is filed, until the dispute has been resolved. In addition, in cases where the Commissioner finds that a claim of discrimination is supported by the evidence, he should be authorized to recommend criminal prosecution, under a penal statute which would declare it a misdemeanor to be found guilty of discrimination under the Metcalf-Baker Housing Law.

B. Public Housing

We urge the enactment of legislation which would:

(1) Authorize the appropriation of funds for more low rent public housing;

(2) Permit the N.Y.C. Housing Authority to institute positive measures to bring about racial balance in public housing;

(3) Change the priority system so that the Housing Authorities will have the power to prevent the re-creation of racial ghettos in new housing projects.

(4) Enable the State to let construction contracts to single bidders rather than to sub-contractors, thereby, reducing the cost of construction, and permitting a lower rent scale.

C. New York City's Receivership Laws

We urge the enactment of legislation which would have the effect of strengthening our present Receivership laws and thereby offer additional protection to those tenants who are victims of uncorrected housing violations.

III LICENSES

The New York State Board of Regents has adopted rules to cover discrimination practiced by physicians, dentists and other professionals. These rules are good but should be made permanent by passage of legislation.

Therefore, we urge the enactment of a law which would compel the revocation of any State issued license possessed by any person found guilty of discrimination because of race, creed or color in the exercise of the rights given under said license.

IV VOLUNTEER AGENCIES

It is apparent that many agencies such as Volunteer Fire Departments and private clubs that receive tax support or use State property by various means deny membership to applicants because of differences in race, color or creed.

Therefore, we urge the enactment of legislation which would prohibit such discrimination.

V EDUCATION

A. Tuition Free State and City Colleges

Higher education is not a luxury but a necessity for better employment opportunities.

Therefore, we urge the enactment of legislation to insure tuition free colleges.

B. De Facto School Segregation

The State Education Department has issued a directive to local school authorities to make plans to achieve better racial balance in public schools. Legislation has been introduced which provides that no child in or under the sixth grade of grammar school may be transferred, sent or required to attend any school other than one in the school district or neighborhood in which the child resides without the written consent of his parents or guardians. If such legislation were enacted, it would tend to perpetuate segregation in public education which is unconstitutional.

Therefore, we urge the defeat of that bill.

VI CIVIL RIGHTS

A. Police Searches

Legislation has been passed which would authorize police officers to conduct searches of citizens upon the mere suspicion of the searching officer that a crime has been committed. It is clear that because of this bill minority groups will be unmercifully subjected to unreasonable harassment on the part of unreasonable police officers. We further contend that such legislation would infringe upon the constitutional guarantees given all citizens to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures.

Therefore, we are opposed to this legislation.

B. Participation of Children in Demonstrations

From the time of the Boston Tea Party, a major heritage of our nation has been the participation of its citizens in peaceful protests against injustice. We deem it important that children learn and understand this heritage as a right of citizenship in a democracy.

Therefore, we urge the defeat of any legislation which would prevent children or anyone else from participation in peaceful protests.

C. Voting Rights

Many Puerto Ricans and other minority people are denied the right to vote because of their failure to meet our present literacy requirements.

We urge the passage of a law which will eliminate the literacy test as a voting requirement in all cases where the intended voter produces proof of a sixth grade education.

d With Gambling

Police Station March Set for Noon Today

The Syracuse Chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) kicked off its Upstate New York Regional CORE Conference here last night with a call for a massive demonstration through the noon hour today at the Willow Street police station.

Dr. George A. Wiley, community relations director for Syracuse CORE and recently appointed to the National Action Council of CORE, issued the call for a march on the police station and jail at a meeting last night in Lincoln Auditorium.

Approximately 350 persons attended the opening session of the three-day meeting, and heard remarks from Bayard Bustin, co-ordinator of last year's march on Washington; Norman Hill, national program director of CORE; and August Meier, author of the book, "Negro Thought in America."

Dr. Wiley urged the public to join the demonstration, and declared that the 200 delegates to the conference would take part.

He listed the starting place of the march as the AME Zion Church, 711 E. Fayette St., and said the demonstrators would leave there about 11:45 a.m.

Dr. Wiley, assistant professor of chemistry at Syracuse University, explained that the march would be to protest whtat he called "irresponsible behavior" by the city administration, Chief of Police Patrick V. Murphy, Dist. Atty. Frank A. Moran and other officials with regard to charges of police brutality levelled at city police Jan. 20 by Syracuse CORE.

Dr. Wiley promised a 90-minute demonstration, and said that two specific points would be sought. He listed these as:

1. Public disclosure of the findings of the several investigations which were to be made into the case of Charles Presley, who charged he was bound and beaten in the Willow Street jail. Police Chief Murphy, Dist. Atty. Moran, the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and the Onondaga County Bar Association promised investigations.

2. The formation of a Citizen's Committee of representatives of CORE, the NAACP, the IUE Civil Rights Committee and other "responsible" citizens to look into jail conditions at Willow Street and the features of the new jail in the Public Safety Building.

"There has been no public release of information on this matter," Dr. Wiley declared, "and our only alternative is to take to the streets."

Executive secretary of the local CORE chapter, Byron Rushing declared that plans call for no civil disobedience of the type which resulted in nearly 100 arrests at urban renewal sites in the fall.

Rustin, who was delayed for several hours by airline flight problems out of New York City, added his voice in support of demonstrations against alleged police brutality.

"It is our duty to fight police brutality anywhere it occurs," declared Rustin, co-ordinator of the New York City school boy-

(Continued on Next Page)

★ ★ ★

Albany March

Mass Rally Set By Rights Units

Plans for a mass march and rally in Albany on Tuesday, March 10, were revealed last night at the regional CORE conference opening meeting in Lincoln Auditorium.

Dr. George Wiley, local CORE officer, said the all-day demonstration will push for civil rights and social legislation in the current session of the Legislature.

A March manual distributed last night calls for leaders of the sponsoring groups to meet with Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Lt. Gov. Malcolm J. Wilson and Republican and Democratic leaders of the Assembly and Senate on the morning of March 10, if appointments can be arranged.

Marchers will meet at the State Armory and begin moving around the Capitol at 12:30 p.m., winding up in a two-hour rally at the Armory.

Sponsors of the march include Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) the State Council of NAACP branches, the National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights and more than 15 New York City fraternal, labor, church and other civil rights groups.

Central headquarters for the march is in New York City.

The demonstration will lobby specifically for state laws providing a $1.50 minimum hourly wage, legalizing rent strikes, prohibiting discrimination by unions and management in apprenticeship training programs and eliminating the literacy test as a voting requirement.

Marchers also will demand setting up of a permanent joint legislature committee to study automation problems, appropriation of funds for massive low-cost, integrated public housing and a law guaranteeing free tuition in state-supported colleges.

Other demands will include state aid for "quality integrated education," and unemployment insurance, collective bargaining rights and anti-discrimination protection for voluntary hospital workers. The governor will be urged to veto a search and seizure bill now pending.

All demands, according to the march manual, are tied to specific legislation being considered in the current session.

March director is Bayard Rustin, who organized the March on Washington and the Feb. 3 boycott of New York schools.

With respect to the march, Rustin, who spoke at the conference, declared that it has become not a march for civil rights alone but also a march for social legislation.

"While the labor movement sleeps, civil rights groups are working for poor people of all races," he declared. The organized labor groups in New York have voted against taking part in the march, he asserted.

TUES. MARCH 10th

MARCH ON ALBANY

13 ASTOR PLACE
New York 3, New York
Telephone: ORegon 3-5126

Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Chairman
Dr. Eugene T. Reed
President, New York State NAACP

Director
BAYARD RUSTIN

SPONSORS

Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Wage in N.Y. State • City-Wide Committee for Decent Housing
Congress of Racial Equality • District 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union
National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights • New York State Conference of NAACP Branches

	COOPERATIVE GROUPS	AMOUNT OF BUSES	AMT OF PEOPLE
yes ✓	MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH - OR 7-0400	10	450
yes ✓	~~LOCAL 144~~ (pick-up) -	2	80
	LOCAL 32 BLDG SERVICES — MU5-4700	2	80
yes	~~AMALGAMATED~~ ini PA.PA.	2	80
✓	UFT — ~~[illegible]~~ SP7-7500 — miss Marshall — will call back	1	44
	LOCAL 100 TRANSPORT WORKERS JU6-8000 mr. Von Repper	2	80
	~~DISTRICT 65~~	500 PEOPLE ON TRAIN	
	RENT STRIKE COMMITTEE — omit	22	900
Rev. ✓	M L WILSON CONVENT AVE BAPTIST CHURCH AU6-0222 — 1 Bus & ~~may~~ will pick up will try	2	80
✓	WARREN BUNN BKLYN NAACP - HY3-1671 — 2 will try + pick up	2	80
✓	1199 — JU2-1890 — will pick up	5	225
mailed ✓	UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER BKLYN	1	44
✓	EAST RIVER CORE — yes	2	80
yes	~~AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASS~~ (trains) picked up	~~1~~	44
✓	I U E BKLYN — TN5-5645 — Mr Bigg (call back) doubtful commitment	1	44
mailed ✓	~~SHILOH~~ Siloam PRES. CHURCH REV GALAMISION	1	44
mailed	COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN & SPANISH ORGAN. OF LOWER EAST SIDE	2	80
mailed	L I CORE	7	300
mailed	~~ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH~~ UN4-4404	1	44
Tina	east harlem school Committee	1	44
Tina	WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE	1	44
	~~ASSOCIATED~~ Association CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS — LE2-2493 — going with other groups incognito	1	44
yes	WEST CHESTER COORDINATING COMMITTEE — on other sheet	1	44
	UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS REGION 9 — WO6-1920 — will call		

✓ Local 2 - Bldg. Service - not sure how many]

N.Y. STATE indep. + employees

+ Factory Workers - (afl. C.I.O.) OR4-3637

John A Matthews
Bottle & Cork Sales Club –
P.O. 52
Colonial Park Station

mailed
541 W 156 St
NYNY
– Apr. 11 –
TO2-2601

✓ – New York Core – ⑦
29 So 7th Ave – MO6-0400

mailed
NAACP – Long Beach Ny – ② Rose

mailed
NAACP – Portchester Rye –

Wolly Eisenberg
Dir of Leg. Com.

COOPERATIVE GROUPS	AMOUNT OF BUSES	AMT OF PEOPLE
MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH	10	450
LOCAL 144	2	80
LOCAL 32 BLDG SERVICES	2	80
AMALGAMATED Laundry Workers	2	80
UFT	1	44
LOCAL 100 TRANSPORT WORKERS	2	80
DISTRICT 65	500 PEOPLE ON TRAIN	
RENT STRIKE COMMITTEE	22	900
M L WILSON CONVENT AVE BAPTIST CHURCH	2	80
WAREEN BUNN BKLYN NAACP	2	80
1199	5	225
UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER BKLYN	1	44
EAST RIVER CORE	2	80
AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASS	1	44
I U E BKLYN	1	44
SHILOM PRES. CHURCH REV GALAMISION	1	44
COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN & SPANISH ORGAN. OF LOWER EAST SIDE	2	80
L I CORE	7	300
ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH	1	44
east harlem school	1	44
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE	1	44
ASSOCIATED CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS	1	44
WEST CHESTER COORDINATING COMMITTEE	1	44
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS REGION 9		

ADDITIONAL COOPERATING GROUPS

BAPTISTSMINISTERSCONFERENCEOFGREATER NEW YORK & VINCINTY INC.

EAST HARLEM SCHOOL COMMITTEE

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS

LOWER EAST SIDE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

AME ZION MINISTERS COMMITTEE

FEDERATION OF UNION REPRESENTATIVES

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

AMALGAMATED LAUNDRY WORKERS JOINT BOARD

UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER OF BKLYN

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKER'S REGION 9

WEST CHESTER COORDINATING COMMITTEE

AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

EAST HARLEM PROTESANT PARRISH

JEFFERSON PARK [illegible] METHODIST CHURCH
COUNCIL OF PUERTO-RICAN & SPANISH ORGANIZATIONS OF LOWER EAST SIDE

ADDITIONAL COOPERATING GROUPS

BAPTISTSMINISTERSCONFERENCEOFGREATER NEW YORK & VINCINTY INC.

~~EAST HARLEM SCHOOL COMMITTEE~~

~~WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE~~ AL 4-4953

ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS ? LE 2-2493

moY ~~LOWER EAST SIDE~~ CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION ?

~~AME ZION MINISTERS COMMITTEE~~ - RI9-2952 ?

~~FEDERATION~~ OF UNION REPRESENTATIVES

✓ METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING SP 7-8900 - 914- 6516
351 E 74 St.

~~ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH~~

~~MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH~~

~~AMALGAMATED LAUNDRY WORKERS JOINT BOARD~~

~~UNITED COMMUNITY CENTER OF BKLYN~~

~~UNITED~~ AUTOMOBILE WORKER'S REGION 9 ? WO 61920 ?

~~WEST~~CHESTER COORDINATING COMMITTEE ?

✓AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION CO 7-1374

~~EAST HARLEM PROTESANT PARRISH~~

✓~~JEFFERSON PARK METHODIST CHURCH~~ - going in car -

✓COUNCIL OF ~~PUERTO-RICAN & SPANISH~~ ORGANIZATIONS OF LOWER EAST SIDE

Manhattan Protestant Council -

AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

176

International Office
18 John Street, New York 38, N. Y.

Telephone
COrtlandt 7 - 1374

February 28, 1964

Bayard Rustin, Director
March on Albany
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Our organization has been actively participating in the work of the Citizens Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Wage and is in full support of all the demands to be pressed by the March on Albany on March 10.

We would be pleased to have the name of our Union added to the list of cooperating organizations. Be assured of our wholehearted support in this vital endeavor.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Selly

Joseph P. Selly
President

JPS:am
ftul

HOW TO REACH ALBANY

BY TRAIN

The regular New York-Albany round trip fare is $13.58. However, for groups of 500 or more people, the New York Central railroad has a special price of $6.80 per person, round trip. Smaller groups wishing to go by train should pool together to enjoy the special rate. Contact Mr. Healy, New York Central Railroad at MU 9-8000 Ext. 3489. (Be sure to fill out attached train captains form.) Individuals who wish to buy train tickets should call Mr. Bobby Berse at OR 3-5120.

BY BUS

Each group is responsible for chartering its own bus. Buses should leave New York by 7:00 A.M. The following bus companies have proved reliable:

SCENIC PLEASURE TOURS
225 W. 34th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.
LO 5-2894
MRS. ROBERTS

TRAVELERS BUS CO.
MU 7-8810
MR. GOLDMAN

EMBASSY MOTOR COACH
147 W. 42nd STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.
OX 5-2121

Travelers Bus, for example, will provide a 44 passenger bus for $165.00, making it possible for groups to sell tickets at $4.00 per person round trip. You will note that 44 tickets at $4.00 per person round trip, totals $176.00--the difference of $11.00 permits a tip for the driver and insurance in case one or two places are not sold. (Be sure to fill out the attached bus captains form.) Individuals who wish to go to Albany can obtain information and bus seats by calling their local (city or borough) NAACP OR CORE office.

BY CAR

Cars should leave New York no later than 7:00 A.M. Car travel is encouraged, but drivers are urged to:

1. fill their cars
2. remind passengers to bring lunch.

Headquarters in Albany will give you instructions on where to park when you arrive in Albany.

SPECIAL NOTES TO GROUPS OUT-SIDE NEW YORK CITY

1. Make certain that delegations arrive at the ARMORY in time for registration.
2. Regarding lobbying, we urge you to make appointments with your legislators prior to March 10th. You should request to see them between 10:30 A.M. and 12:30 P.M., if possible.
3. Please notify the central office immediately of the number of people coming from your area or district and of any appointments you have made with legislators.
4. Do all you can to get civil rights, fraternal, labor and religious groups from your community to come to ALBANY and to make appointments with legislators.

Mail

John W Kemp -
107 Flatbush
BKL 17 NY.
- Local 2 -

COOPERATING GROUPS

(PARTIAL LISTING)

NEW YORK STATE ELKS

NEW YORK STATE PRINCE HALL MASONS

COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING

LOWER EAST SIDE NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

LOCAL 1199 DRUG & HOSPITAL WORKERS

LOCAL 144 HOTEL & ALLIED EMPLOYEES

LOCAL 32 BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES

BAPTIST MINISTERS CONFERENCE OF GREATER NEW YORK & VICINITY

A.M.E. MINISTERS ALLIANCE

BROOKLYN MINISTERS COMMITTEE FOR JOB OPPORTUNITIES

HARLEM NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS

UNITED FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

A.M.E. ZION MINISTERS ASSOCIATION

NEGRO ACTION GROUP OF THE LOWER EAST SIDE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

LOCAL 100 TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION

We urge those church, fraternal, labor and civil rights groups wishing to cooperate with the March to notify the central office in order that they may be included in future listing.

CLIP AND SEND TO:

THE MARCH ON ALBANY
13 ASTOR PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OR 3-5120

FORM TO BE FILLED OUT BY TRAIN AND BUS CAPTAINS

NAME____

ORGANIZATION___________________________________

ADDRESS______________________________________

____
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME ADDRESS___________________________________

____
CITY ZONE STATE

HOME TELEPHONE_______________ ORGANIZATION TELEPHONE_______________

BUSES

NO. OF BUSES_________

TIME OF DEPARTURE____________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE_______________

TRAINS

NO. OF PEOPLE ON TRAIN____________

TIME OF DEPARTURE________________

PLACE OF DEPARTURE_______________

WILL YOU HAVE EXTRA SEATS ON YOUR TRAIN AND BUS?___ IF SO, HOW MANY?_____

SIGNED______________________________

March on Washington
Call 3/83

WE STILL HAVE A DREAM: JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

A CALL TO THE NATION

THREE CRITICAL CONDITIONS IN OUR SOCIETY -- INSUFFERABLE UNEMPLOYMENT; AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE; AND THE DENIAL OF BASIC RIGHTS AND PROGRAMS WHICH ENSURE FREEDOM -- FORCE THE UNDERSIGNED TO CALL UPON OUR FELLOW AMERICANS TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON ON AUGUST 27, 1983 ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

We, the undersigned conveners, deemed it wise to call upon our fellow Americans to remember the full meaning of the American Dream, of liberty and justice for all, in a world of peace and freedom in which everyone can live with the hope of a better tomorrow for our children. But the American Dream is tarnished today as the tides of national self-doubt, aggressiveness and chauvinism of race, sex, class and nation are seriously undermining our national unity and sense of human solidarity.

We seek to bring together a "New Coalition of Conscience" for Jobs, Peace and Freedom on the Twentieth Anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's historic "I Have a Dream" speech -- a treasured part of the legacy of all Americans. We seek in this way to help recapture a sense of noble and human spirit in which our domestic and foreign policies are consistent with the basic national purposes as articulated in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the United States Constitution.

We seek a New Coalition of Conscience that will be an expansion of the historic Coalition of the Civil Rights Movement, because we understand that the issues of Jobs, Peace and Freedom are inextricably linked: that they are equally important. The New Coalition brings together these three issues based upon the concept of the "Beloved Community" of Dr. King -- that all humans are "caught in an inescapable network of mutuality...whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly". Our Coalition is not a collection of single-issue groups brought together for tactical advantage, rather it is a community and a movement brought together by a common dream and human values.

The New Coalition is open to all who truly ascribe to this document, and work in mutuality and trust with all other signatories. We do not aspire to unanimity in all details. However, we do believe that a powerful unity of spirit -- to seek the solutions to our national problems through non-violent and democratic procedures -- will provide a catalyst for powerful and much needed social changes in this nation.

We believe that the basic national agenda must be built around the challenges of JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM.

JOBS

Millions of Americans are suffering from the disaster of double-digit unemployment, and the groups affected most are Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, the Disabled, Women and Youth. The shrinking availability of jobs in a depressed industrial economy, and the lack of training opportunities to learn new skills, is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families. The military budget which involves pouring billions of dollars into defense spending denies our people scores of absolutely essential human resources and service programs. The farmers and small business people of our country are facing foreclosures and bankruptcies on a scale unequalled since the 1930s. Disabled Americans have lost vital services and programs that once helped them gain access to an education and a better job. This squandering of human resources is a human disgrace when so much needs to be done in both the public and private sectors. We call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed the full employment objectives of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, which is now the law of the land. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry and government to assure all Americans socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage, to foster real economic growth, and to provide adequate education and training for all Americans.

PEACE

It is necessary that peace not be defined merely as the absence of war or as a distant goal which is sought, but as a means by which a goal is achieved. The pursuit of peaceful ends through peaceful means must be continued. Based on the assumption that life is worth living and that humankind has a right to survive, an alternative to war and threats of war must be found.

The stockpiling and proliferation of nuclear weapons cast a dark shadow over the future of humanity. The very planet on which we live is threatened with nuclear destruction. Global military spending consumes vast resources needed to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the homeless. The massive worldwide armament race has escaped control and all reason, and has restricted the ability of governments to promote the common welfare of all people. Armed with destructive weapons unparalleled in human history, we live in constant fear of annihilation. We call upon both super powers and their allies to radically reduce and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals as well as conventional weapons; to act jointly to prevent the spread of such weapons to other nations; and to reduce the record levels of military expenditures. The pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world is of singular importance. Therefore, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the growing number of religious leaders and other leaders of conscience, who are seeking ways to resolve world conflicts through non-violent means, and ways to invest our wealth and energy in peace. Ending the disastrous arms race in the immediate months ahead must become public policy, not just an elusive goal. Moreover, we call upon the American public to turn the arms race into a "peace race" utilizing the existent and evolving movements in the United States as its foundation.

FREEDOM

In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign throughout 1983 against hate and every form of class, racial, sexual, age, and religious prejudice. We call upon the American people to renew their commitment to the cause of human rights and to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi groups, and in some places, by the law enforcement agencies. We call for the New Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation and to reverse recent governmental trends which have sought to roll back and weaken the enforcement of civil rights laws and policies. We call upon the nation to work for full and equal rights of women. We are committed to securing legal and economic equity for women in the workforce.

We urge the implementation of domestic and foreign policies that reflect the best values of the American people by promoting respect for and protection of human rights. We are opposed to repression of every sort -- whether it be the economic, social and cultural rights that are denied, or civil and political rights that are abridged. We support the struggle of workers to organize in free trade unions everywhere. We oppose corporate America's partnership with the racist apartheid regime in South Africa and we condemn the policies of the current administration in expanding relations with South Africa. We oppose the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U. S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected. Further, we urge the American Government to eliminate its ideological and racial biases in our nation's refugee and asylum policies and practices.

To bring all these issues together, we will launch a year-long mobilization of a New Coalition of Conscience that will:

1. bring together a massive MARCH ON WASHINGTON, D.C. on August 27th, 1983 to reaffirm the Dream and continue activities on August 28th to unite as never before - this New Coalition around specific goals and common objectives; and

2) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn this nation around in the areas of JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM; and

3) work for passage of legislation that would designate January 15th as a national public holiday in honor of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and

4) work on the state and local level to implement the full agenda of the New Coalition of Conscience.

We are encouraged by the great outpouring of concern among the people of our country as evidenced in the "Solidarity Day Demonstration" in September 1981; the great "Peace Demonstration" held in New York last June 12th, which was the largest mass demonstration on any issue in the history of the United States; as well as hundreds of local actions organized on an unprecedented scale. We believe that this is the historic moment to bring together again a coalition of goodwill and conscience, that will address the welfare of the whole nation and not merely some of its parts; that will be unified by a common vision of the American Dream, and that can act as a power and as a leaven to help this nation live out its full meaning and move again toward that Dream.

Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Dr. Joseph Lowery
Walter E. Fauntroy, M.C.

Bishop John Adams
Senator James Abourezk
Bishop James Armstrong
Mr. Harry Belafonte
Mr. Clyde Bellecourt
Ms. Asia Bennett
Ms. Donna Brazile
John Conyers, M.C.
Mr. Richard Deats

→ hold

Ms. Mary Futrell
Robert Garcia, M.C.
Ms. Judy Goldsmith
Ms. Dorothy Height
Rev. Benjamin Hooks
Dr. T. J. Jemison
Rev. Jesse Jackson
Mr. John Jacob
Rabbi Alex Schindler

Fraser
McBride

Mr. William Winpisinger

Mr. Stevie Wonder

Ms. Addie Wyatt

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION

Co - Chairpersons

Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Martin Luther King Center for
Non-Violent Social Change

Dr. Joseph Lowery
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Conveners

Senator James Abourezk
Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee

Bishop John H. Adams
Congress of National Black Churches

Bishop James Armstrong
National Council of Churches

Harry Belafonte
Peace Activist and Entertainer

Clyde Bellecourt, President
American Indian Movement

Asia Bennett, Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee

Donna Brazile
United States Students Association

Honorable John Conyers
Member of Congress

Add: Richard Deats
F. O. R.

Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy, M.C., Chairman
Administrative Committee Twentieth
Anniversary Mobilization

Murray Finley, President
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile
Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Mary Futrell
National Education Association

Honorable Robert Garcia
Member of Congress

Judy Goldsmith, President
National Organization for Women

Dorothy Height, President
National Council of Negro Women

Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

CONVENERS

Reverend Jesse Jackson, President
Operation PUSH

Dr. T.J. Jemison
National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A.

John Jacob, President
National Urban League

Stevland Morris (Stevie Wonder)
Black Bull Music

Archbishop John Roach
Archdiocese of St. Paul

Rabbi Alex Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Addie Wyatt, Vice President
United Food and Commercial Workers Union

William Winpisinger
International Association of Machinist
and Aerospace Workers (AFL-CIO)

National Planning Council

Bella Abzug, President
Women USA

Joan Baez
Musician and Peace Activist

Mona Baily, President
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.

His Excellency Archbishop Joseph Bernardin
Chicago, Illinois

State Senator Julian Bond
State of Georgia

Tony Bonilla, President
League of United Latin American Citizens

Anne Braden, Co-Chairperson
Southern Organizing Committee
for Economic and Social Justice

Betty Bumpers, Chairperson
Peace Links

Kenyon C. Burke, Associate General Secretary
Division of Church and Society
National Council of Churches

PLANNING COUNCIL

Dr. Charles Butler, President
Progressive National Baptist Convention

Leslie Cagan, Co-Facilitator
Mobilization for Survival

Dr. Helen Caldicott, President
Physicians for Social Responsibility

Dr. Robert C. Campbell, President
American Baptist Churches

Frank Chapman, Associate Director
National Alliance Against Racist
and Political Repression

Honorable Shirley Chisholm
Former Congresswoman

Ramsey Clark
Disarm Education Fund

Dr. Charles Cobb, Executive Director
Commission for Racial Justice

Reverend William Sloane Coffin
Riverside Church

David Cortwright, Director
SANE

Reverend W.N. Daniels
National Baptist Convention of America

Reverend Herbert Daughtry, President
National Black United Front

Ossie Davis, Actor

Ruby Dee, Actress

Dr. James Dunn
Baptist Joint Committee on
Public Affairs

Dr. Samuel Ethridge, Special Assistant
to the Executive Director
National Education Association

Willie Felder
United Auto Workers

Janice Fine, President
United States Student Association

PLANNING COUNCIL

Mayor Johnny Ford, President
National Conference of Black Mayors

Libby Frank, Director
Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

Douglas Fraser, President
United Auto Workers

Earl Graves
Earl Graves LTD

Jesse Gray
National Tenants Organization

Dick Gregory
Entertainer and Civil Rights Activist

Anna Gyorgy
Critical Mass Energy Project

Mayor Richard Hatcher, Vice President
Democratic National Committee

Carl Holman, President
National Urban Coalition

Ronald Ikejiri
Japanese American Citizens League

Bishop Fred James, President
Council of Bishops

Al Jenkins
American Agricultural Movement

Bishop Chester Kirkendall
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Randy Kehler
Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

Maggie Kuhn, President
National Grey Panthers

Sister Barbara Lupo, Co-Chairperson
Clergy and Laity Concerned

Dr. Emanuel McCall
Black Relations,
Southern Baptist Church

Bishop John H. Miller, President
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

State Senator Clarence Mitchell, III, President
National Black Caucus of State Legislators

PLANNING COUNCIL

Iman Warith D. Muhammed
American Muslim Mission

Lloyd McBride, President
United Steelworkers Union

Willard H. McGuire
National Education Association

Jack O'Dell, Editor
Freedomways

Bishop J.O. Patterson
Church of God in Christ

Rafe Pomerance, President
Friends of the Earth

Dorothy Riding
League of Women Voters

Cleveland Robinson, Vice President
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

Esther Rolle, Actress

Howard Samuel, President
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

Craig Shelton, President
National Organization of Black
University and College Students

Dr. Ron Sider
Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary

Samuel Simmons, President
National Caucus and Center on Black Aged

Barbara William Skinner
Tom Skinner Associates

Gloria Steinem, Editor
MS. Magazine

Ozell Sutton, President
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

Sister Nancy Sylvester
NETWORK

Donald Tucker, President
National Black Caucus of
Local Elected Officials

PLANNING COUNCIL

Dr. Brady Tyson
International Relations,
The American University

Reverend C.T. Vivian
National Anti-Klan Network

Cora Weiss, Director
Riverside Church Disarmament Program

Robert White, President
National Alliance of Postal
and Federal Employees

Donald Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler
Improved Benevolent and Protective Order
of the Elks of the World

Mayor Andrew Young
City of Atlanta

To: Tom Kahn

From: Ken

RECEIVED MAR 24 1983

Attatched is what, I am told by Liz Smith, is "final" draft.

A quick comparison with draft sent to Florida indicates:

① "Jobs" language dealing with military budget has been improved.

② 1st paragraph of "peace" is new, but not objectionable.

③ Last sentence of "peace" on pg 4 is added and not just puffery.

④ *Middle East language remains under "Freedom." Interesting change on pg 5. Language now reads: "We support the struggle of workers to organize in free trade unions everywhere." (Omitted are last words of original sentence - "from South Africa to Poland."

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION

Budget

PERSONNEL EXPENSES (February - September)

A. SALARIES

1	National Coordinator @ $1,500mo./7mos	$ 10,500.00
1	Deputy for National Mobilization @ $1,500mo./6mos.	9,000.00
1	Deputy for Media and Advertising @ $1,500mo./6mos.	9,000.00
1	Deputy for Logistics/Security @ $1,500mo./6mos.	9,000.00
1	Office Manager @ $1,500mo./6mos.	9,000.00
2	Clerical Interns @ $500mo./6mos.	6,000.00
3	Consulting Fees (Legal, etc.)	10,000.00
4	Contingency	10,000.00
	TOTAL	$ 72,500.00

B. INSURANCE

Health Insurance @ $75.00mo./per person	$ 375.00
Unemployment insurance of 5.4% of the first $6,000.00 of each employee's pay.	5,000.00
TOTAL	$ 5,375.00

TOTAL PERSONNEL EXPENSES	$ 77,875.00

NON PERSONNEL EXPENSES

A.	Accounting for monthly computerized statements according to funding source and auditing.	$ 5,000.00
B.	Equipment Rental	
	Self Correcting Typewriters 2 @ $60.00mo./6mos.	720.00
C.	Office Supplies @ $800.00mo./7mos.	5,600.00
D.	Maintenance	
	Typewriter maintenance contract @ $50.00/year.	50.00
E.	1. Toll Free Line (Incoming Calls)	1,500.00
	2. Watts Line (Outgoing Calls)	1,000.00
F.	Postage @ $2,000.00mo./6mos.	12,000.00
G.	Publication	15,000.00
	20th Anniversary Newsletter @ $2,500 issue/5 issues including mail service typesetting, distribution, etc.	

H. Printing

1.	Posters	(150,000)	$ 12,000.00
2.	Flyers	(500,000)	7,500.00
3.	Paper		10,000.00
4.	Pamphlet.	(100,000)	8,000.00
5.	Letterhead (pieces)	(5,000)	3,000.00
6.	Envelopes	(50,000)	5,000.00
7.	Typesetting		6,000.00
8.	Design/Graphic/Layout		7,500.00
9.	Logistical Packets		6,000.00
10.	Maps etc. (other material)		10,000.00
	TOTAL PRINTING		$ 75,000.00

I.	Travel	$ 10,000.00
J.	Media and Advertising	25,000.00
K.	Security (estimate)	30,000.00

-- Tents
-- Walkie Talkie
-- Truck Rental
-- Security badges and shirts
-- Contingency for personnel, etc.

L.	Insurance	50,000.00
M.	Logistics (estimate)	350,000.00

-- Portable Toilets (500)
-- Rental of Metro System (Subway)
-- Stage Construction
-- Media Stand
-- Banner
-- Sound Units
-- Site Preparation
-- Rental of Parking Units
-- Mobile Sound Units
-- Water System
-- Speaker Stand

N.	Contingency/Petty Cash	50,000.00
	TOTAL OF NON PERSONNEL EXPENSES	$630,870.00
	1982 "I Have a Dream Celebration" Deficit	17,500.00
	TOTAL PROJECTED EXPENSES	$ 726,245.00

MARCH ON Washington - 1982.
Memo to Coretta King + BLF.

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

October 15, 1982

Gil Jonas
The Gilbert Jonas Company
150 East 58th Street
New York, N.Y. 10155

Dear Gil,

As you can see, I never made it out of the office this afternoon.

Enclosed is the material we discussed. I heard today that the Gil Nobel Show has scheduled its follow-up program for the 31st.

Was very good to see you yesterday. Will take you up on that lunch invitation soon, when time permits. Thanks...

Best,

Harriette Siani

filed: Chron ✓

1982 March on Wash.

apri
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

Norman Hill
President
Frederick O'Neal
Vice President
Albert Shanker
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Cordelia Lewis
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*Leon Lynch
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Howard Richardson
Joann Riggs
*Earl Robinson
Wilbert Robinson
John Roche
John Rowland
Howard Samuel
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Dorothy Shields
Don Slaiman
Louise Smothers
Vincent Sombrotto
John Somers
Lorenzo Stephens
William Stodghill
Milan Stone
J.C. Turner
Tom Turner
Gus Tyler
Robert Tyner
*Barbara Van Blake
Walter Waddy
Shannon Wall
Roosevelt Watts
Robert Weaver
Wilbert Williams
William Wilson
William Winpisinger
C. Vann Woodward
William Wynn
W.C. Young

**Executive Committee members*

October 19, 1982

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: APRI Executive Committee

FROM: Norman Hill

RE: Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington

---

As you know, A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin were the principal organizers of the 1963 March on Washington. When discussions were begun within the leadership of the civil rights community to plan an appropriate 20th anniversary commemoration of the March on Washington, Bayard and I decided to share our views on the plans for this commemoration.

Enclosed is the memo we have sent to the Black Leadership Forum in this matter for your information.

FOUNDED BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, 1889-1979

653

November 16, 1982

Dear Arnie:

Bayard said to send down the memo with a "nice note". This is the nicest one I could find.

With it we enclose all our very best wishes for your quick recovery.

Best,
Hatsy

RED THISTLE
From a Japanese album
Edo period, Ukiyoe school, by Hokuga, fl. ca. 1830
Freer Gallery of Art
Smithsonian Institution Washington, D.C. (76.41d)

WB 40-12107

PRINTED IN SWITZERLAND
FOR H. GEORGE CASPARI, INC.

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
August 27-28, 1983 - Washington, D.C.

"RECALLING THE DREAM"

Co-Chairpersons 1982
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy

National Coordinator
Barbara Williams-Skinner

Co-Chairpersons 1983
Coretta Scott King
Rev. Joseph Lowery

November 5, 1982

RECEIVED NOV 18 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I want to thank you for your support of the 1982 "I HAVE A DREAM" Celebration in Atlanta. Representatives of some 100 organizations and over 30 individuals representing a broad coalition of interests and concerns co-sponsored the '82 Celebration, which commemorated the 19th Anniversary of the historic 1963 March on Washington. These organizational leaders and individuals participated in serious discussions on reaffirming Dr. King's Dream; the major issues of the 80's and development of a plan, timetable and mobilization strategy necessary for a new "Coalition of Conscience" to gather at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington in August 1983, and to demonstrate an extraordinary unity of thought and action about the future of our nation and the conditions of the world.

I have attached a report on income and expenditures in connection with the 1982 Celebration, and you will see that The King Center is faced with a deficit of some $17,000 which it simply cannot handle alone. I want to ask those organizations and individuals who agreed to co-sponsor the '82 Celebration and who did not contribute to the cost of this event, to please send a contribution to "I HAVE A DREAM" Celebration, 449 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312.

The need is urgent, please rush a contribution from your organization immediately. The creditors are calling daily.

On behalf of Congressman Fauntroy and myself, I want to thank each of you for the honor to have been identified with the '82 19th Anniversary Celebration and to have served as your Co-chairperson.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse

Jesse Hill, Jr.

JH/bec

Hosted and Sponsored by:
The Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
449 Auburn Avenue, N.E. • Atlanta, Georgia 30312 • (404) 524-1956
(Co-Sponsors - Reverse Side)

CO-SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

A Philip Randolph Institute
AFRAM Associates, Inc.
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers
American Association of Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies
American Federation of Government Employees
American Federal of State, County & Municipal Employees
American Friends Service Committee
American Muslim Mission
American Personnel & Guidance Association
Americans for Democratic Action
Association of Black Foundation Executives
Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry
B&C Associates
Center for Community Change
Center for National Policy Review
Citizens for a Better America
Coalition of American Public Employees
Congressional Black Caucus
Emergency Land Fund
Georgia State AFL-CIO
IMAGE
International Association of Black Fire Fighters
International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers
International Molders & Allied Workers
International Union of Operating Engineers
Japanese American Citizens League
Joint Center for Political Studies
Illinois Legislative Black Caucus
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
League of United Latin American Citizens
Legal Defense & Education Fund
Lewis J. Carter III & Associates
Lobbying Americans
Massachusetts Black Caucus
National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees
National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Black Women Attorneys
National Association of Counties
National Auxiliary for National Alliance of Postal & Federal Employees
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Black Nurses' Association, Inc.
National Black United Front
National Conference of Black Political Scientists
National Congress for Communtiy Economic Development
National Council of Negro Women
National Economics Association
National Education Association
National Urban Coalition
National Urban League
New Detroit
New York State Black and Puerto Rican Caucus
Northwest Conference of Black Public Officials
O. Jesse Wiles & Company, Inc.
OIC's of America
Operation PUSH
Public Employee Department, AFL-CIO
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.
Reformed Church in America
Ser-Jobs for Progress
16th Ward Regular Democratic Organization
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Regional Council
369th Veterans' Association, Inc.
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Unified Industries
United Auto Workers
United Food and Commercial Workers
United Presbyterian Church, USA
United States Student Association
Washington Office on Africa
WTBS-TV, Atlanta

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Congressman William Clay, Missouri
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Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally, California
Rabbi William H. Feyer
Congressman William H. Gray, III, Pennsylvania
Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, California
State Representative Ray Miller, Ohio
Congressman Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland
Ms. Delores Orey
Ms. Yvonne Price
Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Congressman Louis Stokes, Ohio
State Representative Craig A. Washington, Texas
Mayor Lionel J. Wilson, City of Oakland, CA
Mayor Andrew J. Young, City of Atlanta, GA

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE, INC.

"I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION"

FINANCIAL UPDATE

NOVEMBER 11, 1982

Contributions Greater Than $100.00:

Julius Chambers	$ 100.00
Progressive National Baptist Convention	1,000.00
Pearl Bellson	100.00
Fellowship of Reconciliation	1,100.00
District 65, U. A. W.	2,000.00
American Personnel Guidance	125.00
N. F. L. Charities	500.00
Workers of America	500.00
Walter E. Doulgas	200.00
Unified Industries, Inc.	500.00
Southeast Region ILGWU	500.00
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	100.00
United Presbyterian Church	1,000.00
United Food & Commercial Workers Int'l Union	2,500.00
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	1,000.00
National Grand Chapter, O. E. S.	200.00
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees	500.00
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.	1,000.00
TOTAL----------	$12,925.00
Contributions less than $100.00	710.00
GRAND TOTAL OF CONTRIBUTIONS-------------	$13,635.00
Registration	1,205.00
Evening of Tribute	955.00
Stars Salute Reception	8,440.00
Proceeds from Interfund Loan	5,000.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS AS OF 11/11/82-----------	$29,235.00

ACTUAL EXPENDITURES, 11/11/82

Printing & Artwork	$ 15,555.70
Public Relations	488.05
Postage	1,931.74
Travel/Per Diem	3,404.79
Equipment Rental	663.82
Inventory/Buttons	245.00
Supplies	651.76
Blue Prints & Photos	643.96
Telegraph	1,435.82
Telephone	2,084.37
Subscription & Publication	318.38
TOTAL	$ 27,423.39

OUTSTANDING EXPENSES:

Interfund Loan	$ 5,000.00
Omni & Hilton Hotels (Lodging for Consultants)	2,757.11
Consultant Fees	3,087.76
Printing and Artwork	983.30
Omni International Hotel (Stars Salute Reception)	4,100.00
TOTAL	$ 16,883.17

TOTAL EXPENSE AS OF 11/11/82	$ 44,306.56

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for
Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
449 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

ATLANTA
NOV 16 '82
GA.
U.S. POSTAGE
.20
P.B. METER 940608

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman of the National Board
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for
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449 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

ATLANTA
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Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

November 19, 1982

Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr.
Co-Chairperson 1982
I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
The Martin Luther King Jr. Center
for Nonviolent Social Change
449 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Dear Jesse,

I am in receipt of your correspondence, dated November 5, 1982, which reports on the finances connected with the 1982 celebration.

The financial problems you encountered in the 1982 endeavor lead me to believe that my analysis for the 1983 event is all the more realistic.

I hope that I will have a chance to talk to you and/or Coretta about this, and the other points in my memo of October 19, 1982, (see enclosed).

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hrs
Encl:
cc: Coretta Scott King
Bcc: Ken Young @ AFL-CIO

filed: Chron
March on Wash. 1983 (BLF memo) ✓

653

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

November 19, 1982

Mr. Kenneth Young
Assistant to the President
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20006

Dear Ken,

I don't know if you received a copy of this letter (see enclosed).

I will be calling you early next week about this because I think Hill's letter substantiates my financial analysis.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hrs
Encl:

filed: Chron
March on Wash 1983 (BLF memo) ✓

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

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Coretta Scott King
Rev. Joseph Lowery

November 5, 1982

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Jesse

Jesse Hill, Jr.

JH/bec

Hosted and Sponsored by:
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THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE, INC.

"I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION"

FINANCIAL UPDATE

NOVEMBER 11, 1982

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Workers of America	500.00
Walter E. Doulgas	200.00
Unified Industries, Inc.	500.00
Southeast Region ILGWU	500.00
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	100.00
United Presbyterian Church	1,000.00
United Food & Commercial Workers Int'l Union	2,500.00
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	1,000.00
National Grand Chapter, O. E. S.	200.00
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Consultant Fees	3,087.76
Printing and Artwork	983.30
Omni International Hotel (Stars Salute Reception)	4,100.00
TOTAL	$ 16,883.17

TOTAL EXPENSE AS OF 11/11/82 $ 44,306.56

March ON Wash. 11/29/82
memo to BLF

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Rev. Joseph Lowery, Chairman and Members of the Black Leadership Forum

FROM: Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

RE: Proposed Anniversary of 1963 March on Washington

DATE: October 19, 1982

We believe that the 1963 March at which Martin Luther King, Jr. made his now world famous speech, I Have a Dream, was a historic moment for all Americans. Thus we are most enthusiastic about an anniversary of that great event. But it must be carried out in a manner that enhances the cause of civil rights. As Deputy Directors of the '63 March, we are fully acquainted with the financial and organizational details that contributed to its moral and political success.

Norman Hill, you will remember, abstained in the vote on this particular proposal when it was presented at the last meeting of the Forum. Bayard Rustin saw the plans for the first time following the forum meeting.

Having now reviewed the present plans for a March in 1983, we wish to raise a number of questions regarding its wisdom. We would not at this time question these current plans if we were not prepared to offer an alternative. But let us first raise the questions we have regarding a March.

1. Money.

In 1963 over $300,000 was spent by the organizing committee. There is actually no accurate way to estimate the costs incurred by other national and local groups. But we would guess that $600,000 to $700,000 was spent by them. One can assume that the 1963 March cost about $1,000,000 all told. Given the subsequent inflation, we would estimate the cost for a similar effort in 1983, conservatively, would be at least $2,000,000.

We do not believe that the commitment and financial state of the present coalition can raise any such amount either in terms of the central committee or for an adequate local response. We base that judgement on the fact that, after months of discussion, significant funds have neither been collected or committed.

2. The 80's more complicated than the 60's.

We believe that, out of a sentimental appreciation of the dynamics of the 1960's and out of deep respect for the great contribution of Dr. King, many people will find it difficult to evaluate objectively the new and more complicated situation we face in the 1980's. They may therefore approve such a March while not recognizing that they cannot arouse in their constituencies either the political and moral response, the financial commitment, or the energy to equal or surpass the dynamic and unique demonstration that the situation in 1963 made possible.

3. Comparison of numbers a political danger for the movement.

A March in 1983 will be compared in every detail with the March of 1963. Failure to equal the quarter million mark will, automatically be considered by the media as a failure of the movement. It will also, in this difficult period, be considered by many black people a failure attributable to today's black leadership. It will, beyond this, reveal a weakness in our coalition and will send the wrong signals to the Administration, to Congress, and to the various state and local governments. Civil rights forces will be seen not as gathering strength, but as withering on the political vine.

It is our considered judgement that we cannot afford to hold a commenorative March in 1983 without attracting more people than we did in 1963. Otherwise, we will be doing grave damage to our cause and movement and to all of its constituent segments.

4. Movement results from hope not despair

Growth and movement in voluntary agencies and in individual action springs not from despair but from hope. This was evidenced in an article in the *New York Times* (Friday, October 8th, 1982), reporting on a survey among the unemployed. In their despair, many gave up hope on politicians and the electoral system and indicated that they would not turn up at the polls for the 1982 election.

1963 was truly a period of great hopes. Our slogans became We Shall Overcome; Freedom Now; Pass the Bill. Yet even so, it took months of organizing, cajoling, and persuasion, to get 250,000 people to Washington. Can we hope to top that figure in 1983? And if we decide to try, should we not first fully weigh the extreme political consequences if we do not succeed?

5. The Question of Order

One of the most impressive aspects of the 1963 March was its sense of joy, camaraderie, and order. In fact, not a single arrest was made in all of Washington that day. It is reported that this helped convince some in Congress who had opposed civil rights legislation to reverse their positions.

There is a serious question in our minds as to whether order can be maintained in Washington, D.C. on a hot summer afternoon in a period when black youth are justifiably distraught and angry; when their rate of unemployment is far greater than that for the average adult even in the Great Depression; when training programs have been curtailed; and when the loss of welfare and other benefits the government once provided has caused many black youths to lose faith that there is a role for them in American society.

We believe that to call thousands of blacks, especially youth, in these circumstances to a place where they may not have the expectation of control, nor we the capacity, is taking on a responsibility we may well not be able to shoulder.

6. Programmatic Confusion

We believe that the effort to combine, in one demonstration, issues of civil rights, peace, and other important, even valuable, matters on the social agenda, will lead to diffusion and watering down of the basic economic and civil rights issues. Since the issues of peace and environment are perceived in the public and news media as far more urgent than civil rights, inclusion of these issues will detract from what should be our basic emphasis. All the more so, since there exist numerous environmental, peace, and other organizations to which individuals can turn for such expression. In addition the achievement of programmatic unity among ourselves becomes more difficult by the inclusion of peace, thereby making the success of the event even more problematic.

Can such issues be separated out if the form of protest is a march in which it is patently impossible to control the material distributed, or the posters, banners, and other displays carried and sold.

7. An Alternative to Consider

We should like to propose an alternative that we believe would overcome the problems outlined above.

Instead of a March, we suggest a 20th anniversary of the 1963 March and of Dr. King's great speech, to be held as an indoor political meeting in the largest auditorium in Washington.

The purpose would be to outline the agenda of blacks, other minorities, and the poor in general, addressed to the Administration and Congress in 1983, and to the 1984 elections.

A concrete limited manifesto would be drawn up and presented as a guideline statement for the 1980's.

All Representatives and Senators would be invited to hear the manifesto, in addition to leaders, administration officials, and other prominent people.

At the same time, in many cities across the nation, similar rallies could be held to present the same broad agenda, but also including specific issues of state and local concern. These would be attended by state and local officials, and by business and organization leaders. As in the 1963 March, these local activities would be coordinated by the national committee. For organizing centers, would use local chapters of the basic civil rights organizations that agree to cooperate. The national committee should be composed of one representative of each major civil rights sponsoring organization plus (as in '63) a Labor, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representative.

We respectfully suggest that the Black Leadership Forum meet to discuss this alternative and any others that may be presented. We areprepared to present such a meeting a fuller and more detailed plan of the above proposal.

Please address any response to this memorandum to:

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Rev. Joseph Lowery, Chairman, and Members of the Black Leadership Forum

FROM: Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

RE: Proposed Anniversary of 1963 March on Washington

DATE: November 29, 1982

On October 19, 1982, we addressed a memorandum to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Joseph Lowery, and to other members of the Black Leadership Forum. In that memorandum we raised a number of questions as to the wisdom of attempting a march on the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington and proposed that the Black Leadership Forum convene a meeting to consider an alternative to the proposed march. A copy of the original memo is enclosed.

Neither Mrs. King, who proposed the march, nor Mr. Lowery, Chairman of the Black Leadership Forum, responded to our memo and no meeting of the Forum was called although several members of the Forum indicated that they were disposed to meet and to discuss an alternative.

On November 19th we received from Mrs. King, Mr. Lowery, Mr. Fauntroy and Mr. Hooks, a telegram calling for a meeting on December 3rd to implement the march for August 28, 1983.

Since the December 3rd meeting is for the purpose of implementing a march on August 28, 1983 rather than for considering what activity might be most appropriate, we see no reason to attend such a meeting. But we do stand ready to discuss and work for some kind of activity that can be a reasonable, appropriate, and successful anniversary of one of the most important days in our history.

cc: Congressman Fauntroy
Jesse Hill
Vernon Jordan
Arnold Aronson
William Pollard
Kenneth Young
Lane Kirkland
Jessica Smith # 203
Robert Weaver
Mrs. Roy Wilkins
Mrs. Ralph Bunche
Jack Greenberg
Fred O'Neal
Ralph Neas

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
334 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST
ATLANTA GA 30312

Western Union Mailgram

4-0149708326 11/22/82 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYBB
4045221420 MGM TDMT ATLANTA GA 434 11-22 1115A EST

BAYARD RUSTIN
A PHILLIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVE SOUTH
NEW YORK NY 10010

RECEIVED NOV 19 1982

AS ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING BLACK LEADERS IN OUR NATION, AND ONE WE KNOW TO BE COMMITTED TO JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND PEACE, WE ARE URGENTLY INVITING YOU TO AN IMPORTANT MEETING IN WASHINGTON DC ON DECEMBER 3, 1982 AT 12 NOON. WE ARE CALLING THIS MEETING TO RESPOND TO THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR OUR CALL ISSUED LAST JUNE AND FORMALIZED AT A MEETING OF OVER 100 GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN ATLANTA IN AUGUST OF THIS YEAR FOR A MASSIVE, NATIONAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN 1983 TO CELEBRATE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON OF AUGUST 28, 1963.

WE ARE CALLING THIS MEETING AT AN EXTREMELY CRITICAL TIME IN OUR HISTORY. ARMAMENTS FEVER CONTINUES TO INCREASE, IN SPITE OF THE HUGE COST IN HUMAN WELFARE. OUR NATION IS ASSUMING A MORE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC STAND IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY. WITNESS THE RISE OF NEW AND SOMETIMES SUTTLE FORMS OF RACISM AND WITNESS THE RESURGING KU KLUX KLAN AND WORST OF ALL, OUR PEOPLE ARE BEING CRUELLY PUNISHED BY THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF ANY SEGMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY.

THE GAINS OF THE GREAT CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS OF THE PAST 25 YEARS ARE IN DANGER. IN SPITE OF DIFFICULTIES AND RISKS, WE MUST ACT, OR RENOUNCE OUR COMMITMENT TO THE AMERICAN DREAM, AND OUR ROLE AS LEADERS.

THE MEETING WILL BE HELD FROM 12 NOON UNTIL ABOUT 4PM AT THE SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH IN WASHINGTON, 9 AND P STS NORTHWEST. THE HONORABLE WALTER E FAUNTROY, CHAIRMAN OF OUR STEERING COMMITTEE, WILL CHAIR THE MEETING. YOUR ATTENDANCE IS SO VITAL. WHILE YOUR ATTENDANCE DOES NOT NECESSARILY COMMIT YOUR ORGANIZATION TO THE AUGUST 1983 CELEBRATION, WE DO HOPE THAT YOU WILL CARRY BACK INFORMATION AND YOUR ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT. PLEASE CONFIRM YOUR ATTENDANCE WITH MR KENT AMOS 2720 UNICORN LN NORTHWEST WASHINGTON DC 20015, 202-966-7228.

YOU WILL BE RECEIVING BY MAIL A PROPOSED AGENDA FOR THE MEETING, A DRAFT OF A PROPOSED CALL FOR A YEAR OF CELEBRATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM IN 1983, AND A LIST OF THE OTHER NEARLY 100 NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS INVITED.

BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF RECEIVING THE DIRECT INPUT OF PRINCIPLES IN THIS FORMULATION OF GOALS OF THE YEAR, WE ARE RESTRICTING THIS MEETING TO YOU AND THE OTHERS ON THE LIST OF INVITEES.

5241 (R 7/82)

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

▶ WE SINCERELY HOPE YOU WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BE AT WHAT WE THINK WILL BE A LANDMARK MEETING FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY. SINCERELY YOURS,

CORETTA SCOTT KING JOSEPH E LOWERY BENJAMIN HOOKS WALTER E FAUNTROY
ACTING CO-CHAIRPERSONS
20TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

11:16 EST

MGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

On Oct 19th 1982, I addressed a memorandum to Mrs. Martin Luther Jr., Mr. Joseph Lowery and to other members of the Black Leadership Forum. In that memo I raised a number of questions as to the wisdom of attempting ~~an anniversary~~ march on the 20th. Anniversary of the March on Washington and proposed that the B. Leadership ~~Conference~~ Forum convene a meeting to consider an alternative to the proposed march. (a copy of the original memo is attached.)

Neither Mrs King who opposed the march, nor Mr. Lowery chairman of the Black Leadership Forum responded to my memo and no meeting of the Forum was called although several members of the Forum indicated that they were disposed ~~to [illegible]~~ to meet and to discuss an alternative.

II

Meantime, on Nov 19th I received from Mrs King, Mr. Lowery, Mr Fauntroy and Mr. Hooks, a Telegram calling for a meeting on Dec. 3rd to implement the march for Aug 28th, 1983.

Since the Dec 3rd. Meeting is ~~for~~ the purpose of implementing ~~the~~ a march on Aug. 28th 1983, rather than commemorating what activity might be most appropriate, I see no reason to attend such a meeting. But I do stand ready to discuss and work for some kind of activity that can be a reasonable ~~and~~ appropriate, and successful anniversary of one of the most important days in our history.

Sincerely

March on Washington 1982
~~[illegible]~~ CAll to Nation
(W. Fauntroy)

December 13, 1982

The Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy
National Campaign for the
20th Anniversary Celebration
P.O. Box 26020
Le Droit Park Station
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Walter,

We received your communication of December 8th, which we read with interest.

We do not find it possible at this time to endorse the Christmas Call to the Nation since our reservations and request for a meeting of the Black Leadership Forum regarding this endeavor, expressed on a number of occasions, have not yet been adequately responded to.

While we regret not being able to respond affirmatively at this time, we do thank you for keeping us informed.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Norman Hill

Norman Hill
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

BR;NH/hrs

cc: Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks
Mr. Carl Holman

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

2350 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-8050

DISTRICT OFFICE:
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET
SUITE 318, AMTRAK BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
(202) 275-0171

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEE ON
DISTRICT OF COLUMBI

SUBCOMMITTEES:
FISCAL AFFAIRS AND HEALTH
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS ,
METROPOLITAN AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON
BANKING, FINANCE AN
URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
CHAIRMAN, DOMESTIC MONETARY POLICY
ECONOMIC STABILIZATION
GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND RENEGOTIATION
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONA
BLACK CAUCUS

December 8, 1982

Dear Black Leader:

On behalf of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary of the historic March on Washington, we are addressing this letter to you and nearly three hundred other national black leaders in the United States.

On behalf of the Executive Committee named below, and through the process we have described for you in the attached memorandum, we are calling upon you to step forward in an attempt to recapture the Great American Dream of liberty and justice for all, and to reassemble the great Coalition of Conscience around the themes of Jobs, Peace and Freedom that led this nation forward during the bright years before the morass of the Vietnam War.

We are convinced that we, the black leaders of the United States, must act at this time or run the risk of losing our credibility with our own people, and of abdicating our responsibility to the whole human community. Moreover, we are increasingly convinced that the Black leadership in this country has the best possibility of pulling together a new Coalition of Conscience that will unite the civil rights movement, organized labor, the women's movement, the churches and the peace movement in a common effort to achieve jobs, peace and freedom.

We are convinced that a spirited and total vision which shows how all our problems are interrelated will produce the changes necessary to keep our people from suffering. We believe that a comprehensive and broad cultural, political and economic program can challenge our nation to fulfill the noble dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

If you feel you can endorse the enclosed proposal, please respond as soon as possible as we intend to issue a Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders on December 22, 1982. The deadline for endorsements is December 20, 1982.

Futhermore, please mark your calendar now to be in Atlanta on January 13, 1983 to join us in pulling together the new Coalition of Conscience. The purpose of this meeting is to meet with leaders of the other sectors of the Coalition to issue our Call to the Nation to celebrate 1983 as the Year of the American Dream.

For more information on the proposed call to the nation, please contact me at (202) 225-8050, Rev. Joseph Lowery at (404) 522-1420, Mrs. Coretta Scott King at (404) 529-1956, Rev. Benjamin Hooks at (212 858-0800.

Thank you in advance for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter E. Fauntroy
on behalf of

Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks

CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION FROM NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

We, the undersigned group of representative Black leaders, gathered here in Washington, D.C. on December 3, 1982, have met at the invitation and initiative of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, the Honorable Benjamin Hooks and the Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy , to issue

A CALL TO THE NATION, and
A CALL TO BLACK PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

We do here and now issue such a call to all the people of the United States to reassemble a non-partisan new Coalition of Conscience around the basic issues of

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

JOBS

In light of the massive unemployment, which is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families, we call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed to build a Full Employment Society. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry, government and education to assure all Americans of socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage, and to provide adequate training for all Americans for employment, especially for its poor and black citizens who are bearing the major burden of unemployment.

PEACE

In light of the massive armament race in the world today, a race that has seemingly escaped control and all reason and a race that continues to rob our government of the ability to promote the common welfare of the people of the nation, and the pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the great majority of America's church leaders in seeking someway to outlaw war in an age of nuclear destruction, and in seeking constructive means to invest our wealth and energy in peace and not in the preparation for war. We call for a reversal of the trend towards nuclear annihilation, record defense spending , and for a reduction of the arms race. We believe that world conflicts can and must be solved through non-violent means.

FREEDOM

In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign in 1983 against every form of class, racial and religious prejudice and hate. We call upon the entire nation to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan and, in some places, law enforcement agencies. We call for the new Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation and stop the reduction and redefining of civil rights laws and policies. We call upon the nation to ensure its citizens of those rights and to ensure enforcement of hard won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Act). We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women. We call for the nation to end all ties with repressive regimes, particulary the racist apartheid government of South Africa, and to halt its ideological and racial bias in our nation's refugee and asylum practices and policies. To bring all these issues together, so they can be seen in their wholeness, we call for the creation of a new Coalition of Conscience, that will during the course of 1983:

1) work for the passage of legislation that would designate January 15th as a national public holiday in honor of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.;

2) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn this nation around in the areas of Jobs, Peace and Freedom

3) bring together in a massive, peaceful meeting in Washington, D.C. on August 27, 1983, a gathering that will reaffirm the American Dream and unite as never before this new coalition around specific goals and common dream;

4) work together to build a new force in American life, an integrated coalition with a whole vision of the American Dream and a total analysis of the problem, that can act as a power and as a leaven to live out the full meaning of the Dream for all Americans for decades to come and generations unborn and that;

5) beyond August 27, 1983, we will work on the state and local level to implement the full agenda of the new Coalition of Conscience.

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy, Member of Congress
Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President, M.L.K. Center for Non-Violent Social Change
Mr. Joseph Lowery, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, N.A.A.C.P.
Ms. Dorothy Heights, President, National Council of Negro Women
Rev. Jesse Jackson, President, Operation PUSH
Ms. Addie Wyatt, Vice President, United Food and Commercial Workers
Stevie Wonder
Marion Barry, Mayor, District of Columbia
Mildred Goodman, President, Blacks in Government
Samuel Ethridge, President, National Education Association Black Caucus
Calvin Rolark, Black Media
Clarice Brown, President, Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc.
Pluria Marshall, President, National Black Media Coalition
Christopher Edley, United Negro College Fund
Barbara Williams-Skinner, Tom Skinner Associates
Dr. C.J. Malloy, General Secretary, Progressive National Baptist Convention
Romeo O. Spaulding, International Association of Black Fire Fighters
Robert White, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
Rev. Imagene Stewart, American Women's Clergy Association

BACKGROUND ON THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CALL

In June of this year, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President of the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference issued an appeal to the leaders and organizations who were involved in the historic March on Washington on August 28, 1963. They were asked to consider a twentieth anniversary of that march, and to come together in Atlanta on August 26-27, 1982 to meet with various representatives of the civil rights, labor, churches, peace and women's movements to reflect upon that idea.

Dr. Lowery presented the proposal, still in tentative form, to the National Black Leadership Forum where it was overwhelmingly and warmly approved. At the August 26-27, 1982 meeting in Atlanta, over 200 representatives and leaders of these movements met together to evaluate the proposal, and again, it was given warm support. After that meeting four National Co-Chairpersons were recognized as having the responsibility to continue developing the proposal, and presenting it to the groups. In addition to Mrs. King and Rev. Lowery, Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy and Rev. Benjamin Hooks were chosen as National Co-Chairpersons.

On October 20, 1982 in Washington, D.C., a smaller group of thirty Black leaders met with representatives of the labor movement for a frank evaluation of the progress made on the proposal at that time. Again, there was strong support from all present for the general concep of a National Campaign for a Twentieth Anniversary Celebration. This campaign would turn the nation around and recapture the spirit and the dream that we all shared. It would also reconvene the old Coalition of Conscience, including other movements for non-violent social change tha have emerged in the last twenty years. We hope to build a broad organizational and educational campaign across the whole nation, and organize a massive demonstration on August 27, 1983 to be held on the ste of the Lincoln Memorial.

The four National Co-Chairpersons decided that the new Coalition could best build momentum by consolidating and clarifying support from national black leaders , and so a meeting was held on December 3, 1982 in Washington, D.C. Over 50 black leaders unanimously endorsed, after amending and considering it in detail, the enclosed " Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders for a new Coalition of Conscience."

PURPOSE OF THE CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION

The participants of the December 3rd meeting in Washington, D.C. directed that this Call be sent to three hundred additional Black leaders in the United States asking for their endorsement and support. The tentative plan will be to issue the Christmas Call to the Nation on December 22, 1982 in Washington, D.C. on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Upon receiving the comments and endorsements from the nation's Black leaders, this Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders will be sent to representatives of the other sectors of the new Coalition of Conscience as a basis for their support and endorsement. The weeks following Christmas will be used securing these signatures and letters of support.

On January 13, 1983 during the King Week activities in Atlanta, a large meeting will be held to review and finalize plans for the year long activities. This will be the first meeting of the National Steering Committee. A Call to the Nation from this group will be adopted and issued at a gigantic press conference in Atlanta at that time.

WHAT CAN YOU DO

After you have prayerfully read and studied the enclosed Christmas Call to the Nation, we hope you will sign the enclosed endorsement form and return it immediately. Your name will be listed as an official endorser at the December 22, 1982 press conference.

Please plan to be in Atlanta on January 13, 1983 at the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

ENDORSEMENT FORM

I have read the Christmas Call to the Nation from its Black Leaders and wish to endorse it, as part of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the historic March on Washington. I hereby give my permission to the Executive Committee to use my name, subject to the qualifications checked below, as an endorser at the announcement, tentatively scheduled for December 22, 1982 in Washington, D.C..

( ) My endorsement is personal, and institutional affiliation and title is given for identification purposes only.

( ) My endorsement represents the official endorsement of my institution.

( ) My endorsement is personal, but I will be presenting this call to my institution for a formal endorsement.

( ) Please keep me abreast of the National Campaign, I cannot endorse at this time.

NAME (Print or Type)

SIGNATURE

TITLE AND ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

AREA CODE AND PHONE NUMBERS

RETURN TO: NATIONAL CAMPAIGN
FOR THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
P.O. BOX 26020
LE DROIT PARK STATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

* DEADLINE IS DECEMBER 20, 1982.

December 13, 1982

The Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy
National Campaign for the
20th Anniversary Celebration
P.O. Box 26020
Le Droit Park Station
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Walter,

We received your communication of December 8th, which we read with interest.

We do not find it possible at this time to endorse the Christmas Call to the Nation since our reservations and request for a meeting of the Black Leadership Forum regarding this endeavor, expressed on a number of occasions, have not yet been adequately responded to.

While we regret not being able to respond affirmatively at this time, we do thank you for keeping us informed.

Sincerely,

Bayard
Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Norman Hill
Norman Hill
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

BR;NH/hrs

cc: Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks
Mr. Carl Holman

BCC: Ken Young

filed: Chron
March on Wash. 1982 ✓

Press Clippings which mention BR
March on DC >1983

Plan to Commemorate Dr. King's 1963 March Meets Resistance

8/10/83

NYT

By SHEILA RULE

A demonstration to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the historic civil rights march in Washington in August 1963 is suffering difficulty in the planning stage. Major Jewish organizations and some civil rights leaders are not supporting it. Organized labor, while endorsing it, has not thrown its full weight behind it.

Bayard Rustin, a prominent organizer of the original march, opposes the plan. Officials of the National Urban League, whose executive director 20 years ago, Whitney M. Young Jr., was one of the protest's leaders, say they oppose it. Jewish groups that supported the 1963 march, including the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, say they cannot endorse the march because its organizers have taken a position they believe to be critical of Israel.

In a published call for the march, the organizers said they sought to bring together a "new coalition of conscience for jobs, peace and freedom" as a result of high unemployment, an escalating arms race "and the denial of basic rights and programs which insure freedom."

Jewish organizations focused on a section saying the organizers opposed "the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected."

Difficulty With Key Elements

Although the organizers say they seek a new coalition as an expansion of the historic civil rights efforts of years past, they are, as a result of varied anxieties, having difficulty attracting some key elements of the old alliance.

Nevertheless, leaders of the planned demonstration say they have generated wide and enthusiastic support from a diverse group and that Jewish organizations have misinterpreted the leaders' position on the Middle East. They say they are for worldwide peace and not singling out Israel for criticism.

The list of chairmen and conveners for the anniversary includes heads of various labor, women's, civil rights and religious groups and several Congressmen.

Among them are Benjamin L. Hooks of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Coretta Scott King, the widow of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; Dr. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH; James Abourezk of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, who is a former Senator from South Dakota; Rabbi Alex Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Judy Goldsmith of the National Organization for Women; Owen Bieber of the United Automobile Workers, and William W. Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Fragmenting Over 20 Years

The problems indicate how the civil rights movement has fragmented in the 20 years since the original march, where more than 200,000 heard Dr. King's "I have a dream" speech. Longtime allies, united on solutions to the problems of segregation and job discrimination, now difer over tactics to resolve economic and social problems that are not so clearly defined.

For example, while blacks and Jews marched together in 1963 to press for a full and speedy program of civil rights and equal job opportunities, they now disagree on whether affirmative action and job goals are the best methods to fight discrimination in America institutions.

"There was a great sense of coalition between Catholics, Protestants, Jews and civil rights people," said Mr. Rustin, head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which bears the name of the man who conceived the original protest. "The coalition existed in 1963 so you could call them into a march. You cannot use a march as a means of reconstituting a coalition when, in fact, there are great differences now among the people."

While it did not endorse the original march, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has publicly supported plans for this year's demonstration on Aug. 27. But it is channeling its resources into its own national celebration of Labor Day, which has been labeled Solidarity Day 3, one spokesman said, and that "takes precedence."

Mr. Rustin and officials of the Urban League argue that the organizers are focusing on too many issues, thereby obscuring pressing civil rights and economic concerns. In addition, they say that money spent on the march could better be used for other programs, such as registering blacks to vote.

Divisive Issues Are Seen

Jewish organizations, insisting that their commitment to civil rights is unswerving, say that the sponsors appear to challenge the United States military support of Israel.

One Jewish organization that is supporting the event, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, says it is monitoring developments and could pull out.

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said his organization had sought "reassurances" about the call's reference to the Middle East and had not decided about participating. However, he said that, with the exception of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, "the vast majority" of Jewish organizations had not supported the march.

Dr. Lowery said that the sponsors had not intended to be critical of Israel.

"In the call we issued, we urged the demilitarization of conflicts in various parts of the world, including the Middle East, South Africa and Central America," he said. "We want political rather than military solutions and some interpreted that as critical of Israel."

The sponsors refuse to estimate whether their march will attract the 200,000 people who turned out in 1963. Donna Brazile, national mobilization director for the march, said that 715 national organizations and 30 international unions were supporting the march. As of Aug. 1, she said, 2,600 buses were scheduled to arrive in Washington for the march. The marchers will assemble on the mall in front of the Washington Monument and walk to the Lincoln Memorial.

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Small clients can be embarrassing for big powers

By Joseph C. Harsch

From the beginning of time imperial powers have been embarrassed by their small clients, particularly when their small client states are ruled by dictators with ambitions of their own and with slight regard for human or civil rights.

This week it was the United States that once again was embarrassed by the behavior of one of its most important clients, this time President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines.

A particularly spectacular assassination took place in his airport at the foot of the ramp down which had come his most prominent rival for the presidency of the Philippines, Benigno Aquino. President Marcos promptly denied that he had in any way arranged or connived at the assassination. But, in view of the known facts, his denial failed to convince his critics.

Government security police controlled the area around the aircraft. Three of them went with Mr. Aquino down the ramp. The bullet was fired from behind at a distance of two or three inches, according to a coroner. An alleged killer was gunned down immediately after Mr. Aquino.

PATTERN OF DIPLOMACY

The trajectory of the bullet was downward, according to the official autopsy. The alleged killer was shorter than Mr. Aquino. The course of the bullet would more logically indicate that it had

Twenty years after 'the dream'

Legal segregation barriers have tumbled, but racism and poverty remain stumbling blocks

By Peter Grier
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Aug. 28, 1963, was a day that struck America like lightning. A quarter of a million people descended on Washington to march for civil rights. Gathered on the Mall, they heard Martin Luther King Jr. give a speech of such power and grace it seemed to bear the direct stamp of some higher authority.

But, today, what march leaders remember most clearly are not words, but the vast carpet of the crowd, and the realization that their movement had acquired an irreversible momentum.

- "A group of us, the co-chairman of the march, went up to the Capitol in the morning to visit congressional leaders," says Mathew Ahman, then director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. "And the clearest thing in my mind from that day is what we saw as we were leaving the Capitol. Wave after wave of people were marching down from Union Station, from buses, from trains. It was unbelievable."

- "I'll never forget, as long as I live, standing on Wisconsin Avenue at the end of that day, and watching bus after bus of happy, cheering demonstrators leaving the city," says Walter Fauntroy, at that time Washington head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "It was a beautiful day."

- "It was somewhat eerie, really, to look out and see that crowd," says John Lewis. In '63 he was head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "It was a tremendous feeling. We knew then that we were on our way to some type of great victory."

★ Please turn to Page 12

Unlike 1963, today's civil rights movement embraces women's equality. Story, Page 4.

0 Miles 200
CHINA
TAIWAN
PHILIPPINES
Pacific Ocean

US may hold Marcos at arm's length, but must hold on to bases

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

From page 1

Twenty years after 'the dream'

They were, indeed, on their way to great ictories. Within five years the walls of legal egregation would come tumbling down, giving blacks better access to homes, restaurants, buses, and the ballot box.

Yet, 20 years later, perhaps the worst problem facing blacks – poverty – remains. t is proving a far more cunning enemy than vert discrimination.

The Washington Evening Star editorial of Aug. 29, 1963, looms as prophetic: "Long after egal segregation is gone, economic and social segregation will remain. . . . The only process that ultimately can lead large numbers of Negroes out of their trap of frustration s the hard, slow cumulative process of education. It will happen, but not now."

To understand the nature of black poverty, t should be seen in the light of the real gains blacks have made since 1963 – changes that 'are so large as to be almost invisible," in the words of historian Garry Wills.

Consider James Farmer's experience of August 1963. In Washington, 250,000 people were marching for civil rights; in Plaquemine, La., Mr. Farmer and 250 others had been arrested for trying the same thing.

"I was a co-chairman of the Washington march, you know," says Farmer, who at that time was director of the Congress of Racial Equality. "I was scheduled to speak. I wanted to be there very much. I heard Dr. King's speech on TV – some local supporters brought a television into the jail. The sheriff let them bring it up close to the bars."

After Farmer was let free a few days later, Plaquemine blacks tried another march. It was broken up by state troopers, who beat the demonstrators and chased them into a church. Police started combing the black section of town, searching for the man they thought was responsible for the trouble – Farmer.

Farmer was then a battle-scarred veteran of the civil-rights wars, a pioneer of sit-ins, one of the Freedom Riders who were stoned and firebombed as they rode intercity buses through the South. But even as he fled through the Louisiana night, the old order – symbolized by Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace's cry of "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever" – was doomed.

In 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act. It outlawed discrimination in public places, authorized the attorney general to file suit to desegregate schools, and set up an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to protect against racial discrimination by employers.

The Voting Rights Act became law in 1965. Open housing passed in 1968. And in 1969, James Farmer was named an assistant secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Racism in the US has not entirely disappeared. But of the days when he was beaten and arrested, Farmer says: "Those things couldn't happen now, you know. They couldn't happen now."

Others who helped organize the great march on Washington have passed from the role of protester to that of political insider, as Farmer did. Andrew Young has become mayor of Atlanta; John Lewis is an Atlanta city councilman. Marion Berry is mayor of Washington, D.C.; Walter Fauntroy, D.C. coordinator of the march, has become that city's delegate to Congress.

"I recall my own anxiety about whether in fact that march would come off," Mr. Fauntroy says. "I had a feeling that if things went well, nobody would hear about Walter Fauntroy; but if things went poorly, the comment around the country would be that the march leaders made one mistake – they left coordination of details to an inexperienced young man."

Fauntroy, obviously, survived. Now, he is leading another march, to be held in Washington this Saturday, billed as a Mobilization for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom.

"The reason we have this march is that the dream is yet to be fulfilled," Fauntroy says. "The dream is not just that the 'White Only' signs would come down. [The 1963 march] was a march for freedom and jobs. What good is it if [blacks] can check into a hotel, but don't have the money to check out?"

Black poverty has proved to be a barrier difficult to breach. In 1963, A. Phillip Randolph, titular head of the march, complained that the black unemployment rate was 2½ times greater than that of whites. Today that percentage has fallen only slightly.

In 1970, 34 percent of blacks were below the government's official poverty line. In 1982 the figure was the same.

Unlike voting rights, or equal housing, poverty is a slippery target, its sources not completely known, its solutions unclear. Black leaders were united when marching against legal segregation. They differ widely on how to fight poverty, which is, after all, not strictly a "black problem."

Bayard Rustin, for instance, thinks Fauntroy's '83 march is a bad idea. And 20 years ago Mr. Rustin, a deputy of A. Philip Randolph, was one of the key organizers of the original march on Washington.

"A mass movement always has to say something simple and direct," Rustin says, and poverty's solutions are neither.

Only 50 percent of eligible blacks are registered to vote, Rustin says. "We really need to have a big march to two places – into the registration booth and to the ballot box," where blacks can elect officials whose economic policies they favor.

Supporters of the '83 march reply that their demonstration is a necessary step, one taken to link the black movement together with other disadvantaged minority groups.

"I think the focus is right," says Atlanta Councilman John Lewis. "You've got to move away from black rights, per se, and deal with the whole question of human rights. And even the progress we made during the '60s was made with a powerful coalition."

'I think things are comin' our way'

By Emilie Tavel Livezey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Twenty years later I can still see myself standing out on Park Avenue in Manhattan in what seemed like the middle of the night, flagging down a cab to an unfamiliar uptown address. A woman reporter riding alone to Harlem in predawn darkness. Yes, it was scary.

But the "what-ifs" fled when I reached the spot where Negroes – they still called themselves that in '63 – were gathering to board buses to the nation's capital, part of a massive Aug. 28 march on Washington.

They were gentle people. Mostly working men and women. Many ministers with their flocks. They were taking this peaceful means of redressing social injustices. Rights that other Americans enjoyed were still being denied blacks a century after slavery was abolished. They wanted the right to vote in all states, access to public accommodations, a fair chance at jobs, desegregated schools, nondiscrimination on construction sites supported by federal funds.

Briefing us on the day's events, the Rev. Festus C. Carey Jr. of the Second Church (Disciples of Christ), the Bronx, our assistant bus captain, sounded the keynote: "Our conduct," he said, "is of utmost importance. . . . This is going to be a trying day for 100,000 people, perhaps 200,000. But we have an opportunity to be at our best. We are to remember at all times to conduct ourselves in a proud but humble fashion."

In retrospect, this is what stands out to me – the immense personal dignity of that peaceful, orderly assembly.

On arrival in Washington, our busload emerged into a mighty throng of silent marchers who let their placards voice their demands. Shoulder to shoulder this human river flowed in a seemingly endless stream down broad Constitution Avenue from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. Silent, that is, until they began happily singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

By the time we reached the monument grounds, thousands already were positioned between us and the speakers on the steps of the memorial. An ocean of faces. The dark skins, the light summer clothing – it was like a mass scene in India, led by Gandhi himself, the champion of nonviolent resistance.

There was hardly a place to put one's foot. As I picked my way through the crowd, I was amazed to see infants sleeping on the grass. But this was, in a sense, a Christian pilgrimage, based on biblical promises as well as constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the law. There was no pressure in this vast crowd. No pushing, shoving, rude jostling. And so no fear that even a sleeping child might be trampled.

The richly resonant opening words of the march's director, A. Philip Randolph, came loud and clear: "We are not a pressure group. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom."

Finding it impossible to approach the podium, I strolled alongside the reflecting pool until the crowd thinned out. Stretching out flat on my back beside the pool in the warm August sun, I let those voices roll over me.

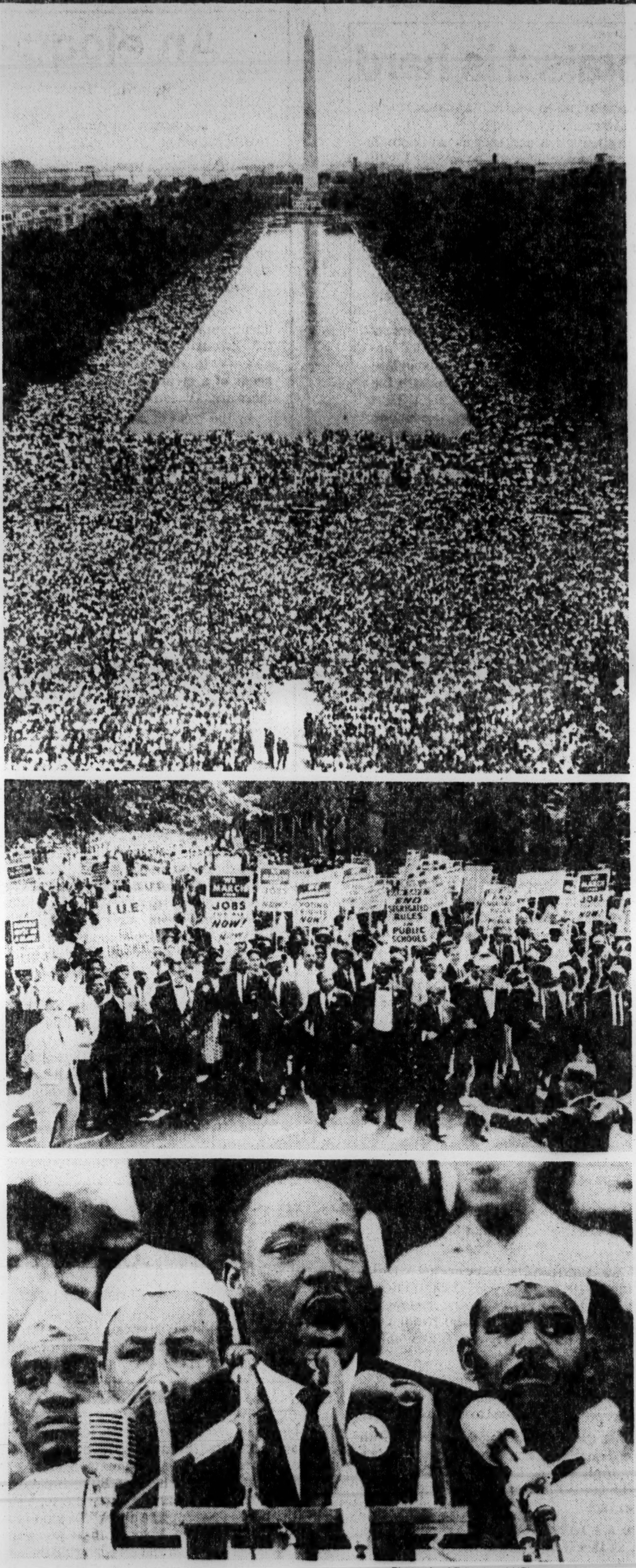
And what voices they were! Marian Anderson, Mahalia Jackson, and the civil rights leaders themselves – Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and the fiery young John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. One by one they pleaded for an equal place in American society for all people, regardless of race, creed, or color.

But the voice that stirred the greatest emotion and that has reverberated the longest was that of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. His "I have a dream" speech that day became a landmark in the freedom struggle.

How soon that voice would be stilled!

Following a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, there was no triumphant roar of applause, only the echo of a solemn "Amen." Then, at the same unhurried pace that had marked all the day's activities, the thousands turned quietly homeward. Two hundred thousand strong and not a single harmful incident; an extraordinary occasion, indeed.

The one face that has stayed with me through the years belonged to a little black grandmother. I could never forget the sweetness, innocence, hope, and childlike joy she expressed when she looked at me, broke into a happy little laugh, and exclaimed, "I think things are comin' our way."


I.U.E.
JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
VOTING RIGHTS NOW
END SEGREGATED RULES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Photos by AP (top) and UPI (center and bottom)

The 'I have a dream' speech was part sermon, part poem

A vast but gentle throng massed beside the reflecting pool along the Mall that day in 1963 (top); they had paraded up Constitution Avenue earlier with placards stating their many goals (center); and, at the end of a long day of speeches, Dr. King (bottom) transformed what had been merely a great spectacle into a crusade.

There were a quarter million people at the Mall that day

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

It was not a political speech. It was more ian a sermon. . . . It was a poem – that ad-ress by Martin Luther King Jr. 20 years ago a quarter-million people milling about be-veen the Washington Monument and the Lin-oln Memorial. He told them, "I have a ream." They chanted it after him. He fused iem into one.

The Civil War freed the slaves and started iem toward independence. Now, said civil ghts leaders, it was time for something iore. Caravans of chartered buses rolled into ashington all night. Ordinary business eased. The sale of liquor was banned. All reet parking was forbidden. There were 000 policemen, firemen, and auxiliary iards on hand, with troops on alert nearby. wed newspapers said "100,000" might come. t was twice that.) Now all depended on the owd itself. What was its mood?

I watched a double queue of demonstrators ing down to the Mall past the Commerce epartment building where somebody had it a sign, "Please Keep Off the Grass." The sitors made an elaborate detour so as not to uch the lawn. They looked sweet-tempered t terribly determined.

The weather was clear and mercifully ild. A huge green-and-white-striped tent is pitched on the grass on the Mall, lost in e gigantic throng. There was really not one owd but two, divided by the long reflecting ol. The wall of faces seemed like a tapestry en from the underside; you got to wonder-g what the design was on the far side: Had e weaver foretold the future, peaceful or arlike, pastoral or with trampling chariots?

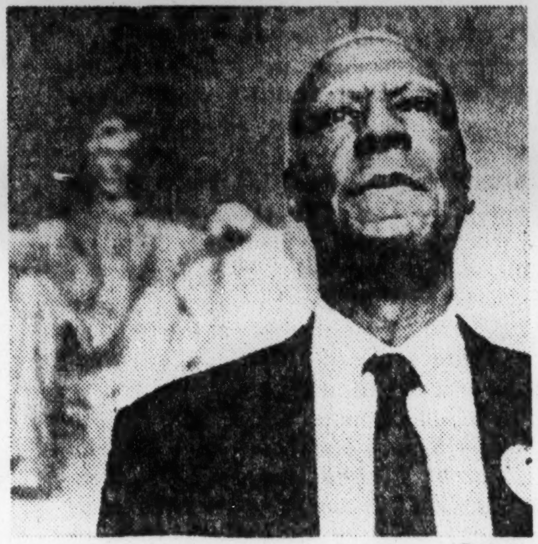
At one point it seemed best for this re-rter to climb under a truck, to look out at e throng in solitude, and make notes. There ere a dozen themes on the placards. The ogram listed 10 speakers: Voices flickered and off about different causes; the eeches were mostly dull, and the people on e speakers' stand milled about and dis-acted the audience.

Near the end came Martin Luther King ., the president of the Southern Christian adership Conference. As he was intro-ced, he received a big roar from the throng. ople waited expectantly. He turned what d heretofore been merely a great spectacle o a crusade.

Without tricks of oratory, except for reiter-ion, speaking in a melodious and rather elancholy voice, he captured the vast audience, and put the gathering into a historic setting that linked it to the tradition of the past: with thinkers like Jefferson and old Sam Adams; with advocates of religious and personal freedom like Thoreau and Emerson and John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison; with political heroes like Lincoln and Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. He interwove what they were doing under the arched sky with a liberal tradition of the past, from Gandhi, from the Constitution, from the Bible.

"Continue to work with the faith that honor in suffering is redemptive," Dr. King said. "Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, . . . go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. . . .

"I still have a dream," he told them. "It was a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream. . . ."



AP photo

March leader A. Philip Randolph in 1963

Those listening caught it up as he continued. It was "a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of the creed, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'

"I have a dream. . . ."

They roared back this time. They had caught the refrain from the quiet, patient, firm tone.

"One day on the red hills of Georgia," he said, "the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." He paused.

"I have a dream," he repeated. Another roar in response.

"That one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

"I have a dream." An answering roar.

"That my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In their response he had them participating in what he was preaching.

Before that, the gathering 20 years ago had been a kind of holiday, an adventurous sort of Sunday School outing and political convention. Now he had made it into part of the American tradition, the revolt against kings and George III, the uprising against the 12-hour day in the American steel mills, the cry of Eugene V. Debs for economic equality. His invocation embraced all these causes.

I have a dream. Another roar!

"That one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together."

It was moving; almost overpowering on that tremendous multitude.

What did that gathering 20 years ago accomplish? The Soviet daily Izvestia placed the rally on the front page (misinterpreting it as always). It brought major headlines in the British press. It helped pass the great civil rights laws of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

It was noticeable that some 40 percent of the demonstrators were white.

I walked away that evening watching block-long lines of people waiting patiently to buy "Good Humors," and admiring the way street hydrants had been hitched up to make drinking bubblers. Next day the New York Times carried a front-page story by James Reston headed, "I Have a Dream," but most papers, like the Washington Post, gave it only a mention. It recalled 120 years ago, after the ceremony at the Gettysburg battlefield cemetery, when few papers carried the text of the President's speech. After all it was only 300 words long. "President Lincoln also spoke," many papers said.

Efforts today to revive the exultation of the 1963 march are uncertain. Crowds fill Washington, but there is question of a consensus in America with its conflicting problems.

Yet nobody who watched here 20 years ago can doubt that if the need arises, somewhere in America a voice will rise, crying, "I have a dream."

A speech that turned a rally into a crusade

The following is excerpted from Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech:

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountains of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire! Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York! Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado!

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California!

But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!

Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1983

Thinking Things Over

By Vermont Royster

School Days

When the National Commission on Excellence in Education last May 1 charged that there was a "rising tide of mediocrity" in our public schools and made a plea for higher standards, there were voices raised in criticism of the commission.

Some, like the superintendent of schools in North Carolina, retorted that the accusation just wasn't so. "The charge of lax standards and misguided priorities," said A. Craig Phillips, "is a copout on the part of the commission." His remark reflected the view of many within the educational establishment.

Then there were spokesmen for teachers' unions who said that if the public schools were mediocre, it was because the nation didn't devote enough of its resources to education. They called for a massive increase in education spending, particularly by the federal government.

But to me the most curious reaction was from those who said demanding higher standards from public-school students in reading, writing and arithmetic would be "elitism" and unfair to disadvantaged pupils.

In this context, of course, the word "disadvantaged" meant primarily blacks from lower-income families but also children from immigrant groups not yet assimilated into our general culture. These latter include the Creole-speaking Haitians, of whom there are many in Miami, or those Hispanics all over our Southwest, among other places.

To raise the school standards in the English language would supposedly penalize those accustomed to "black English" or to whom English had to be taught as a second language.

In fact, not long before the commission's report the federal government had launched a drive to require the teaching of Hispanics, Indians and others in their native language, that spoken at home.

* * *

It always seemed to me that this had the argument backwards. The public schools are not places where disadvantages are created. They are, or ought to be, the places where disadvantages are corrected. It is not "racism" to elevate educational standards. Raising them is the best way to help eliminate any vestiges of racism or discrimination and to give equal opportunity to all as they reach adulthood.

Now I find that I am not alone in so thinking. Many civil-rights leaders have begun to change their tone.

Bayard Rustin, for one, the man who organized the 1963 march on Washington, which was dominated by the eloquence of Martin Luther King. Writing in Newsweek, Mr. Rustin says the continuing plight of many blacks today rests not upon the old "white racism" but upon other factors: the displacement of unskilled or semiskilled blacks in the shift from heavy industry to high-technology industry "for which many blacks are unprepared."

He has many items on his agenda for correcting this, some of them very controversial, but education is high on his list. We need, he says, a national commitment to excellence in education, including vocational training, not just for blacks but the white poor as well.

An even stronger statement aimed at blacks comes from Mayor Roy West of Richmond, Va., who is also the black principal of a junior high school there.

Much of what he recently said to students at Virginia Union University is worth repeating and heeding:

"I suggest it is time for blacks to wake up. . . . It saddens my heart, for example, when I think of the belief fostered by many that there is a value in the use and mastery of so-called black English by black students. . . . We must realize that much of our unemployment and underemployment among blacks are the results of some black Americans not being able to communicate correctly with other parts of society. . . .

"To me it is one of the worst types of discrimination to tell students that because they are black it doesn't matter if they drop their plural endings or imply there is no need to learn the English language."

Mayor West then went on to challenge the Virginia Union students in several areas of learning. First of all in English, "to master the rules of subject and verb agreement."

Then: "Learn how to factor an equation . . . learn not only the significance of America's discovery but (to think) what would have happened to this world if America had not been discovered . . . experiment with the principles of science to understand better those forces which undergird human life."

* * *

Here, truly, is a Daniel come to judgment, and I hope that those students listen to him rather than to those who tell them that because they are black it is unfair to ask of them high standards in the classroom. There is room for argument as to how high those standards should be in the classroom, none that it is "racism" to require them to be the same for all, black or white.

There are, indeed, disadvantaged students. The advantaged is one from a home where reading is a habit, where learning is encouraged from childhood. The disadvantaged is the child who comes to school with none of this home background.

There is some correlation between the economic and educational level of the parents and the home background, but it's by no means the whole of the matter. America is rich in stories of those who came from poor parents, even uneducated ones, and yet who rose to prominence—success, if you will—in many walks of life—law, medicine, science, business, politics or philosophy. This is true of the white poor as well as the black poor.

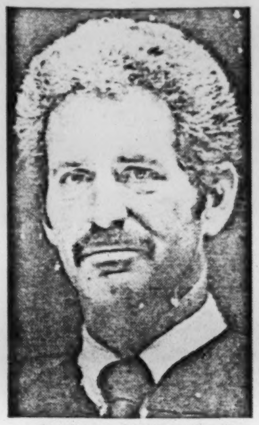
The school is, as it always has been, the equalizer, the only place that can lift a child over a disadvantage. If our public schools fail, if they teach differently black and white, rich and poor, then there would be in truth little hope for the future of the disadvantaged.

Stinging the Chicago Courts

The lunch-hour crowd outside Chicago's posh Water Tower Place was startled: suddenly a man sprinted past them, down Michigan Avenue, to tackle another man who had apparently stolen his attaché case. Police were even more startled when they found both men were FBI agents. Word quickly spread among the city's rank-and-file cops that the FBI had launched another probe of local police corruption. The word was wrong. Last week the Water Tower incident emerged as part of "Operation Greylord"—the largest sting operation in FBI history—aimed not at police, but at the judges and lawyers of Cook County's judicial system. Authorities indicated that the three-year investigation was fast drawing to a close and could result in the indictment of at least 10 circuit judges and 20 other people connected with the city courts.

Theatrical Flair: Suspicions that Chicago's courts served up some of the best justice money could buy have long been part of the city's unsavory folklore. Convinced that cases were being fixed, the Cook County state's attorney's office began compiling all such reports—from formal complaints to gossip—then took its files to the Feds. The result: a massive, Abscam-type probe in which FBI agents posed as criminals, on-the-take attorneys and bagmen brokering bribes for crooked judges. (Greylord is a reference to the wigs worn by members of the British judiciary.) Also in on the sting was a real-life judge with a flair for theater—and a tape recorder hidden in his cowboy boot—who portrayed himself as a race-horse owner short of hard cash and looking to be bought.

At first most of the FBI agents involved posed as petty lawbreakers trying to get off on an assortment of misdemeanor offenses. That tactic was largely scrubbed after the botched Michigan Avenue robbery. Instead, agents who were attorneys were recruited from other bureaus; some set up a 30-suite law office in the heart of the La Salle Street legal district. To begin infiltrating the system's corrupt channels, they strapped on hidden microphones and recorders and joined the throng of lawyers hustling clients outside the busy courtrooms. One veteran Chicago attorney—"sick and tired of corruption," according to investigators—joined the operation by pretending to turn crooked. "He had to come to terms with the possibility that he will never be able to practice law here again," one law-enforcement source told the Chicago Tribune. "He knew that no judge and no lawyer would ever trust him again."


Joe Jines—Southern Illinoisan

Lockwood: 'Hacks'

Signing up a real judge for the scam was another coup for Greylord. Brocton Lockwood, 39, an associate justice from Williamson County in southern Illinois, said he was prompted to volunteer by the corruption he witnessed during stints in Chicago as a visiting traffic-court judge. "For the right price, bagmen can fix the outcome in cases ranging from theft to divorce to traffic violations to murder," he said, though he later termed his remark about murder a "generalization." Lockwood worked on his "hillbilly" drawl and a ready smile and prowled Chicago's Rush Street night-life circuit, telling tales of woe about his money problems. Concerned that the investigation would not be concluded for several months, and that the individual cases might linger for years, Lockwood made his role public last week to spur a quicker cleanup of the Cook County courts. He speculated that as many as one in eight Cook County judges might be crooked—"political hacks about as smart as a bag of rocks."

'Paranoia': Operation Greylord is certain to resurrect a legal debate about the ethics of Abscam and similar FBI sting operations. Investigators, however, seem confident that their targeting system focused properly on only those judges, attorneys and court personnel suspected of having fixed cases previously. And Chicago's legal community can do little but wait nervously for more details—and names—to trickle out. "The paranoia on La Salle Street is bad and getting worse," says one lawyer. There have been two principal reactions from attorneys in the city, says John McBride, executive director of the Chicago Bar Association: "One is, 'Thank God someone's finally getting to the bottom of this.' The other is, 'There but for the grace of God go I'."

MARK STARR with MICHAEL REESE in Chicago

Divisions in the Ranks

RECEIVED 16 1983

WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW!
WE DEMAND VOTING RIGHTS NOW!
WE DEMAND AN FEPC LAW NOW!
UPI

King (lower right) in '63: Togetherness

Aug. 28, 1963—the moment Martin Luther King Jr. stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and shared his dream with 250,000 blacks and whites marching for "freedom and jobs." Twenty years later, Coretta Scott King and Dr. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, along with other civil-rights leaders, are planning to mark the anniversary with another march on Washington. This time the call is for a new coalition of conscience for jobs, peace and freedom. Many of the original sponsors of the 1963 march will be there—from the NAACP to the United Auto Workers—joined by women's groups and nuclear-freeze activists.

But years of squabbling over affirmative action have weakened some old ties in the civil-rights movement, and the problems of this year's march seem to symbolize those divisions. Some black leaders believe that the march organizers have diminished the still important issue of civil rights by embracing a laundry list of causes. The National Urban League is decidedly unenthusiastic; says its former president, Vernon Jordan, "I have reservations about broadening the coalition to include the environmentalists . . . and the nuclear-freeze people." Bayard Rustin, who coordinated the 1963 march, expresses similar concerns: "The closer you get to the march, the more it will become a peace demonstration. People will forget about poverty." And major Jewish groups have withheld support from the march, partly out of fear that many of the cries against militarism will be directed at Israel. These rifts come at a time when the black community is also divided over the issue of a black presidential candidate—and the signs that the Rev. Jesse Jackson will launch such a campaign. Jackson supports the march, but his candidacy could provide a better gauge of current black strength and unity than the number of marchers on Aug. 27.

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The March On Washington

It really does not seem that two decades have passed since the first March on Washington. Then the leaders of that event were trying to focus attention, national attention, on the plight of minorities in this country when it comes to Jobs and Freedom. A. Phillip Randolph, the famed black labor leader, Bayard Rustin, the very quiet but effective organizer of the March, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the true spiritual leader of the March were all there expecting an attendance of about 25,000 persons.

Little did they realize that some 250,000 persons would show up of every race, and of every economic strata. Over 150 Congressmen attended the historical event given credit for the impetus behind the 1964 Voting Rights Act that gave blacks in the Deep South an opportunity to regain control over their own personal and political destiny.

The March on Washington next week will be commemorative yes, but it will also be illustrative of some achievements and remaining disappointments with our nation's attitude toward her citizens of color. Many positive strides have been made, many positive strides remain to be made.

Locally, we have seen the insensitivity of our city fathers in failing to support a simple resolution for the 1983 March on Washington that has as its theme: Jobs, Peace and Freedom. Coretta Scott King, the wife of the slain civil rights leader, said that Peace was injected in the theme this year because of the overwhelming threat to World Peace by the Nuclear Arms Race.

The dream that Dr. King described in his most famous speech on the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial has still not been realized. Both black and white Americans have given their lives for the realization of that dream. Who will ever forget Medgar Evers, Viola Liuzzo, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Earl Chaney and Jimmy Lee Jackson?

When the Montgomery boycott began in 1955, there were fewer than 60 black elected officials in the entire nation. Today there are 6000 plus, however, that figure only represents 2% of all elected officials in the nation and blacks now comprise up to 12% of the U.S. population.

Discrimination, the real target of the March on Washington some twenty years ago, is still very much alive. Despite the desegregation of public facilities, in almost all major American institutions, discrimination is still the rule, not the exception. While millions of blacks have moved into the economic mainstream since the movement, millions have been left behind as the median income for black families is only about 56% of the figure for white families. A figure that has seen little change since the movement began.

One of the major weapons to eliminate discrimination is affirmative action. In corporate America,

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One of the major weapons to eliminate discrimination is affirmative action. In corporate America, blacks have achieved only token representation in the boardrooms, or in tenured positions at major American universities and even in the better paying skilled trades. Despite all the publicity about "reverse discrimination" blacks are still the last hired and first fired. The unemployment rate for black workers is double the rate for white workers and almost half the black teenagers can't find jobs.

The Poor People's Campaign showed us that much remains to be done. And perhaps Martin Luther King's greatest legacy is the strategy of non-violent direct action. We are convinced that one of the greatest demonstrations of that action is the use of the ballot on election day. We are also in agreement with Andrew Young, the new mayor of Atlanta, that "The struggle of the 80's is to integrate the money." Do that and discrimination will cease to exist.

New York Daily News, Sun. 8/21/83

D.C. march: Echo from past

By FRANK VAN RIPER

Washington (News Bureau)—The thousands of people who plan to march to the steps of the Lincoln Memorial this week will remind the nation of the summer day 20 years ago when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. gave the civil rights movement his "dream."

"I have a dream!" King cried on Aug. 28, 1963, "..., That one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.' "

To reaffirm the goals of the civil rights struggle today, the organizers of the 20th Anniversary Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom will march this Saturday under a banner reading, "We Still Have a Dream."

THEY HOPE to attract as many as 200,000 marchers to their central cause and also to demonstrate solidarity on a number of other issues.

Two decades ago, the focus on civil rights was enough to attract more than a quarter-million people—the largest group of Americans ever to assemble to petition their government—to the memorial to urge passage of the rights legislation sent to Congress by President John F. Kennedy.

Many of those who heard King speak were civil rights activists, both black and white, who had had their commitment to the issue tested by police dogs in Alabama and high-pressure hoses in Mississippi.

The record size of the crowd would be surpassed during the height of the fervor against the Vietnam war, but the quiet dignity of the throng stayed in the public mind and gave ordinary white Americans for perhaps the first time a true awareness of the real-life drama that lay behind the debate in Congress.

UPI

Martin Luther King Jr. giving famous speech in Washington two decades ago.

ONE PROBLEM for the organizers of the current march has been charges that a lack of focus will make this Saturday's demonstration comparatively ineffective.

The National Urban League, one of the major forces behind the original march, and veteran civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, author of the original working plan for the 1963 march, have said they will not participate in the march.

In a statement issued as the march was taking shape, the Urban League declared: "We support the march's call for a 'coalition of conscience for jobs, peace and freedom,' but we believe the march's focus on the broad range of issues is likely to limit its impact."

Of more concern to march organizers—including Coretta Scott King, wife of the slain rights leader, and District of Columbia congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy, a former King aide—is unease among some Jewish groups that aspects of Saturday's march might be construed as being anti-Semitic or anti-Israel.

OVER THE LAST several months, march organizers have tried to tone down the rhetoric of their "peace" platform to remove criticism of such things as the "militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America." They also have deleted a section calling for inclusion of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Mideast peace talks.

In a letter to Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Coretta King said: "In the case where a divisive act or statement is made—e.g., one that is anti-Israel, or anti-Semitic or defamatory to any group in the coalition—the co-chairs will publicly disavow such a statement ..."

Nevertheless, leaders of the American branch of West Germany's antinuclear Green Party say they plan to carry signs critical of Israel's "West Bank settlement expansion in the Middle East."

SO FAR, AUTHORITIES say they do not anticipate trouble during the march, which is scheduled to begin in the morning with a procession from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial and to last until 4 p.m.

Some 30 speakers are scheduled to appear—each limited to five minutes.

Only one scheduled speaker has balked at this arrangement: Jesse Jackson, the black activist who is considering running for President. He complained last week that the five-minute rule would stifle his speaking style.

D.C. march shows strength of Jewish pluralism

By IRVING GREENBERG

On August 28, 1963, Martin Luther King addressed a great civil rights rally in Washington, giving his now immortal "I Have a Dream" speech. The event was one of the symbolic high water marks of the civil rights movement of the sixties. Among the 250,000 attendees, Jews were a highly visible presence. Their participation found official expression in Joachim Prinz's speech as one of the designated spokesmen. Prinz spoke movingly and drew upon his own Jewish experiences under Nazism to warn of the dangers of silence in the face of evil.

During the past 20 years, the then perceived unity of black and white interests and, in particular, Jewish and black concerns, has fractured. Last month, the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change initiated a new march on Washington to mark the twentieth anniversary of the first march. Its goal was to strengthen the call for a national holiday in honor of King and to highlight the continuing unfulfilled elements of King's dream.

Blacks were split over the march. Bayard Rustin, the organizer of the 1963 march, and the National Urban League, were both particularly outspoken in arguing that marches were an ineffectual way of pursuing jobs and economic opportunity. The catch-all nature of the demands and the inclusion of gay rights and other issues disturbed other blacks.

The Jewish community was divided over the march as well. Liberal Jews felt sympathy for the black cause and nostalgia for the old unity. many Jews felt that we owed it to Martin Luther King's memory to participate. King had challenged anti-Semitism even among blacks ("for the black men to be struggling for justice and then turn around and be anti-Semitic . . . . is a very immoral course"). King had criticized Soviet persecution of Jews ("Jews in Russia are facing every day a kind of spiritual and cultural genocide"). King had supported Israel strongly, calling it "one of the great outposts of democracy in the world" and urging support for its safety ("Peace for Israel means security and that security must be a reality").

However, the opponents of participation soon gained the upper hand in the Jewish community. Too many of the organizers (Jackson, Lowery, Walter Fauntroy) had supported the PLO. Among the early sponsors of the rally were such organizations as the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee headed by former Senator James Aboureszk, a notorious front for Arab and anti-Israel propaganda.

Especially influential were the views of Bayard Rustin. Rustin labeled the march as an inappropriate tactic for the issues of today, criticized the grab bag list of demands which included criticism of U.S. policy in the Middle East and warned that the success of the march would strengthen the hand of radical and anti-Israel black leaders.

When the initial Call to Action of the march included a slightly masked attack on U.S. support for Israel, the argument over endorsing the march in the Jewish community turned into a rout of the supporters. The ADL and the American Jewish Committee came out in opposition. For a while, it appeared that only the New Jewish Agenda would actively participate in the march. The surface impression — sure to be exploited by the media — was that the mainstream of the organized Jewish community was cut off from all but the most conservative black groups.

At this point, the countervailing forces stepped in. The pluralism of the Jewish community reasserted itself. A key role was played by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), its President Alexander Schindler, and Rabbi David Saperstein, the director of its Washington office for social action. As the relatively most unreconstructed Jewish liberal group, its leadership wanted to support the black cause.

Moreover, they argued that it would be disastrous to let moderates like Coretta Scott King slip into the hands of anti-Israel and more radical blacks. The Jewish community could not afford the increased receptivity to

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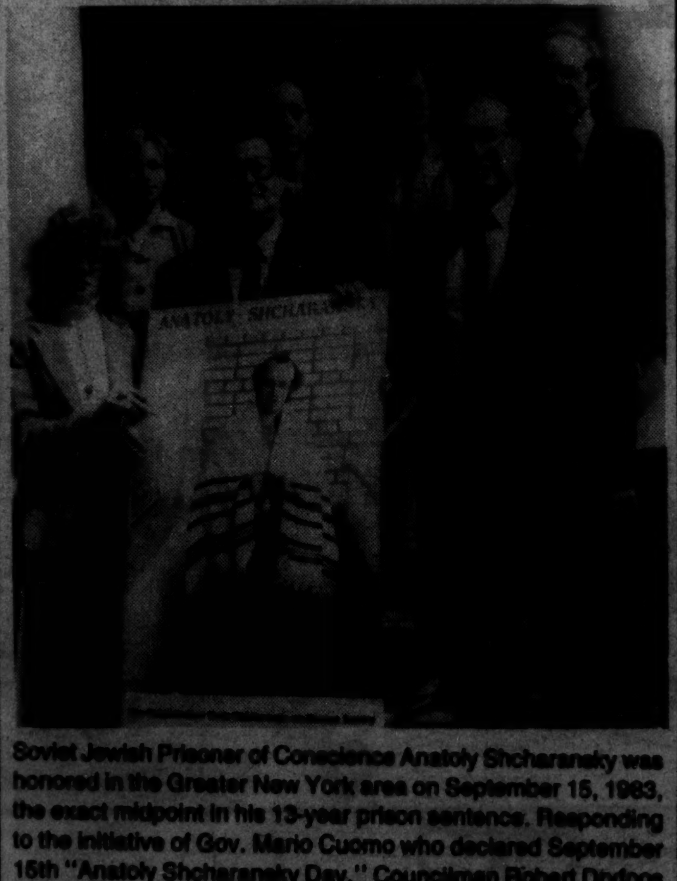

Soviet Jewish Prisoner of Conscience Anatoly Shcharansky was honored in the Greater New York area on September 15, 1983, the exact midpoint in his 13-year prison sentence. Responding to the initiative of Gov. Mario Cuomo who declared September 15th "Anatoly Shcharansky Day," Councilman Robert Dryfoos introduced a resolution on Shcharansky's behalf and hosted a press conference at City Hall with Council President Carol Bellamy, Council members June Eisland, Sheldon Leffler, Ruth Messinger and Seymour P. Lachman and Zeesy Schnur, chairman and executive director of the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry. The day's activities were coordinated by the GNYCSJ.

ISAAC BEREZ

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Since then, The Rebbe has nourished an extensive network of expert medical contacts. An advisory board was established to determine whether trips from abroad were warranted. A floor of Bedrooms in The Rebbe's headquarters was devoted exclusively to the Jewish sick. And more continued to come.

Today, virtually the entire Chassidic Center houses ROFEH patients. New medical techniques involve lengthier out-patient treatments. Along with the sick, families arrive to offer support and stay for months and even years. And new, exclusive medical treatments bring more Jews every day.

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PROJECT ROFEH

A project of The New England Chassidic Center, 1710 Beacon St., Brookline, Mass. 02146. Under the leadership of Grand Rabbi Levi Yitzchak Horowitz, The Bostoner Rebbe, Shlit'a

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To thousands of desperately ill Jews, Boston wouldn't be Boston without The Bostoner Rebbe Shlit'a

Pluralism

continued from previous page

Arab views and causes that would follow. Israel should not become politically identified with the right or even neo-conservative views alone.

The other relatively least changed liberal group, American Jewish Congress, also stepped in. Sentimentally, the Congress was also pulled by the memory of the role Dr. Joachim Prinz, its then President, had played in 1964.

While Schindler wanted to support the rally, he (and the American Jewish Congress) were worried that any possible denunciation of Israel expressed there could lead to a firestorm of criticism of participation within the Jewish community. Schindler was also worried that the scheduling of the rally on Shabbat meant that participation would be deemed to show a lack of Jewish self-respect. However, Schindler decided to participate in exchange for guarantees — a revision of the call and an assurance against anti-Israel actions.

A critical intermediary role was played by Robert Lifschutz. Lifschutz, an Atlanta Jew, former counsel to President Jimmy Carter in the White House, had strong connections to King's circles and to the Jewish community.

The incentive not to totally lose Jewish support brought forth moderating influences within the march's leadership. The march's call was rewritten. The implied criticism of Israel was changed to a call for "a just and lasting peace for the Palestinians, Israelis and all other people in the Middle East."

A specific written pledge was made not only to check positions hostile to Israel, but that were any speakers to make anti-Israel or anti-Semitic statements, they would be publicly disowned on the spot by the events co-chairmen.

In response to these assurances, the American Jewish Congress announced its sponsorship of the march. The UAHC sponsored the march and Schindler agreed to give the benediction. However, the majority of Jewish organizations persisted in their refusal to endorse the march.

Who was right? The supporters or opponents? The Committee or the Congress? I would argue that both sides were right. Not to be cynical: it was probably best for the Jewish community that the rally was successful (social justice, economic opportunity are still 'good for the Jews') but not too successful (so that the Jesse Jacksons did not gain too much).

It would have been bad for the Jews if a total organized Jewish organizational boycott of the march was highlighted in the media as proof that Jews have abandoned liberalism and black causes. It would have been doubly bad if a denunciation of Israel had then occurred which would have been used against Israel and further polarized blacks and Jews and further weakened support for Israel in certain circles.

> *By playing both sides of the street — in accordance with the natural division of Jewish interests and positions — the greatest number of Jewish positions were asserted and protected.*

It was good for the Jews that moderate black groups within the march were encouraged to negotiate and revise their call. It was also good that the moderate blacks who opposed the march were supported by the other Jewish organizations who did not support the march. The lesson has gone out that Jewish support is not automatic and that Jewish interests must be respected if Jewish support is sought.

Pluralism Pays Off

This is a classic example where the pluralism in the Jewish community works in our favor. By playing both sides of the street — not cynically but in accordance with the natural division of Jewish interests and positions — the greatest number of Jewish positions were asserted and protected.

Of course, it could have backfired. The march might have condemned Israel — or have been so successful as to strengthen the wrong elements in the black community. But those are the risks that are always involved in the flow of day to day political issues and decisions.

The Jewish community should learn to utilize its own pluralism positively. In general, support for Israel can be kept at a more universal level if the various factions within the Jewish community seek out their counterparts and work with them on the issues. Thus, conservatives should go with conservatives, Jewish Republicans with Republicans, as well as liberals and radicals going with their peers. To make this possible, Jews will have to tolerate a greater range of dissent and disagreement vis-a-vis Israeli policies or on other issues — provided, of course, the fundamentally positive stand is made clear.

The community will also have to learn to be more civil in arguing over the issues to avoid sweeping condemnations ("neo-conservatives are betraying the Jewish tradition"/"critics of any aspect of Israeli policy are traitors"). The nature of politics is that there are many issues in which there are two plausible legitimate sides and both are right although one or the other may prove to be more effective once they are actually worked out. Thus one learns to treat issues more pragmatically and flexibly, reserving extreme moral condemnation or polarization for the very few issues that deserve that kind of treatment.

Source of Strength

Pluralism within the Jewish community — frequently treated with great anxiety as a source of divisiveness and weakness — can be a real source of strength. If I have any reservation about the outcome of the community's disagreement over the march, it is that the balance within the organizations has too clearly shifted to the self-interest more 'conservative' side.

There were many Jewish individual participants in the march — more so than the percentage of Jewish organizations involved. This raises the continuing risk that excessive universalism continues to sweep through Jews as individuals while the organized community turns so particularist that it cannot reach those Jews. A better balance — or, more correctly — a better outreach, is needed. ☐

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Holiday Greetings

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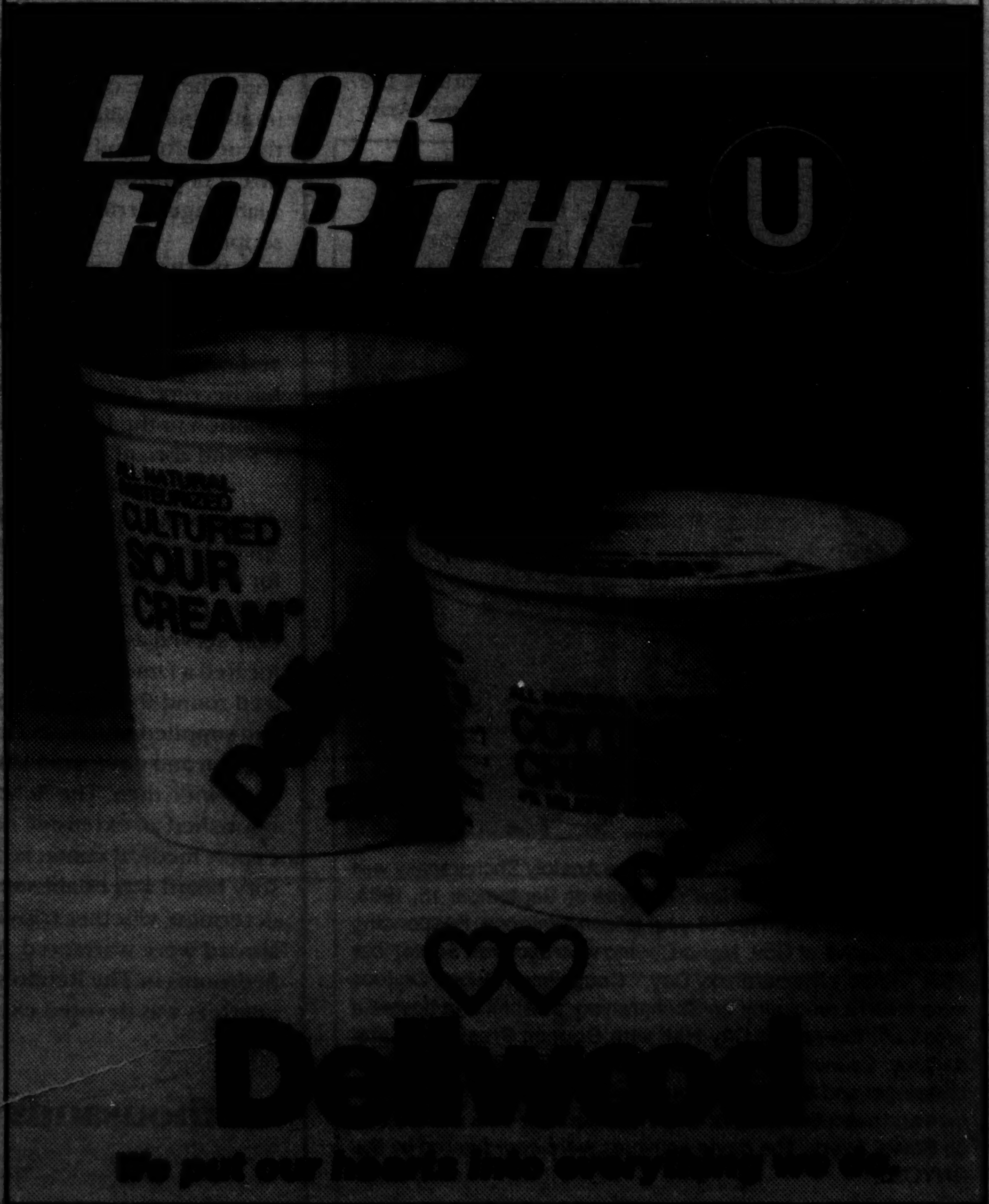

March on Washington - 1982
Mailgram 12/1/82

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BLACK CAUCUS

X

20th anniversary

November 29, 1982

Dear Friend:

On behalf of the National Steering Committee for the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the historic 1963 March on Washington, I would like to urge you to attend this timely and important meeting on Friday December 3, 1982 to discuss the plans for the celebration and the reassembling of the Coalition of Conscience. As promised in the mailgram, the following items are enclosed in this packet:

1] the proposed draft of the Call to the Nation for a New Coalition of Conscience;

2] an agenda for the meeting;

3] a partial list of participants invited to attend the one day leadership conference.

The meeting will begin promtly at noon at the Shiloh Baptist Church Family Life Center located at 9th and P Street, N.W. in Washington, D.C.. If you have not confirmed or have any questions, please contact Mr. Kent Amos at (202) 966-7228.

Thank you for your help and cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Walter E. Fauntroy

Walter E. Fauntroy

enclosure

NATIONAL BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
SHILOH FAMILY LIFE CENTER

AGENDA

12:00 Working Lunch [Please arrive on time]

I.	Opening Prayer of Thanksgiving	Rev. Henry Gregory, Pastor Shiloh Family Life Center
II.	State of the World, the Nation and Black Americans	Rev. Joseph Lowery, President Southern Christian Leadership Conference
III.	Background of the Call for the 20th Anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington	Mrs. Coretta King, President Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change
IV.	Proposed Plan and Timetable	Rev. Benjamin Hooks National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

1:30 Business Session

V.	Statement of Purpose (Business Session)	Honorable Walter Fauntroy Chairman National Steering Committee
VI.	Discussion and Adoption of Call	Congressman Fauntroy
VII.	Research and Legislation	Ms. Fran Farmer
VIII.	Building a Legislative Program	Congressman Fauntroy
IX.	Fundraising for the Year's Campaign	
X.	Building the New Coalition of Conscience	Brady Tyson, Acting Co - Coordinator
XI.	Discussion and Follow-Up	
XII.	Closing Prayer and Song: We Shall Overcome	

ACTING CO-CHAIRPERSONS: Coretta Scott King, Joseph Lowery, Benjamin Hooks, and Walter E. Fauntroy

Time: 12:00pm - 5:00pm
Place: Shiloh Family Life Center
Date: Friday, December 3, 1982
For more information, contact Kent Amos at (202) 966-7228

PROPOSED DRAFT

CALL TO THE NATION FROM NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

We the undersigned group of representative Black leaders, gathered here in Washington, D.C. on December 3, 1982, have met at the invitation and initiative of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, the Honorable Benjamin Hooks and the Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy, to issue

A CALL TO THE NATION, and
A CALL TO BLACK PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

We do here and now issue such a call to all the people of the United States to reassemble a non-partisan Coalition of Conscience around the basic issues of

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

JOBS

In light of the massive unemployment, which is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families, we call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed to build a Full Employment Society. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry, government and education to assure all Americans of socially-useful and dignified employment with a just wage, and to provide adequate training for all Americans for employment, especially for its poor and black citizens who are bearing the major burden of unemployment.

PEACE

In light of the massive armaments race in the world today, in short a race that has seemingly escaped control and all reason and a race that continues to rob our government of the ability to promote the common welfare of the people of the nation, and the pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the great majority of America's church leaders in seeking someway to outlaw war in an age of nuclear destruction, and in seeking constructive means to invest our wealth and energy in peace and not in preparation for war. We call for a reversal of the trend towards nuclear annihilation, record defense spending, and a reduction of the arms race. We believe that world conflicts can and must be solved through non-violent means.

FREEDOM

In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign in 1983 against every form of class and racial and religious prejudice and hate. We call upon the entire nation to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan. We call for the New Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation. We call upon the nation to ensure enforcement of hard won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Act). We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women.

To bring all these issues together, so they can be seen in their wholeness, we call for the coaltion of a NEW COALITION OF CONSCIENCE, that that will during the course of 1983:

1) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn our nation around in the areas of Jobs, Peace and Freedom.
2) bring together in a massive, peaceful meeting in Washington, D.C. on August 27, 1983, a gathering that will reaffirm the American Dream and unite as never before this new coalition around specific goals and a common dream
3) work together to build a new force in American life, an integrated coalition with a whole vision of the American dream and a total analysis of the problem, that can act as a power and as a leaven to live out the full meaning of the Dream for all Americans for decades to come and generations unborn.

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER
MIDDLETOWN, VA. 22645

Western Union Mailgram

4-031068S335002 12/01/82 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYBB
1 2125338000 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 12-01 0222P EST

A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE H SIANI
260 PARK AVE SOUTH
NEW YORK NY 10010

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2125338000 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 88 12-01 0222P EST
ZIP
JULIUS CHAMBERS
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND
951 SOUTH INDEPENDENCE BLVD
CHARLOTTE NC 28202

RIOTOUS CONFRONTATION DURING WASHINGTON KKK DEMONSTRATION ON NOVEMBER 20 GIVES FURTHER EVIDENCE OF NEED FOR ALTERNATIVE TO 20TH ANNIVERSARY MARCH. IT IS EVIDENCE OF INABILITY TO CONTROL PROGRAM TACTICS AND STRATEGIES OF DEMONSTRATION HELD OUTDOORS IN TIMES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND FRUSTRATION. SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR IRRESPONSIBLE GROUPS TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE AND PURSUE UNRELATED AGENDAS. WE URGE LEADERSHIP FORUM TO MEET TO CONSIDER INDOOR ALTERNATIVES FOR AUGUST 1983

BAYARD RUSTIN AND NORMAN HILL

14:23 EST

MGMCOMP

5241 (R 7/82)

TEXT

Telegram Sent to Black Leadership Forum

December 1, 1982

Riotous confrontation during Washington KKK demonstration on November 20th gives further evidence of need for alternative to 20th Anniversary March. It is evidence of inability to control program, tactics and strategies of demonstration held outdoors in times of unemployment and frustration. Such demonstrations provide opportunity for irresponsible groups to provoke violence and pursue unrelated agendas, We urge Leadership Forum to meet to consider indoor alternative for August 1983.

Bayard Rustin   Norman Hill

NOV 30 '82
N.Y.
.20

Mr. Jack Greenberg, Executive Director
NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019

Mr. Frederick O'Neal
Associated Actors & Artistes of America
165 West 46th Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Mrs. Roy Wilkins
147-15 Village Road
Jamaica, N.Y. 11435

Mr. Jesse Hill
I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
449 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30312

NOV 30 '82
N.Y.
U.S. POSTAGE
.20

Mr. Kenneth Young
Assistant to the President
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street N.W.
Washington, DC, 20006

Mr. Lane Kirkland, President
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20006

Ms. Jessica Smith
Frontlash
815 16th Street, N.W. Rm 203
Washington D.C. 20006

Dr, Robert C. Weaver
215 East 48th Street
New York, B.Y. 10021

Randolph Educational Fund
VENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

NEW YORK
NOV 30 '82
N.Y.
.20

Mr. Vernon Jordon
Akim, Gump, Straus, Haver & Feld
1333 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusettes Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Mr. Ralph G. Neas, Executive Director
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
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Washington D.C. 20036

Mr. William Pollard , Director
Department of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20006

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK LEADERSHIP FORUM

January, 1980

	BUSINESS ADDRESS	HOME ADDRESS
✓	Julius L. Chambers, Esq. President Legal Defense and Education Fund 951 South Independence Blvd. Suite 730, East Independence Plaza Charlotte, North Carolina 28202 (704) 375-8461	3608 Dawnshire Avenue Charlotte, North Carolina 28216 (704) 399-5384
✓	Honorable ~~Cardiss Collins~~ WAlter Fauntroy Chairwoman Congressional Black Caucus ~~2438 Rayburn Building~~ H2-344, House annex #2 Washington, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-5006	2902 Garfield Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008 (202) 332-7239
✓	Honorable Woody Etherly, Jr. City Councilman President National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials 1101 South Saginaw Street Flint, Michigan 48502 (313) 766-7418	901 Addison Flint, Michigan 48505 (313) 787-7579
✓	Mr. Theodore R. Hagans President National Business League 4324 Georgia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20011 (202) 829-5900	1645 Myrtle Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20012 (202) 291-1602
✓	Honorable Richard G. Hatcher Mayor, City of Gary City Hall 401 Broadway Gary, Indiana 46402 (219) 944-6501	2549 East 22nd Place Gary, Indiana 46407 (219) 944-9225

BLACK LEADERSHIP FORUM (CONT'D)

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(202) 293-3902 (D.C.)

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(212) 679-6879

✓ Mr. M. Carl Holman
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1201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
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1221 4th Street, S.W.
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(202) 488-4292

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BKlyn ~~New York~~, New York ~~10036~~ 11201
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(312) 955-1927

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President
National Urban League
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(212) 644-6511

1170 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10029
(212) 860-0100

BLACK LEADERSHIP FORUM (CONT'D)

Mrs. Coretta Scott King
President
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center
for Social Change
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(404) 524-1956

234 Sunset Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
(404) 523-1686

Dr. Joseph E. Lowery
President
Southern Christian Leadership
✓ Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-1420
(404) 524-4263 (Church)

3121 Cascade Road, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311
(404) 344-3970

Imam Wallace Deen Muhammad
World Community of Al-Islam
in the West
c/o Hasan M. Sharif, P.R. Secretary
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Chicago, Illinois 60615
(312) 624-8781

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute
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Rev. Leon Sullivan
Chairman of the Board and Founder
✓ OICs of America
c/o Zion Baptist Church
N.W. Corner Broad & Venango Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19140
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(215) 248-2980

Mr. Eddie N. Williams
President
✓ Joint Center for Political Studies
1426 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-4477

4601 North Park Avenue
Chevy Chase, Maryl nd 2001
(301) 986-1730

Norm

12/3/82

NATIONAL BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

AGENDA

✓I.	Opening Prayer of Thanksgiving	Rev. Henry Gregory, Pastor Shiloh Baptist Church
✓II.	State of the World, the Nation and Black Americans	Rev. Joseph Lowery, President Southern Christian Leadership Conference
✓III.	Background of the 20th Anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington	Corettta Scott King, President Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change
✓IV.	Statement of Purpose (Business Session)	Walter E. Fauntroy, Chairman National Steering Committee
✓V.	Discussion and Adoption of Call	Walter E. Fauntroy
✓VI.	Proposed Plan and Timetable	Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, NAACP
✓VII.	Research and Legislation	Fran Farmer, Executive Directo Congressional Black Caucus
✓VIII.	Building a Legislative Program	Walter E. Fauntroy
✓IX.	Fundraising	Kent Amos, Acting National Co-Coordinator
✓X.	Building a New Coalition of Conscience	Brady Tyson, Acting National Co-Coordinator
✓XI.	Discussion and Follow-up	
✓XII.	Closing Prayer and song: We Shall Overcome	

III '63 MARCH initiated by A.P. Randolph - participation of civil rights, churches, some labor & lots of people of good will '83 MARCH initiated by civil rights but must be represented by broad spectrum of society : quote "What we face today is not too difficult for all of us to overcome if we have faith, dedication and commitment that will continue . . ."

IV ML King Holiday Bill - umbrella legislation under which coalition will work until April 4th and announcement of specific legislation

V Amendments - under freedom a re: housing & education / and a re: law enforcement officials along w/ KKK
- unanimously adopted w/ exception of Bill Lucy - he personally supports but must approach AFSCME Ex. Bd. before casting vote for organization

VI Proposed Timetable

- 12/3/82 adoption of call to nation
- before X-mas sign on to call to nation by Black leaders
- by 1/13/83 sign on to call to nation by members of New Coalition of Conscience
- Dec - Feb. hiring of staff people
- 1/9 - 1/16/83 King week
- 1/12 planning council meeting (~ 50 people) in Atlanta
- 1/13 steering committee meeting (~ 200 people)
- 1/13 major press conference to issue call to Nation
- 4/4 announce specific goals of event (may not be a march - specific nature of the event on 8/27 will be decided by committees)
- 4/4 - August 19th seminars, teach-ins, political education
- 8/27/83 The Event (may be indoor, outdoor, a march or a demonstration - not decided yet til' further committee discussion)

VII See Francesta Farmer memo on Research & Legislation

VIII " " " "

IX Fundraising in 3 areas:

1 - direct mail

2 - foundation grants

3 - churches

X An appeal was made to each organization to committ money or human (staff) resources

XI Re: staff - core group to be primarily black - staffing committee to send out letters to participating organizations requesting any specific people

Attendance was between 50-70 people; primarily black including Hooks, Brady Tyson, Dorothy Height, Lowery, King, Bill Lucy, Addie Wyatt, Andy Mason & Sheila King (Nat'l Alliance of Postal & Fed. Employees).

NATIONAL BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

The BMI Cooperative
PHC, 410 Central Park West
New York, N.Y. 10025
Calvin Rolark, Chairman

National Black Media Coalition
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Pluria Marshall, Chairman

National Black Network
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Eugene Jackson, Chairman

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Sheridian Broadcasting Network
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Leonia McQuillistor, Chairperson

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Imperial Recorder's Office
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Russell Taylor, Imperial Potentate

Conference of Prince Hall Grand Masters
Masonic Temple
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Samuel T. Daniels, Grand Master

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M.J. Anderson, President

Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World
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Donald T. Wilson, Grand Exalted Ruler

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Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change
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Mrs Coretta Scott King, President

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John Jacobs, Director

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Juanita K. Morgan, Executive Secretary

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Robert White, President

National Alliance of Black School-Educators
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Eugene Baker, President

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Washington, D.C. 20007
Samuel Myers, Executive Director

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Gospel Music Workshop of America
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Edward Smith, Executive Director

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Geraldine Thompson, Executive Director

Mayor Johnny Ford
City of Tuskegee
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mayor Richard Hatcher
City of Gary
Gary, Indiana

Mayor Ernest Morial
City of New Orleans
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mayor Kenneth Gibson
City of Newark
Newark, N.J.

Mr. Dick Gregory
Plymouth, Mass.

Ms. Theresa Hoover, Women's Division
United Mehtodist Church
475 Riverside Dr.
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Dr. Randy Nugent
Board of Global Ministries
United Methodist Church
475 Riverside Dr.
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Rev. T.J. Jemison
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
National Baptist Convention
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Bridge Owens
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Progressive National Baptist Convention
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Charles Butler, President

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City of Atlanta
Atlanta, GA

Bishop Brookings - AME
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Los Angeles, CA

Mayor Coleman Young
City of Detroit
Detroit, MI

Mayor Richard Arrington
City of Birmingham
Birmingham, AL

Mayor Tom Bradley
City of Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Ossie Davis
Ms. Ruby Dee
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Mr. Bill Cosby
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Kent Amos
Acting National Co-Coordinator
Washington, D.C.

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Donna L. Brazile
National Black Youth Network
320 Constitution Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

PROPOSED DRAFT

CALL TO THE NATION FROM NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

We the undersigned group of representative Black leaders, gathered here in Washington, D.C. on December 3, 1982, have met at the invitation and initiative of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, the Honorable Benjamin Hooks and the Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy, to issue

A CALL TO THE NATION, and
A CALL TO BLACK PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

We do here and now issue such a call to all the people of the United States to reassemble a non-partisan Coalition of Conscience around the basic issues of

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

JOBS

In light of the massive unemployment, which is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families, we call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed to build a Full Employment Society. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry, government and education to assure all Americans of socially-useful and dignified employment with a just wage, and to provide adequate training for all Americans for employment, especially for its poor and black citizens who are bearing the major burden of unemployment.

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In light of the massive armaments race in the world today, in short a race that has seemingly escaped control and all reason and a race that continues to rob our government of the ability to promote the common welfare of the people of the nation, and the pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the great majority of America's church leaders in seeking someway to outlaw war in an age of nuclear destruction, and in seeking constructive means to invest our wealth and energy in peace and not in preparation for war. We call for a reversal of the trend towards nuclear annihilation, record defense spending, and a reduction of the arms race. We believe that world conflicts can and must be solved through non-violent means.

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In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign in 1983 against every form of class and racial and religious prejudice and hate. We call upon the entire nation to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan. We call for the New Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation. We call upon the nation to ensure enforcement of hard won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Act). We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women.

To bring all these issues together, so they can be seen in their wholeness, we call for the coaltion of a NEW COALITION OF CONSCIENCE, that that will during the course of 1983:

1) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn our nation around in the areas of Jobs, Peace and Freedom.
2) bring together in a massive, peaceful meeting in Washington, D.C. on August 27, 1983, a gathering that will reaffirm the American Dream and unite as never before this new coalition around specific goals and a common dream
3) work together to build a new force in American life, an integrated coalition with a whole vision of the American dream and a total analysis of the problem, that can act as a power and as a leaven to live out the full meaning of the Dream for all Americans for decades to come and generations unborn.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy
Chairman, 20th Anniversary Martin Luther King
March Committee

FROM: Francesta E. Farmer Fran Farmer

RE: Development of Issue Analyses and Legislative Initiatives
for the 1983 March Effort

An important component a successful drive toward the 20th Anniversay March is the fomulation of issues analyses and specific legislative initiatives to be endorsed and advocated by the "coalition of conscience" that will be organizing the March. The very theme of the March -- jobs, peace and freedom -- lend themselves to the development of issue focuses. Moreover, the March will occur mid-way through the first Session of the 98th Congress; thus, the coalition's advocacy will play an important role in shaping the legislative agenda for that Congress.

In Washington and throughout the country, there already is a growing concensus about the need for legislative action in at least one of the key areas. The unemployment rate nationally is now 10.4% nationally and promises to rise in the next few months. For the Black community, the official unemployment rate is 20.2%, and for Black youth it is 57.6%. The official rate does not include discouraged workers, a disproportionate number of whom are Black. The current Congressional debate over infrastructure assistance as a job creation technique will do little to ameliorate the suffering of the over 11 million unemployed Americans, since the most optimistic estimates of the job creation potential of these bills is 320,000 jobs. Therfore, there will be continued concern and interest in jobs creation legislation that takes a more comprehensive step toward the creation of jobs, whether in the public or private sector.

With regard to peace, the momentum toward the nuclear freeze will continue; local nuclear freeze resolutions were markedly successful in the 1982 elections. Moreover, the burgeoning defense establishment -- in light of the predicted Federal deficit that will be in excess of $2 billion and the implications that this level of defense spending has for domestic programs and entitlements -- also will feul efforts to reduce defense spending.

Finally, the lackluster Federal civil rights enforcement efforts; the rise of racially-motivated violence; and the increased efforts to curtail Federal civil rights guarantees, particularly in the areas of affirmative action and school desegregation, provide the basis for a call to renew national efforts to eradicate completely and finally the vestiges of societal discrimination and inequality.

In a recent report called Unemployment and Underemployment Among Blacks and Hispanics and Women, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission recognized the interrelationship among two of these three key issues. The report noted that:

> The lack of adequate employment for many of this Nation's citizens has become a problem of considerable national concern. For minorities and women, who have traditionally been discriminated against in the labor market, employment problems have become critical. A 1980 survey of the National Urban League found that unemployment is 'unequivocally" the number one problem in the Black community. In 1982, with one out of every eight Hispanics, and nearly one out of every five Blacks, officially counted as "unemployed," problems of employment have become greater than ever.
>
> . . . the crucial role of employment in securing equal benefits of citizenship has long been recognized. In 1968 the Kerner Commission studied the causes of racial disturbances in American cities and concluded that lack of adequate employment was of "critical significance." The report stressed the role of employment:
>
> > The capacity to obtain and hold a "good job" is the traditional test of participation in American society. Steady employment with adequate compensation provides both purchasing power and social status. It develops the capabilities, confidence, and self-esteem an individual needs to be a responsible citizen and provides a basis for a stable family life.
>
> Civil righs organizations have also emphasized the key role of jobs. In the words of Vernon Jordan, former president of the National Urban League:
>
> > It is too often forgotten that the 1963 March on Washington was for more than just abstract rights. It was for jobs and freedom. To a large extent,

> we won the freedoms, but we still do not have the jobs. There are today half a million more Black people unemployed than at the time of the March on Washington. . . . Despite some gains in employment and education, the masses of Black people did not witness significant changes in their lives because of the rights they won in the 1960s. We were poor then, we're poor today; we were disadvantaged then, we remain so today. . . .

The third issue -- peace -- also is related so long as cold war confrontational ideology and gross over-allocation of resources for defense expenditures precludes use of more scarce national resources for efforts to create jobs and to ensure economic justice to all Americans.

PROPOSAL FOR ISSUES CLUSTER TO SUPPORT THE MARCH EFFORT

It is recommended that four issues clusters be developed to discharge the following tasks:

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

- The development of cogent analyses of the current economic conditions of Blacks, other minorities and women. In developing these papers, the issues teams would draw on materials already available.

PEACE

- The development of specific analyses of the U.S. defense budget and its effects on the economy, job creation and furtherance of the desired objectives of nuclear disarmament and world peace.

FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

- An analysis of the continuing impediments to genuine equality and economic justice for Blacks, other minorities and women. This issue cluster should examine Federal, state and local enforcement of existing civil rights laws, and should develop ways to regenerate the national civil rights concensus that guided the national policy development after the last March on Washington.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN POLICY

- The development of specific responses to continuing human rights violations abroad, and a critique of current U.S. foreign policy objectives in each region of the world to assess whether these objectives contribute to, or hamper, the achievement of world peace.

All issue clusters should propose specific legislative and programmatic responses to problems identified in all issues analyses. Legislative responses should focus on Federal, state and local initiatives, since the current Administration has created some momentum to shift formerly Federal responsibilities to state and local governments.

Structure of Issue Clusters:

Each issue cluster should have, as honorary chairs, two Congresspersons or Senators who have long been involved in the issues under review. The issues task forces should be drawn from experts in the respective fields from around the country; however, the core working groups can be drawn from persons involved in policy development -- through public interest groups, civil rights organizations, Congressional staffs -- on a regular basis. Because time is of the essence in the development of free-standing issue papers and legislative proposals, the task force participants should posses familiarity with the vast amounts of data already available on many of these issues. Their primary objective should be to assemble these data to support specific recommended actions, policy changes or legislation.

The work of the issues clusters should be designed to complement a comprehensive time-table, designed to build support for particular legislation. Introduction of this legislation can provide a focus for mobilization by the "coalition of conscience" lending to, and following, the March.

ISSUES TIMELINE

Date:	OBJECTIVE
January 15, 1983	Based on preliminary research and analysis, a statement of the current problems and issues that concern the "Coalition of Conscience." This statement should serve as a predicate for future activities and issue formulation.
January 15 - April 1, 1983	Development of specific legislation, with supporting data, floor statements, co-sponsors, etc.
April 4, 1983	Announcement of specific legislation, introduced on that date by the Congressional co-chairs of each issue cluster.
April 4, - August 19, 1983	Nation-wide seminars, teach-ins and other political education activities, using these legislative initiatives as the center piece. Efforts should be made to incorporate discussions of these initiatives at every major Black convention and/or conference between the time of introduction and the March.
August 27, 1983	The March. Reports on the status of the legislative proposals -- and remaining steps to secure passage -- will be a featured activity. It is possible that a teach-in on the legislation could be a collateral activity.

William Raspberry

The Klan Won

WASH, POST
12/1/82

"Most of Saturday's looting had less to do with despair than with the opportunity for getting something for nothing."

It pains me to admit it, but the Klan won. The three dozen or so Klansmen apparently had no supporters on the scene of Saturday's rally. The anti-Klan ralliers had supporters they couldn't control, and in the aftermath, the labels reserved for the Klan—vicious, violent, ignorant, cowardly, mob-minded—were stuck all over the Klan's enemies.

The Klan won.

They didn't win converts, of course. The long-touted, twice-delayed rally was never about winning converts, at least not here in Washington. No one expected any serious switching of philosophies, from Klan to anti-Klan, or vice versa. Rallies of this sort are not political debates. They are public-relations gimmicks, calculated to make the marchers look good and their targets look bad. They are calculated to say to the nation, through means of television and other news media: you may not agree with everything we say, but if you'll just pay attention to us, you'll have to admit that there is some truth behind our allegations. And even if you don't agree, the favorable publicity, whether we come off as surprisingly self-controlled or manage only to expose the ignorance and savagery of the other side, will help our cause.

The Klan won.

It wasn't a shut-out, by any means. There were intelligent, thoughtful speeches by some of the anti-Klan demonstrators who thought it was worthwhile to make clear that the white-robed racists were not welcome in the national capital, to show that this 117-year-old hate group no longer had the capacity to strike fear in the hearts of blacks and Jews, to charge the Reagan administration with having created the economic and political climate that encourages the Klan's resurgence.

It is fair to point out that the organizers of the counterdemonstrations were as dismayed as anyone at the smashing and looting that took place largely after the handful of Klansmen were long gone. It is fair to note that only a small, uncontrolled and unaffiliated minority of those present at the rallies actually engaged in lawlessness. But it is also fair to point out that the memories that will remain are not of impassioned and well-reasoned speeches or the Klan's exhortations against amnesty for illegal aliens. What will be remembered is the smashing and looting and cop-baiting.

The Klan won.

It had been my private opinion that the counterdemonstrations were a mistake in the first place, not because I anticipated that there would be looting or that the crowd would turn on the police, but because I thought the counterdemonstrations would increase the national publicity that was the Klan's purpose all along. If the power had been mine, I would have limited the participants to three dozen robed bigots, 50 or 60 police officers and no one else: no counter rallies, no heckling, no TV cameras. Nothing.

Unfortunately, other, more influential people saw it differently. Now that the mistake has been made, my only hope is that we will stop compounding it by trying to make what happened Saturday the fault of the Klan in particular or of white racism in general (though there is still plenty of that around).

The black leadership would be well advised to take its losses and not try to shift the blame, whether to "Trotskyist radicals" who, according to D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy, incited black youths to violence, or to Reaganomics-induced despair.

There seems to have been some incitement, and certainly there is much despair. But my hunch is that most of Saturday's looting had less to do with despair than with the opportunity for getting something for nothing and having a little fun. After all, Sholl's Cafeteria, the Madison National Bank and the Big Wheel bike shop, which suffered the brunt of the looting and smashing, are no more allied with the Klan than the most fervent anti-Klan demonstrator.

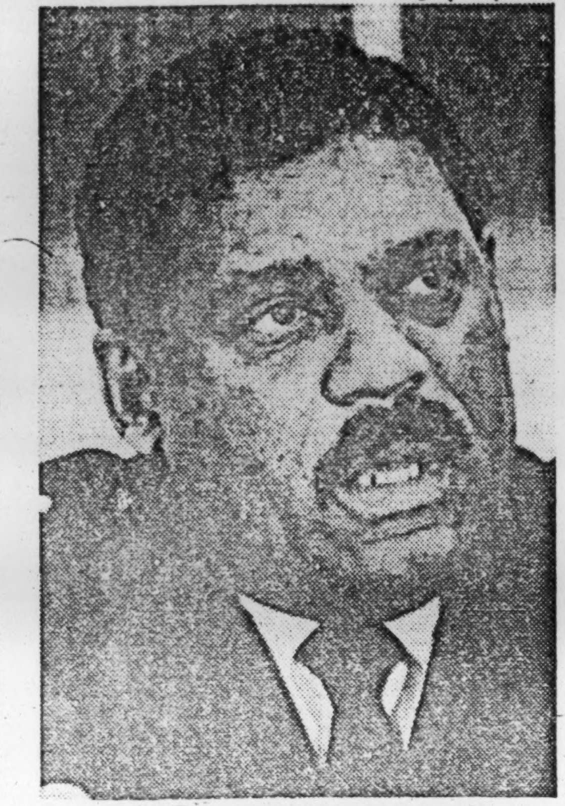
What happened Saturday is more helpful to the Klan and more harmful to black people than anything a few dozen hooded idiots could have managed on their own.

Instead of trying to justify the violence, Washington's leadership should be proposing ways to reimburse its innocent victims. It may be too late to deny the Klan its victory, but it isn't too late for responsible people to start acting responsibly.

Police Stunned by Crowd Violence In Reaction to Secret Busing of Klan

Wash Post 11/29/82

By Paul W. Valentine
Washington Post Staff Writer



POLICE CHIEF MAURICE TURNER
... letting Klan march "would have been worse"

Top D.C. police officials said yesterday that they were stunned when their secret decision to keep apart a Ku Klux Klan group and militant anti-Klan demonstrators backfired Saturday and the demonstrators turned on police in a violent rampage through much of downtown.

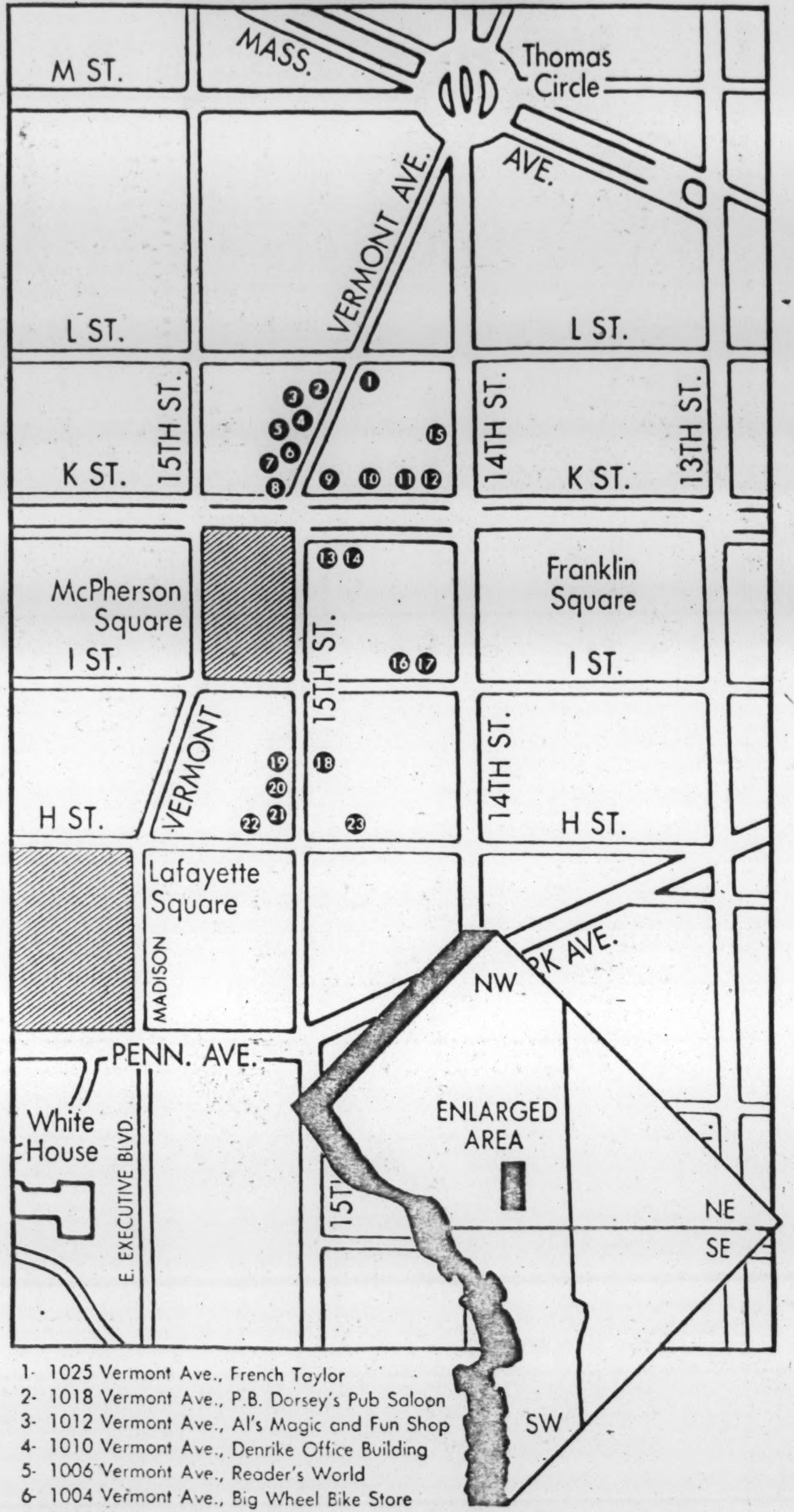
"We knew there was a possibility they might get angry [at being duped]," said Police Chief Maurice T. Turner, "but we did not think it would turn violent."

"We just assumed that if we avoided a confrontation between the Klan and the demonstrators, we would avoid violence," said police spokesman Lt. Hiram Brewton, "but we were wrong."

Still, Turner and Assistant Chief Marty Tapscott said in separate interviews yesterday, they are satisfied they did the right thing when they bused Klan marchers to Lafayette Square through back streets rather than allow them to march down Pennsylvania Avenue, where thousands of angry protesters were waiting.

See POLICE, A21, Col. 3

BUSINESSES DAMAGED DURING SATURDAY'S ANTI-KLAN DISTURBANCE



1- 1025 Vermont Ave., French Taylor
2- 1018 Vermont Ave., P.B. Dorsey's Pub Saloon
3- 1012 Vermont Ave., Al's Magic and Fun Shop
4- 1010 Vermont Ave., Denrike Office Building
5- 1006 Vermont Ave., Reader's World
6- 1004 Vermont Ave., Big Wheel Bike Store
7- 1002 Vermont Ave., vacant store
8- 1433 K St., Sholl's New Cafeteria
9- Corner of Vermont and K St.
Madison National Bank
10- 1425 K St., One McPherson Square
Office Building front
11- 1411 K St., K St. Eatery
12- 1405 K St., Golden Game Arcade
13- 1432 K St., Fatted Calf Restaurant
14- 1430 K St., Bank of Commerce
15- 1012 14th St., Squires Clothing
16- 1411 I St., GO GO Club
17- 1405 I St.,
Jacob Gardner Office Supplies
18- 811 15th St., Office Building
19- 810 15th St., Allous Hair Stylists
20- 808 15th St., National Permanent Bank
21- 804 15th St., Trover Shop
22- 1503 H St., Geoffrey Lewis Ltd.
23- 1423 H St., Livingston Pawn Brokers

By Kathy Jungjohann — The Washington Post

POLICE, From A1

They also maintained that once violence did erupt later near Lafayette Square, their tactic of periodically withdrawing riot-equipped officers helped to curb the violence by removing them as targets of the protesters' rage.

However, some rank-and-file officers complained privately that they were unduly restrained by their commanders and some merchants said police should have acted more forcefully.

As it was, at least a dozen officers and an undetermined number of demonstrators were injured in the two-hour melee, which apparently erupted when some demonstrators, frustrated at the absence of any Klansmen, turned to violence. Police on scooters and horses repeatedly charged rock-and-bottle-throwing mobs and fired fusillades of tear gas. Some 38 persons were arrested, and were to be arraigned today. Windows in at least 23 stores were smashed and many establishments were looted in an area bounded by 15th, 14th, H and K streets NW.

Police said yesterday that it was too soon to estimate the price tag of the disturbance, either in police and cleanup costs, or in damage to merchants. The scene of the violence was largely deserted yesterday, with a few businessmen sweeping broken glass and preparing to open again.

Meanwhile yesterday, Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) called for a "coalition of conscience" among blacks and whites to "overcome the propaganda advantages" scored by both the Klan and anti-Klan protesters in Saturday's violence.

"The overtly racist Klan got what they wanted—widespread publicity across the nation," Fauntroy said, "and white radical organizers" [of the anti-Klan action] "got what they wanted, too—pictures of black youths looting and throwing bricks . . . showing America that blacks are oppressed brick throwers."

He said "Trotskyist radicals" had gone through black neighborhoods in Washington with a sound truck, "inviting young black youths to go downtown and attack the Klan."

Fauntroy urged nonviolent means of improving conditions for blacks and other poor people, including support of the Congressional Black Caucus' economic recovery legislative package on Capitol Hill.

Turner acknowledged the violence Saturday was beyond anything po-

iolence After Busing of Klan

lice expected but said, "The situation would have been much worse if we had allowed the [Klan] march down Pennsylvania Avenue."

He said the resentment was so great among the hundreds of ultra-militant leftist protesters gathered with thousands of other demonstrators at the fringe of the proposed Klan march route that a physical confrontation seemed likely.

"That group was getting pretty worked up," Tapscott said. The possibility that it would break through police lines and attack Klan marchers, touching off chaos and violence among police and innocent demonstrators, was a major factor in a police decision to cancel the march and whisk the 30 to 35 Klan members secretly by bus from the Capitol to Lafayette Square, Tapscott said.

The Klansmen—here to protest a bill in Congress granting amnesty to millions of illegal aliens—rallied briefly in the square, then were escorted by police out of the city before the protesters knew what had happened.

Initial reaction among many demonstrators when word spread later that the Klan had abandoned its march, was one of jubilation, punctuated by cheers of victory. Others, however, felt they had been denied a long-awaited confrontation with the Klan.

Hundreds of protesters streamed up Pennsylvania Avenue toward Lafayette Square, joined by others from McPherson Square, all of them apparently thinking the Klansmen might still be in Lafayette Square.

As the vanguard of protesters began running west on H Street toward the square a block away, they were suddenly met by a solid phalanx of horse-mounted Park Police, and the mood of the crowd, encountering horsemen instead of Klansmen, grew more hostile. Rocks, bricks and bottles began flying from the crowd. The horsemen moved against the protesters and police on foot fired tear gas.

For the next two hours, skirmishing ebbed and flowed in the streets, with protesters screaming obscenities and hurling bottles, bricks and stick-mounted revolutionary banners at police. Police flailed at protesters with their nightsticks, striking many across their backs and heads.

Still other participants, mostly local young "opportunists" who had joined the fray with "criminal intent," as Turner put it, began smashing windows and looting stores. The looting, more widespread than originally reported, included stores where cameras, bicycles, clothing and jewelry were snatched.

Turner said he attempted to withdraw his officers from the streets several times but had to redeploy them to stem the looting and also to rescue isolated officers menaced by crowds.

He said the crowds consisted of two elements: the "political demonstrators" and the "opportunists," with the "opportunists" accounting for most of the arrests during the day.

"They were just hell-bent on crime," Turner said.

As for the political demonstrators, said police spokesman Brewton, "We give them permits [to march or rally] if it is not obvious they are planning violence, regardless of their politics." That is required under the U.S. Constitution, he said.

Some groups, however, did not apply for permits Saturday or were part of a coalition of groups and thus were not directly known to police. One such group, for example, was the Progressive Labor Party, a militant Communist organization that has publicly vowed to physically attack Klan and Nazi rallies. Its members and supporters have done this several times in other cities since 1978.

Scores of Progressive Labor demonstrators were on the streets Saturday, carrying their customary red revolutionary banners. Many were seen hurling rocks, bottles and banner sticks at police during the day.

Still, said Chief Turner, "there was no reason for the anti-Klan protesters to turn violent" once the Klan had left town.

Also contributing to this story were staff writer Stephen J. Lynton and special correspondent Adam Dobrin.

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Founder & Chairman of the Board

ELTON JOLLY
Executive Director

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED NOV 1 1982

RECEIVED NOV 1 1982

October 28, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I reviewed, with interest, your October 19 paper on the Proposed Anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington.

I commend you on your critical analysis and look forward to discussing the issue at our next meeting.

Sincerely,

Elton

Elton Jolly
National Executive Director

jh

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
August 27-28, 1983 - Washington, D.C.

"RECALLING THE DREAM"

Co-Chairpersons 1982
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy

National Coordinator
Barbara Williams-Skinner

Co-Chairpersons 1983
Coretta Scott King
Rev. Joseph Lowery

November 5, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman of the National Board
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Bayard
Dear Mr. Rustin:

I want to thank you for your support of the 1982 "I HAVE A DREAM" Celebration in Atlanta. Representatives of some 100 organizations and over 30 individuals representing a broad coalition of interests and concerns co-sponsored the '82 Celebration, which commemorated the 19th Anniversary of the historic 1963 March on Washington. These organizational leaders and individuals participated in serious discussions on reaffirming Dr. King's Dream; the major issues of the 80's and development of a plan, timetable and mobilization strategy necessary for a new "Coalition of Conscience" to gather at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington in August 1983, and to demonstrate an extraordinary unity of thought and action about the future of our nation and the conditions of the world.

I have attached a report on income and expenditures in connection with the 1982 Celebration, and you will see that The King Center is faced with a deficit of some $17,000 which it simply cannot handle alone. I want to ask those organizations and individuals who agreed to co-sponsor the '82 Celebration and who did not contribute to the cost of this event, to please send a contribution to "I HAVE A DREAM" Celebration, 449 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312.

The need is urgent, please rush a contribution from your organization immediately. The creditors are calling daily.

On behalf of Congressman Fauntroy and myself, I want to thank each of you for the honor to have been identified with the '82 19th Anniversary Celebration and to have served as your Co-chairperson.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse

Jesse Hill, Jr.

JH/bec

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"I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION"

FINANCIAL UPDATE

NOVEMBER 11, 1982

Contributions Greater Than $100.00:

Julius Chambers	$ 100.00
Progressive National Baptist Convention	1,000.00
Pearl Bellson	100.00
Fellowship of Reconciliation	1,100.00
District 65, U. A. W.	2,000.00
American Personnel Guidance	125.00
N. F. L. Charities	500.00
Workers of America	500.00
Walter E. Doulgas	200.00
Unified Industries, Inc.	500.00
Southeast Region ILGWU	500.00
International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	100.00
United Presbyterian Church	1,000.00
United Food & Commercial Workers Int'l Union	2,500.00
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	1,000.00
National Grand Chapter, O. E. S.	200.00
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees	500.00
Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.	1,000.00
TOTAL----------	$12,925.00
Contributions less than $100.00	710.00
GRAND TOTAL OF CONTRIBUTIONS--------------	$13,635.00
Registration	1,205.00
Evening of Tribute	955.00
Stars Salute Reception	8,440.00
Proceeds from Interfund Loan	5,000.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS AS OF 11/11/82------------	$29,235.00

ACTUAL EXPENDITURES, 11/11/82

Printing & Artwork	$ 15,555.70
Public Relations	488.05
Postage	1,931.74
Travel/Per Diem	3,404.79
Equipment Rental	663.82
Inventory/Buttons	245.00
Supplies	651.76
Blue Prints & Photos	643.96
Telegraph	1,435.82
Telephone	2,084.37
Subscription & Publication	318.38
TOTAL	$ 27,423.39

OUTSTANDING EXPENSES:

Interfund Loan	$ 5,000.00
Omni & Hilton Hotels (Lodging for Consultants)	2,757.11
Consultant Fees	3,087.76
Printing and Artwork	983.30
Omni International Hotel (Stars Salute Reception)	4,100.00
TOTAL	$ 16,883.17

TOTAL EXPENSE AS OF 11/11/82	$ 44,306.56

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national urban league

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED NOV 24 1982

November 19, 1982

Dear Bayard:

I have reviewed your memorandum of October 19, and having assisted Sterling Tucker in the implementation of the Poor People Campaign March of 1968, I am in agreement with the many points you make. I, therefore, support the need for a meeting to discuss your various points and to consider an appropriate alternative.

A copy of this letter is being sent to Joe and Coretta to encourage both of them to call a meeting to discuss your proposal. I stand ready to participate in such a session.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John

John E. Jacob
President

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

cc: Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Dr. Joseph E. Lowery

December 13, 1982

The Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy
National Campaign for the
20th Anniversary Celebration
P.O. Box 26020
Le Droit Park Station
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Walter,

We received your communication of December 8th, which we read with interest.

We do not find it possible at this time to endorse the Christmas Call to the Nation since our reservations and request for a meeting of the Black Leadership Forum regarding this endeavor, expressed on a number of occasions, have not yet been adequately responded to.

While we regret not being able to respond affirmatively at this time, we do thank you for keeping us informed.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Norman Hill
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

BR;NH/hrs

cc: Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks
Mr. Carl Holman

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ECONOMIC STABILIZATION
GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND RENEGOTIATION
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

December 8, 1982

Dear Black Leader:

On behalf of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary of the historic March on Washington, we are addressing this letter to you and nearly three hundred other national black leaders in the United States.

On behalf of the Executive Committee named below, and through the process we have described for you in the attached memorandum, we are calling upon you to step forward in an attempt to recapture the Great American Dream of liberty and justice for all, and to reassemble the great Coalition of Conscience around the themes of Jobs, Peace and Freedom that led this nation forward during the bright years before the morass of the Vietnam War.

We are convinced that we, the black leaders of the United States, must act at this time or run the risk of losing our credibility with our own people, and of abdicating our responsibility to the whole human community. Moreover, we are increasingly convinced that the Black leadership in this country has the best possibility of pulling together a new Coalition of Conscience that will unite the civil rights movement, organized labor, the women's movement, the churches and the peace movement in a common effort to achieve jobs, peace and freedom.

We are convinced that a spirited and total vision which shows how all our problems are interrelated will produce the changes necessary to keep our people from suffering. We believe that a comprehensive and broad cultural, political and economic program can challenge our nation to fulfill the noble dream of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

If you feel you can endorse the enclosed proposal, please respond as soon as possible as we intend to issue a Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders on December 22, 1982. The deadline for endorsements is December 20, 1982.

Futhermore, please mark your calendar now to be in Atlanta on January 13, 1983 to join us in pulling together the new Coalition of Conscience. The purpose of this meeting is to meet with leaders of the other sectors of the Coalition to issue our Call to the Nation to celebrate 1983 as the Year of the American Dream.

For more information on the proposed call to the nation, please contact me at (202) 225-8050, Rev. Joseph Lowery at (404) 522-1420, Mrs. Coretta Scott King at (404) 529-1956, Rev. Benjamin Hooks at (212) 858-0800.

Thank you in advance for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter E. Fauntroy
on behalf of

Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks

CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION FROM NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

We, the undersigned group of representative Black leaders, gathered here in Washington, D.C. on December 3, 1982, have met at the invitation and initiative of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, the Honorable Benjamin Hooks and the Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy , to issue

A CALL TO THE NATION, and
A CALL TO BLACK PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

We do here and now issue such a call to all the people of the United States to reassemble a non-partisan new Coalition of Conscience around the basic issues of

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

JOBS

In light of the massive unemployment, which is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families, we call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed to build a Full Employment Society. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry, government and education to assure all Americans of socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage, and to provide adequate training for all Americans for employment, especially for its poor and black citizens who are bearing the major burden of unemployment.

PEACE

In light of the massive armament race in the world today, a race that has seemingly escaped control and all reason and a race that continues to rob our government of the ability to promote the common welfare of the people of the nation, and the pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the great majority of America's church leaders in seeking someway to outlaw war in an age of nuclear destruction, and in seeking constructive means to invest our wealth and energy in peace and not in the preparation for war. We call for a reversal of the trend towards nuclear annihilation, record defense spending , and for a reduction of the arms race. We believe that world conflicts can and must be solved through non-violent means.

FREEDOM

In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign in 1983 against every form of class, racial and religious prejudice and hate. We call upon the entire nation to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan and, in some places, law enforcement agencies. We call for the new Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation and stop the reduction and redefining of civil rights laws and policies. We call upon the nation to ensure its citizens of those rights and to ensure enforcement of hard won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Act). We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women. We call for the nation to end all ties with repressive regimes, particulary the racist apartheid government of South Africa, and to halt its ideological and racial bias in our nation's refugee and asylum practices and policies. To bring all these issues together, so they can be seen in their wholeness, we call for the creation of a new Coalition of Conscience, that will during the course of 1983:

1) work for the passage of legislation that would designate January 15th as a national public holiday in honor of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.;

2) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn this nation around in the areas of Jobs, Peace and Freedom

3) bring together in a massive, peaceful meeting in Washington, D.C. on August 27, 1983, a gathering that will reaffirm the American Dream and unite as never before this new coalition around specific goals and common dream;

4) work together to build a new force in American life, an integrated coalition with a whole vision of the American Dream and a total analysis of the problem, that can act as a power and as a leaven to live out the full meaning of the Dream for all Americans for decades to come and generations unborn and that;

5) beyond August 27, 1983, we will work on the state and local level to implement the full agenda of the new Coalition of Conscience.

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy, Member of Congress
Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President, M.L.K. Center for Non-Violent Social Change
Mr. Joseph Lowery, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, N.A.A.C.P.
Ms. Dorothy Heights, President, National Council of Negro Women
Rev. Jesse Jackson, President, Operation PUSH
Ms. Addie Wyatt, Vice President, United Food and Commercial Workers
Stevie Wonder
Marion Barry, Mayor, District of Columbia
Mildred Goodman, President, Blacks in Government
Samuel Ethridge, President, National Education Association Black Caucus
Calvin Rolark, Black Media
Clarice Brown, President, Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc.
Pluria Marshall, President, National Black Media Coalition
Christopher Edley, United Negro College Fund
Barbara Williams-Skinner, Tom Skinner Associates
Dr. C.J. Malloy, General Secretary, Progressive National Baptist Convention
Romeo O. Spaulding, International Association of Black Fire Fighters
Robert White, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees
Rev. Imagene Stewart, American Women's Clergy Association

BACKGROUND ON THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CALL

In June of this year, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President of the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference issued an appeal to the leaders and organizations who were involved in the historic March on Washington on August 28, 1963. They were asked to consider a twentieth anniversary of that march, and to come together in Atlanta on August 26-27, 1982 to meet with various representatives of the civil rights, labor, churches, peace and women's movements to reflect upon that idea.

Dr. Lowery presented the proposal, still in tentative form, to the National Black Leadership Forum where it was overwhelmingly and warmly approved. At the August 26-27, 1982 meeting in Atlanta, over 200 representatives and leaders of these movements met together to evaluate the proposal, and again, it was given warm support. After that meeting, four National Co-Chairpersons were recognized as having the responsibility to continue developing the proposal, and presenting it to the groups. In addition to Mrs. King and Rev. Lowery, Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy and Rev. Benjamin Hooks were chosen as National Co-Chairpersons.

On October 20, 1982 in Washington, D.C., a smaller group of thirty Black leaders met with representatives of the labor movement for a frank evaluation of the progress made on the proposal at that time. Again, there was strong support from all present for the general concept of a National Campaign for a Twentieth Anniversary Celebration. This campaign would turn the nation around and recapture the spirit and the dream that we all shared. It would also reconvene the old Coalition of Conscience, including other movements for non-violent social change that have emerged in the last twenty years. We hope to build a broad organizational and educational campaign across the whole nation, and organize a massive demonstration on August 27, 1983 to be held on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

The four National Co-Chairpersons decided that the new Coalition could best build momentum by consolidating and clarifying support from national black leaders , and so a meeting was held on December 3, 1982 in Washington, D.C. Over 50 black leaders unanimously endorsed, after amending and considering it in detail, the enclosed " Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders for a new Coalition of Conscience."

PURPOSE OF THE CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION

The participants of the December 3rd meeting in Washington, D.C. directed that this Call be sent to three hundred additional Black leaders in the United States asking for their endorsement and support. The tentative plan will be to issue the Christmas Call to the Nation on December 22, 1982 in Washington, D.C. on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Upon receiving the comments and endorsements from the nation's Black leaders, this Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders will be sent to representatives of the other sectors of the new Coalition of Conscience as a basis for their support and endorsement. The weeks following Christmas will be used securing these signatures and letters of support.

On January 13, 1983 during the King Week activities in Atlanta, a large meeting will be held to review and finalize plans for the year long activities. This will be the first meeting of the National Steering Committee. A Call to the Nation from this group will be adopted and issued at a gigantic press conference in Atlanta at that time.

WHAT CAN YOU DO

After you have prayerfully read and studied the enclosed Christmas Call to the Nation, we hope you will sign the enclosed endorsement form and return it immediately. Your name will be listed as an official endorser at the December 22, 1982 press conference.

Please plan to be in Atlanta on January 13, 1983 at the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

ENDORSEMENT FORM

I have read the Christmas Call to the Nation from its Black Leaders and wish to endorse it, as part of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the historic March on Washington. I hereby give my permission to the Executive Committee to use my name, subject to the qualifications checked below, as an endorser at the announcement, tentatively scheduled for December 22, 1982 in Washington, D.C..

☐ My endorsement is personal, and institutional affiliation and title is given for identification purposes only.

☐ My endorsement represents the official endorsement of my institution.

☐ My endorsement is personal, but I will be presenting this call to my institution for a formal endorsement.

☐ Please keep me abreast of the National Campaign, I cannot endorse at this time.

NAME (Print or Type)

SIGNATURE

TITLE AND ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

AREA CODE AND PHONE NUMBERS

RETURN TO: NATIONAL CAMPAIGN
FOR THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
P.O. BOX 26020
LE DROIT PARK STATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

* DEADLINE IS DECEMBER 20, 1982.

BACKGROUND OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CALL

In June of this year, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President of the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change and the Reverend Dr. Joseph Lowery, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference issued an appeal to the leaders and organizations who were involved in the historic March on Washington on August 28, 1963. They were asked to consider a twentieth anniversary of that march, and to come together in Atlanta on August 26-27, 1982 to meet with various representatives of the civil rights, labor, churches, peace and women's movements to reflect upon that idea.

At the August 26-27th meeting in Atlanta, over 200 representatives and leaders of those movements met to evaluate the proposal, still in tentative form, and overwhelmingly adopted the proposal for the 20th anniversary of the historic 1963 March on Washington. After that meeting, four National Co-Chairpersons were recognized as having the responsibility to continue developing the proposal, and presenting it to the groups. In addition to Mrs. King and Mr. Lowery, Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy and Rev. Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were chosen as National Co- Chairpersons.

On October 20, 1982 in Washington, D.C., a smaller group of thirty Black leaders met with representatives of the labor movement for a frank evaluation of the progress made on the proposal at that time. Again, there was strong support from all present for the general concept of a National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration. This campaign would turn the nation around and recapture the spirit and vision that millions of Americans share for jobs, peace and freedom. It would also reconvene the old Coalition of Consciene of civil rights, labor, religious and student groups, and broaden alliance with other non-violent social justice movements that have emerged in the last twenty years such as the peace and women's movement.

The four National Co-Chairpersons decided that the new Coalition of Conscience could best build momentum by consolidating and clarifying support from National Black leaders, and so a representative group of Black leaders met on December 3, 1982 in Washington, D.C. to adopt the Christmas Call to the Nation from Black Leaders for a new Coalition of Conscience.

PURPOSE OF THE CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION

The participants of the December 3rd meeting in Washington, D.C. directed that the adopted and approved Call from Black leaders be sent to three hundred additional Black leaders in the United States for their endorsement and support. Upon receiving the comments and endorsements from the nation's Black leaders, this Call will be sent to representative of the other sectors of the new Coaltion of Conscience for their support and endorsement. The weeks following Christmas will be used securing these signatures and letters of support.

On January 13, 1983 during the King Week Activities in Atlanta, a large meeting will be held to review and finalize plans for the year long activities.

The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

RECEIVED NOV 29 1982

November 23, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Bayard:

I have just had an opportunity to read your October 19th memorandum to members of the Black Leadership Forum regarding the proposed anniversary of 1963 march on Washington. As usual you are right on target.

As plans get firmed up for this important event please let me know how I can be of help.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Director
Domestic Affairs Dept.

SS:ns

cc: Hy Bookbinder

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Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
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December 2, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Chairperson
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

RECEIVED DEC 7 1982

Dear Bayard:

Arnold asked me to send you:

1. the POST story on the anti-Klan violence with Fauntroy's quote about "Trotskyist radicals";
2. William Raspberry's column on the incident;
3. Msgr. George Higgins' address and phone number.

The clips are enclosed. Higgins can be reached at (202) 635-5660 (his dorm room and office, I think) or written to at:

Room 220
Curley Hall
Catholic University
Washington, D.C. 20064

Hope this is the information you need; and I hope to see you on December 9.

Warm Regards,

Marvin
Marvin

MC/vdr

Enclosures

"Equality In a Free, Plural, Democratic Society"

® 21

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

186 REMSEN STREET • BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, NEW YORK 11201 • TEL.: 212 858-0800

RECEIVED DEC 16 1982

December 13, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Thanks for your mailgram of December 1, 1982 regarding the potential dangers for a 20th anniversary march on Washington.

I agree with you that considerable thought must be given to the dangers inherent in conducting a march in these difficult economic times. The last thing that any of us want is an erruption of a civil rights march into a violent confrontation.

I will make sure the alternative suggestions that you offered are considered at the Leadership Conference meeting.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin L. Hooks
Executive Director

BLH:bh

NAACP
FOUNDED
1909

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A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

December 17, 1982

Msgr. George Higgins
Room 220, Curley Hall
Catholic University
Washington D.C. 20064

Dear Msgr. Higgins,

Before he left the city for the holidays, Bayard Rustin asked me to send you the enclosed material on the plans being formulated to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington.

Mr. Rustin will be out of the country until January 12th, but will no doubt be in touch with you about this matter, which is of great concern to him, after that date.

He also asked me to convey his thanks for your time and attention to this matter, and to extend his very best wishes for this joyous season.

Sincerely,

Harriette Siani
Administrative
Assistant

Encl:

filed: Chron
March on Wash., 1983 –
Misc. ✓

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

February 2, 1983

Mr. Denton Watson
Director, Public Relations
N.A.A.C.P.
186 Remsen Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

Dear Mr. Watson,

Enclosed please find the material which Bayard Rustin has written concerning his views about the upcoming anniversary of the 1963 March On Washington.

Sincerely,

Harriette Siani
Administrative Assistant

Encl: 1. 10/19/82 Memo to BLF
2 11/29/ memo to BLF + others
3. 12/1/82 Telegram to BLF

filed: Chron
M on Wash (Misc)

WALTER E. FAUNTROY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

2350 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-8050

DISTRICT OFFICE:
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET
SUITE 318, AMTRAK BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
(202) 275-0171

Congress of the United States
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Washington, D.C. 20515

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RENEGOTIATION
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT

CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL
BLACK CAUCUS

December 31, 1982

Dear Friend:

On December 3, 1982, a representative group of fifty-five national Black leaders met in Washington, D.C. to amend and adopt a Christmas Call to the Nation to mark the 20th Anniversary of the Historic March on Washington on August 27, 1983 with a year-long mobilization of a new coalition of conscience around the themes of jobs, peace and freedom. This call was later sent to over three hundred additional Black leaders for their endorsement and to urge that they join in an appeal to leaders of goodwill across our nation to meet in Atlanta, George on January 13, 1983 to begin planning for this renewal.

At this time, we extend that invitation to you to attend a special meeting of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the historic 1963 March on Washington. The meeting will begin promptly at 12:00 noon on January 13, 1983 at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change, Atlanta, Georgia in Freedom Hall, Room 252.

The primary purpose of this meeting is to discuss strategies and activities to be undertaken over the next eight months in anticipation of the 20th Anniversary Celebration in August. Emphasis will be on the August 27-28, 1983 planning details and resources required to ensure the kind of message which must be conveyed to the nation about Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

Your attendance at this meeting will be vital as we hope you will be a part of:

-- the development of a national agenda on Jobs, Peace and Freedom to turn this nation around from its regressive course.

-- an ongoing coalition to speak to the nation in a unified, comprehensive way, seeking to put questions of conscience high on the nation's agenda in the coming years.

-- a broad base new Coalition of Conscience Leadership Forum, which will continue to meet together in a effort to mobilize the American people in their quest for Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

After you have seriously considered the enclosed materials, please fill out the registration form and return it immediately to confirm your attendance. We sincerely hope you will make every effort to be at what we think will be a landmark meeting in the history of this nation. If you have any questions regarding the meeting or would like to confirm your registration, please contact Donna Brazile at (202) 225-8050 or Delores Harman at (404) 524-1956.

Sincerely yours,

Walt E. Fauntroy

Walter E. Fauntroy
on behalf of

Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Mr.Benjamin Hooks
Dr. Joseph Lowery
Reverend Jesse Jackson
Mr. John Jacobs
Stevie Wonder

CHRISTMAS CALL TO THE NATION FROM NATIONAL BLACK LEADERS

On December 3, 1982 at the invitation and initiative of Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change, Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy (D- D.C.) Reverend Dr. Joseph Lowery, President Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a representative group of National Black leaders gathered in Washington, D.C. to issue

A CALL TO THE NATION, and
A CALL TO BLACK PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

We do here and now issue such a call to all people of the United States to reassemble a non-partisan new Coalition of Conscience around the basic issues of

JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

JOBS

In light of the massive unemployment, which is undermining the moral and spiritual foundations of our communities and families, we call upon the American people to turn this nation around from its present course and to seek with all deliberate speed to build a Full Employment Society. We call for a new social contract between labor, industry, government and education to assure all Americans of socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage, and to provide adequate training for all Americans for employment, especially for its poor and black citizens who are bearing the major burden of unemployment.

PEACE

In light of the massive armament race in the world today, a race that has seemingly escaped control and all reason and a race that continues to rob our government of the ability to promote the common welfare of the people of the nation, and the pursuit of peace and justice throughout the world, we call upon the American people to follow the leadership of the great majority of America's church leaders in seeking someway to outlaw war in an age of nuclear destruction, and in seeking contructive means to invest our wealth and energy in peace and not in the preparation for war. We call for a reversal of the trend towards nuclear annihilation, record defense spending, and for a reduction of the arms race. We believe that world conflicts can and must be solved through non-violent means.

FREEDOM

In light of the creeping fear that is sapping our confidence and trust in each other and setting group against group, we call for a national campaign in 1983 against every form of class, racial and religious prejudice and hate. We call upon the entire nation to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan and, in some places, law enforcement agencies. We call for the new Coalition of Conscience to work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation and stop the reduction and redefining of civil rights laws and policies. We call upon the nation to ensure its citizens of those rights and to ensure enforcement of hard won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Act). We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women. We call for the nation to end all ties with repressive regimes, particulary the racist apartheid government of South Africa, and to halt its ideological and racial bias in our nation's refugee and asylum policies and practices.

To bring all these issues together, so they can be seen in their wholeness, we call for a new Coalition of Conscience, that will during the course of 1983:

1) work for the passage of legislation that would designate January 15th as a national public holiday in honor of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.;

2) develop a broad non-partisan coalition to press for basic legislation to turn this nation around in the areas of Jobs, Peace and Freedom;

3) bring together in a massive, peaceful meeting in Washington D.C. on August 27, 1983, a gathering that will reaffirm the American Dream and unite as never before this new Coalition around specific goals and common dream;

4) work together to build a new force in American life, an integrated coalition with a whole vision of the American Dream and a total analysis of the problem, that can act as a power and as a leaven to live out the full meaning of the dream for all Americans for decades to come and generations unborn and that;

5) beyond August 27, 1983, we will work on the state and local level to implement the full agenda of the new Coaliton of Conscience.

A

MSGR. GEORGE G. HIGGINS

Curley Hall **The Catholic University of America** **Washington, D.C. 20064** **202-635-5660**

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RECEIVED FEB - 3 1983

January 3, 1983

Ms. Harriette Siani
Administrative Assistant
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
200 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Ms. Siani:

Thank you very much for the material which you were kind enough to send me concerning the plans which are being formulated to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington.

May I ask you to inform Bayard Rustin, upon his return to New York, that I completely agree with his memorandum on this subject and I will be happy to cooperate with him in every way possible to implement the plan which he has outlined in the memorandum.

With renewed thanks and every best wish, I remain,

Cordially yours,

George G. Higgins

Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins

GGH:mh

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

20th Anniversary of Civil Rights March

February 25, 1983
Bal Harbour, Fla.

Twenty years ago, on August 28, 1963, a quarter of a million Americans participated in the massive March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom, where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his historic "I Have A Dream" speech.

Inspired by A. Philip Randolph, Dr. King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Bayard Rustin, Walter P. Reuther, and other outstanding leaders of the human rights movement, the march assembled a powerful coalition of civil rights, labor, religious, and youth groups that aroused the Nation's conscience and contributed significantly to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

To reaffirm the spirit of this event, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Dr. Joseph Lowery, Congressman Walter Fauntroy, and others have initiated a Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom on August 27-28th.

The AFL-CIO remains committed to working with civil rights, women's rights, religious and other movements to advance and defend the great goals of the 1963 March in the pursuit of social justice.

The AFL-CIO therefore supports the Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

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Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph
Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

March 9, 1983

The Honorable John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress
2313 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Conyers,

Thank you for your letter of March 7, 1983, describing your efforts on behalf of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Committee Teach-Ins.

Inasmuch as the activities you outlined would involve our local A. Philip Randolph Institute Affiliates, I have referred your correspondence to Mr. Norman Hill, President of the Institute, for further consideration.

Thank you again for keeping us informed of the Committee's Teach-In program.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
President

BR/hrs

cc: Norman Hill

filed: Chron
March on Wash (misc)

653

CONYERS, JR
ISTRICT, MICHIGAN

COMMITTEES:
JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Congreſs of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48226
PHONE: 313-226-7022

March 7, 1983

RECEIVED MAR 9 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Phillip Randolph Inst.
260 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

During the week of April 2-10, 1983, the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Committee will again be coordinating National Teach-Ins on the legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ways it can be applied to contemporary problems that now confront our nation and the world.

I am requesting that your organization participate with the Holiday Committee and the Twentieth Anniversary Committee on the 1963 March on Washington in developing a Teach-In in your community around the general theme of jobs, peace and freedom which is the focus of the Anniversary March on Washington. Should your organization agree to organize a Teach-In, please inform me so that I can add it to our list of Teach-In coordinators. I would also appreciate it if you would provide us with a general outline of the Teach-In your organization would organize.

As one of the convenors of the Twentieth Anniversary March on Washington, I am actively involved in mobilization efforts designed to educate our people about the purpose of the March and to get them to Washington and to other regional March locations. Therefore, I am encouraging you to work with as broad a coalition of organizations in your community as possible in organizing the Teach-Ins. We would like to use the structure and momentum of the Teach-Ins to enhance the mobilization for the Anniversary March.

We had great success during the last two years with the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Teach-Ins. This year we will be targeting specific pieces of legislation in the areas of jobs, peace and freedom with the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Legislation serving as the centerpiece of the legislative package, which is being developed by the Congressional Black Caucus and other members of the Congress. The legislative package will be designed to meet the threat posed by nuclear war, economic depression, and racial injustices which are tearing at the very foundation of our society and the community of nations.

Delois Harding and James Carter will be the contact persons in my office for the Teach-Ins and can be contacted at (202) 225-5126. I look forward to an early response to this request and to working with you to organize the National Teach-Ins.

Sincerely,

John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Justin J. Finger

Date: September 27, 1983

Subject: March On Washington

We are certain you will find of interest the attached report prepared by Mira Lansky, our Washington Fact Finding director.

JJF:es
Enc.

On August 27, 1983 about three hundred thousand people marched in Washington, D.C., under the overall banner of "Jobs, Peace and Freedom," commemorating the 1963 March on Washington led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. According to the Washington Post, more than seven hundred groups participated. Although nominally a civil rights march, many of the organizations participating have not traditionally been associated with civil rights causes. Indeed, several well-established civil rights organizations withdrew from or did not support the march, including the Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the ADL. The ADL chose not to participate in this demonstration because of the inclusion of a wide range of complex and controversial issues unrelated to civil rights. Chief among these was criticism of U.S. support for Israel and other democratic allies. The role of a major pro-Arab propaganda organization, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), as a "convener" of the march was also problematical.

Approximately 60 percent of the audience was concerned primarily with civil rights and jobs. This segment was largely composed of blacks, members of civil rights and anti-Klan groups, and union members. The remaining 40 percent was largely composed of adherents of "peace church," disarmament, and fringe political groups, national liberation fronts and the pro-Arab propaganda groups. The concerns of the groups in the latter segment appeared to overlap; they generally supported one another's goals, and responded selectively to the aims advanced by the former segment. The former segment responded with little enthusiasm to the latter groups' calls, except when their goals were defined as jobs issues or in terms of civil and human rights.

Criticism focused on the Reagan administration, the administration's defense posture, and its foreign policy, particularly in Central America and the Middle East. The majority of participants carried banners and placards calling for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom," many with images of Dr. King and references to the "I have a dream..." speech. For most the slogan covered a rather broad definition of civil rights; for some it was a flag of convenience. Still others did not bother with even a ritual bow toward the theme. A number of these organizations have little claim to a good record on civil rights, or even, in some cases, on political pluralism.

The most prominent of these was the Soviet-line Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) and its youth wing, the Young Communist League (YCL). The large CP contingent carried large red-and-gold banners calling for the ratification of SALT II; the YCL sported a pointed variation on the "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" theme, calling instead for "Jobs, Peace, Equality and Socialism."

Several organizations which have been identified by U.S. government agencies as affiliates of Soviet international fronts were also prominent as sponsors of the march, advocating a nuclear freeze and various nuclear-free zones and disarmament proposals. These included the U.S. Peace Council (USPC) and the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). The USPC is an affiliate of the World Peace Council, which the CIA has publicly identified as "the Soviet Union's single most important international front organization." The CIA has also publicly identified the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), of which the NLG is an affiliate, as "one of the most useful Communist Front Organizations at the disposal of the Soviet Communist Party." Yet another sponsor was the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). In a July 1982 State Department Special Report on "Soviet Active Measures," WILPF appeared on a list of "well-known international fronts."

The international president of WILPF, headquartered in Geneva, was in Prague, Czechoslovakia for the World Peace Council Assembly this past June. One of the three co-chairs of the assembly, she chaired the session at which Yasser Arafat spoke.

Also highly visible was the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. (RCP). The RCP's perspective was displayed on large red-and-gold banners reading: "Black People Fought for the Right to Vote -- Now They Need the Political Awareness and Sophistication Not to Use It," "Throw Down in the Street -- Not at the Ballot Box! Revolution in the 80's -- Go For It!" and "We Don't Want In -- We Want Out! To Hell With Your Imperialist System!"

The Maoist Communist Workers Party (CWP) was also present with huge banners proclaiming "Self-Determination for African American People. No Black Genoide. Communist Workers Party." There were also banners reading: "From Dr. King to the Greensboro Five: STOP FBI MURDERS!" and a table with literature on the "Greensboro Massacre" of 1979, both sponsored by the "Greensboro Justice Fund." A poster picturing the five CWP activists who were killed in the confrontation with Klansmen was captioned: "Murdered by Klan, Nazis, and Government Agents."

Other far-left groups were the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its youth wing the Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), and the Workers World Party (WWP). A SWP/YSA banner in red, green, and black read: "U.S. HANDS OFF Central America and the Caribbean. For a Black Party! For a Labor Party!" The WWP and two of its fronts, the All-Peoples Congress and Peoples Anti-War Mobilization were also out in force, with literature tables adorned by banners and spirited marchers chanting slogans. Placards said: "Racism Must Go! Money for Jobs, Not War. All Peoples Congress"; and "U.S. Out of Central America, the Caribbean and Africa. Peoples Anti-War Mobilization." Banners signed by the WWP carried the same message. No members of another WWP front, the November 29th Coalition (N29C), a de factor alliance between the WWP and adherents of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) were observed at the march, but the N29C's new newspaper, Palestine Focus (Vol.I, No. 2), was distributed.

A number of foreign national liberation fronts also participated. On the north side of the Reflecting Pool the Irish Republican Army (IRA) manned a large table distinguished by a poster-sized color photo of a masked gunman in fatigues and a black beret, striking a combat pose. Red lettering proclaimed "IRA 1983." Other posters urged "Vote Sinn Fein" (the IRA's legal arm), and a poster dominated by a masked gunman at a tripod-mounted machinegun said "Irish Republican Army -- Spearhead of National Liberation and a Socialist Republic." Other signs urged "Support Irish Northern Aid." (Irish Northern Aid was recently ordered by a federal court to register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent of the IRA's Provisional Wing.) The IRA is believed to exchange training and logistical assistance with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Basque Separatist ETA, the Red Army Fraktion (Baader-Meinhof), and the Italian Red Brigades.

Other national liberation fronts present were SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization) and the African National Congress (ANC). The two displayed large banners at the foot of the Lincloln Memorial, visible from the podium. Those marching earlier with an ANC banner chanted "Bread, Peace, and Black Power." ANC has publicly claimed responsibility for the recent bombing of a police station in Pretoria which killed a number of persons, including black passers-by. SWAPO has operated in South-West Africa (Namibia) from bases in Angola, where training has been conducted by Soviet, East German, and Cuban military intelligence personnel.

ANC and SWAPO leaders are members of the presidium of the World Peace Council, as are leaders of the PLO and the Algeria-based POLISARIO. At a 1980 World Peace Council conference in Paris, ANC president Oliver Tambo noted that "as the leader of a liberation movement, I would like to assure our comrades-in-arms in the liberation struggles, POLISARIO, FRETELIN, and the PLO...that by definition their struggle is ours. Every victory they win advances our cause against the forces of imperialism and racism....As far as the PLO is concerned our fight is carried on in the knowledge of the degree of intimacy and political, military and economic alliance that has developed between racism and Zionism."

There was also a large banner reading: "NO US ARMS TO MOROCCO. FUND HUMAN NEEDS. WESTERN SAHARA WORKING GROUP," echoing the cause of the POLISARIO front.

Fears that the march could become a platform for criticism of U.S. support of Israel and for pro-PLO and anti-Israel popaganda were borne out by the high profile of several major pro-Arab propaganda organizations. These were the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), which was one of the "conveners" of the march (thus advancing the perception of ADC as a "civil rights" organization), the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC), and the Palestine

Congress of North America (PCNA). Most of the marchers with these organizations were grouped under six or eight large banners saying "Arab-Americans Marching For Jobs, Peace and Freedom." No organizational affiliation appeared on these banners, nor on an even larger banner reading "End U.S. Support for Israeli Occupation of Lebanon and Palestine."

Under these banners marchers carried printed placards reading "Stop U.S. Weapons to Israel and all the Middle East," "Freedom for Palestine" and "Peace for Lebanon." Although the placards gave no affiliation, they had the same stylized drawing of a folk figure, arms raised in anguish, as an ADC leaflet distributed simultaneously. The title page of the leaflet claimed: "Every day for the last 10 years the U.S. sends Israel $7,000,000. a day... and not one cent of this goes for Jobs, Peace and Freedom."

The ADC leaflet defines aid to Israel as a jobs issue, noting that "the money allocated as aid to Israel is needed for domestic programs," and citing high unemployment. The leaflet contrasts its figures of $7,500 per Israeli family of five with a figure of $2 in U.S. aid per African family of five. ADC states that Arab-Americans "were traumatized by Israel's war on Lebanon" in which that country was "laid waste" by Israel. Israel has broken U.S. laws by invading Lebanon, "terrorizing" Beirut, and continuing its "brutal occupation of Palestinian lands...," according to the leaflet. The leaflet concludes: "For peace and freedom, please support our call to stop U.S. aid to Israel."

Joining the ADC marchers were several carrying Palestine Human Rights Campaign placards saying "Palestinians Have Human Rights Too." The PHRC posters bore the emblem of a dove with wings and tail feathers turned up to form a hand in a "stop" sign, and repeated its message in Hebrew and Arabic. There were also a handful of hand-painted signs with the same message. James Zogby of ADC founded PHRC.

The ADC and PHRC marchers appeared to be predominantly Arab or Arab-American, although there were a fair number of European appearance and a handful of blacks. Most of these marchers appeared to be in their twenties or thirties. They were spirited, frequently chanting slogans such as: "Palestine yes, Israel no, we support the PLO."

The other pro-Arab propaganda organization with marchers was the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA). These marchers carried printed signs with the PCNA logo, a dove filled with Arabic calligraphy, and the organization's name. Others carried banners reading "NO US ARMS TO ISRAEL. Palestine Congress"; "SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS. NO TO RACISM. Palestine Congress"; and "RECOGNIZE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS. Palestine Congress." These banners were held primarily by young men of Arab appearance wearing black and white keffiyehs; one wore a t-shirt with a crest and the letters "U.A.E." -- United Arab Emirates.

This display occurred despite assurances from Coretta Scott King and Walter Fauntroy, on behalf of all the co-chairs, that "every effort" would be made, "including specific instructions to our marshalls, to insure that placards and banners...are in keeping with the theme of the March."

The letter containing the assurances stated further: "In the case where a divisive act occurs or statement is made, such as one which is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic or defamatory of any group in the coalition, the co-chairs will publicly disavow them as inconsistent with the spirit of the March and of the coalition."

Although the co-chairs may justly argue that they can't be held responsible for every group present, they can less easily dissociate themselves from the actions of sponsoring organizations, whose leaders have been permitted to address the assemblage; many of those holding the offending banners and placards were associated with such groups.

Although ADC's James Abourezk, who was one of the speakers at the Lincoln Memorial, omitted mention of Israel or the PLO by name in his criticisms of "military aggression" and "racism," the ADC's banners were more explicit.

In his remarks, Abourezk stated: "There is no place in the world for military aggression. There is no place for the acquisition by force of another's territory. There is no place for the military occupation of another's land. There is no place for racism or apartheid. There is no place for the kind of ethnic and racial hatred which has led to the imprisonment and massacre of thousands of innocents in Indochina, Latin America and Lebanon." There was only a polite response from the audience, with the exception of the Arab-American groups which were enthusiastic.

In a press release issued the day before the march, however, Abourezk used stronger language:

> Arab-Americans need peace, the war in Lebanon and continuing oppression of Palestinians, most of which has been funded by U.S. dollars, and the presence of U.S. marines in the Middle East raise the danger level and the potential of yet another war. Arab Americans like all Americans want peace and our relatives and friends in Lebanon desparately need peace.
>
> We are proud to be a part of this 20th anniversary mobilization. Nonetheless, we, like many other march endorsers, are disappointed by the pressure from those who are not even supporting the march, specifically some of the Jewish groups who seek to exempt Israel. We feel strongly that there never should have been pressure on the coalition leadership against taking strong and consistent positions on foreign policy questions,

because we are a peace movement -- no area of concern is exempt from our attention. We are a coalition of conscience. As noted in the Call "we oppose the militarization of internal confllicts often aided and abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports to areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America." We stand for justice and self-determination for all people and for the peaceful resolution of all internal conflicts. We oppose wars of aggression, especially when U.S. weapons are used. And we call for the cut off of weapons to any country who uses U.S. weapons illegally.

> No area of the world -- nor any country -- should be exempt from our criticism, even though there are those who would have us exempt Israel.

By far the most virulently anti-Israel speaker was Clyde Bellacourt of the American Indian Movement (AIM). What follows is very nearly an exact quote. "The history taught in the schools is the history of colonization and exploitation of America. I remember having been taught that Christopher Columbus discovered America, and that George Washington is the father of our country. George Washington was the father of colonialism, slavery, exploitation, and war.... Ten times the amount of money for Indian reservations in the U.S. is going to Israel in foreign aid and to other despotic regimes. Israel is the U.S. proxy against the Indian peoples of Guatemala and El Salvador, and /Israel and the U.S.? / commit crimes against the people of Guatemala and El Salvador and the people of this country also. As defined at the Nuremburg Trials these are also crimes against God and humanity."

There were a few other banners critical of Israel or of U.S. policy in the Middle East and Africa, such as one reading "CONDEMN ISRAELI ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA." Another trumpeted "US OUT of Central America and Middle East. DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION." The affiliations of the marchers couldn't be determined.

There was also a cable of congratulation from Yasser Arafat dated Tunis, August 26, urging "Revolution until victory." I did not hear the cable acknowledged from the podium. The cable is from "The Chairman" to Hasan Abdel Rahman, "Director P.L.O. Office - Washington." It requests that Rahman convey the following message to the Hon. Walter Fauntroy, Mrs. Coretta King, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson:

> "ON BEHALF OF MY BROTHERS IN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION AND IN THE NAME OF

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO ACHIEVE THEIR REDEMPTION FROM THE YOKE OF OCCUPATION, DISCRIMINATION, AND OPPRESSION AND FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO SELF DETERMINATION, STATEHOOD, RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND, AND FREEDOM, WE WISH TO COMMEND YOUR EFFORTS IN BRINGING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS TO WASHINGTON TO COMMEMORATE THE HISTORIC MARCH LED BY THE GREAT MARTYR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

...

WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO KNOW THAT OUR PEOPLE BOTH IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE AND IN EXILE LOCK ARMS WITH YOU ON THIS OCCASION IN FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH YOUR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THE DREAM OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING FOR A NEW SOCIETY WHERE EQUALITY, JUSTICE, PEACE AND LOVE WOULD PREVAIL.

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY.

YASSER ARAFAT
CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE
LIBERATION ORGANIZATION COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE FORCES
OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION.

TUNIS AUGUST 26, 1983

The cable tags were: 13608 CHOFF TN.

Several Jewish organizations which have called for the creation of an independent Palestinian state and for negotiations between Israel and the PLO also participated in the march. Chief among these were Washington Area Jews fro an Israeli-Palestinian Peace (WAJIPP) and the New Jewish Agenda (NJA), a self-described "progressive" organization, which also supports the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, feminism, and "reproductive rights," and is "concerned about the stereotyping and discrimination against Arabs and Arab-Americans...." Ellen Siegel, a nurse who worked in south Lebanon during the Israeli presence on the outskirts of Beirut, and whose speeches, particularly on the Sabra-Shatila tragedy, have since been sponsored by several pro-Arab propaganda groups, was one of those marching with WAJIPP. "Justice, justice you shall pursue," read NJA's banner.

Signs from Jewish Affairs Magazine, a publication of the Communist Party, U.S.A., also dotted the landscape.

There was also a large contingent of groups critical of U.S. policy in Central America. These included persons carrying the banners of some of the Salvadoran insurgent factions and the Sandinistas, along with members of American-based support groups. Among the latter, the most important and visible were chapters of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador). CISPES was founded by a Palestinian, Farid Handal, brother of Shafik Handal, who heads the Salvadoran Communist Party and who has developed close ties with the PLO in Nicaragua.

There were other support groups, as well as sympathetic slogans and leaflets from fringe political parties, "peace church" and disarmament groups. Several hand-sewn patchwork banners for the "Central America Working Group," one forming a map of Central America, were carried by nuns in light blue habits. The same banner and at least two of the same nuns also participated in the July 2nd rally against the "U.S. War Against Central America and the Caribbean." An "Ex-Peace Corps Alumni Committee on Central America" was also present.

Spirited marchers chanting in Spanish carried banners for: the FMLN (Farabundo Marti Liberation Front), the military alliance of the five insurgent factions headquartered in Nicaragua, where it enjoys the services of Cuban and PLO trainers; and the FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front). The latter's banner read simply "FDR. El Salvador Libre." There were many smaller hand-held banners in red and black with the figure of a guerrilla in a combat pose, on which "FMLN" and a star were superimposed, and the words "El Salvador Vencera."

Other banners decorated with Soviet Kalashnikovs (semi-automatic assault rifles) celebrated the fourth Anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. One trumpeted: "Viva El 4to Aniversario de la Revolucion Popular Sandinista. Casa Nicaragua, N.Y.." Another was from the FSLN, the Sandinista Front for the Liberation of Nicaragua. According to the Departments of State and Defense, many Sandinistas were trained at PLO camps in Lebanon, Syria and North Africa, even before the revolution against Somoza. In addition to the pervasive Cuban role, there is also a significant Libyan presence in Nicaragua.

Ruben Zamora of the FMLN-FDR was scheduled to speak at the morning Washington Monument rally, but was denied a visa by the State Department. The FMLN-FDR has publicly claimed responsibility for the murder of U.S.N. Lieutenant Commander Schaufelberger , and has hinted that additional killings of U.S. personnel may prove necessary.

Most of the references to Central America from the podium were voiced by speakers from disarmament and peace groups. A representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) promised "Just as the peace movement brought an end to the destruction in South East Asia, so we will in Central America." Cora Weiss, speaking for the Riverside Church Disarmament Program recalled that "as Dr. King said, we must beware racism, exploitation, and militarism," and criticized "this administration," which "makes war on the peasants of El Salvador and Nicaragua. /The U.S./ "must stop being the policeman of the world...and making poverty at home."

Coretta Scott King, in a speech on Dr. King's legacy, underscored links between domestic and foreign policy: "We must demand justice in Harlem and in the Bronx...but also in the Philippines. We must demand justice in the barrios of Los Angeles...but also in El Salvador." I did not hear Mrs. King mention Afghanistan, Poland, the plight of the Bahais in Iran, nor that of Soviet Jews and other victims of totalitarian regimes.

The audience's warmest response was reserved for denunciations of racism and faulty civil rights enforcement, and for calls for improved job opportunities. There was enthusiastic applause for remarks defending affirmative action and criticizing President Reagan's Civil Rights Commission nominations, as voiced by Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) at the Lincoln Memorial. The Rev. C.T. Vivian, of the Natonal Anti-Klan Network noted that "We hear the voice of silence coming from the White House, and it is for that reason that we come here today. Reagan is not good enough for America and we have come here...to redefine America." Rev. Vivian reportedly added that "the racist problem of no jobs is not because of lack of jobs, but because of racism." Owen Bieber of the United Auto Workers blasted unemployment, which hits blacks particularly hard. He stated that "two decades of struggle are being systematically rolled back by the Reagan Administration...America is ruled today by an administration that has gutted affirmative action...that turns its back on enforcement of civil rights laws...and opposes true equality for women."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) brought the house down when he charged that "20 years ago we were stripped of our dignity, 20 years later we are stripped of our share of power...the absence of segregation is not the presence of social justice and equality. We're still looking for allies who will be fair as our struggle shifts from welfare to our share, from aid to trade, and from social generosity to economic reciprocity... The Democratic Party is violating the law, the Republican Party is not enforcing the law." Rev. Jackson stressed the importance of voter registration among blacks: "The regressive Reagan regime won because David did not use all his political rocks and did not pick up his slingshot. David has unused rocks just laying around... From the outhouse to the statehouse to the courthouse to the White House, we will march on. March on. Dream on. March on. Dream on. Our time has come." The crowd roared, "Run, Jesse, run!" again and again.

Late in the day Louis Farrakhan, representing the Nation of Islam, which had not participated in the 1963 march, also electrified the by then diminished crowd, by denouncing the "artificial barriers" separating Americans from one another. "America became wealthy on the blood of men of color...the U.S. government must overcome this propensity for racism...for dictating who should run foreign governments...and to stop the wanton murder of black men and women in the ghetto," as the Washington Afro-American cited his remarks.

Disarmament and peace was another theme of the march. When disarmament was defined as a jobs issue, the audience, which was about 60 percent black, responded enthusiastically. Otherwise, it was the primarily white "peace church" and disarmament groups -- with the left-fringe parties and national liberation support groups -- which offered more than polite applause. Among the peace and disarmament groups were: Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), SANE, the U.S.A. Green Party, Greenham Common Peace Encampment, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Womens Strike for Peace, Pax Christi, Christic Institute, and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Pennants reading "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" on one side and "No Euroshima! Stop Cruise and Pershing Missiles" on the other peppered the crowd.

A Scandinavian Womens Peace March was greeted with applause and cheers by onlookers. The group, made up of natinals of six Scandinavian countries, included a member of the Icelandic parliament. Their U.S. coordinator is assistant director of the Unitarian Universalist U.N. office. Plans for the group's participation in the march reportedly were announced at a June World Peace Council Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia. At the Prague assembly, march "co-chair" Joseph Lowery "welcomed the Soviet Union's freeze proposals, called for an end to economic exploitation and militarism and demanded the conversion of bombs into bread for the hungry," according to a Communist Party U.S.A. Daily World account cited in a Washington Times column. In his Lincoln Memorial speech Lowery opposed a "bellicose and interventionist foreign policy."

According to march organizers quoted in the Washington Post, the event cost about $535, 000, including the cost of in-kind contributions. The District of Columbia government in effect subsidized the march, by lowering Metrorail and Metrobus fares from 75¢ to 50¢ for the day. Other Post accounts cited James Abourezk, ADC's president, as giving a figure of $10, 000 for ADC's contribution as of mid-August, and cited District of Columbia Delegate Walter Fauntroy as estimating that aproximately a third of the contributions coming in were from labor unions. The Washington Afro-America, referring to a march organizer who worked with churches on housing marchers, wrote that she volunteered that her salary was paid by the National Council of Churches.

D.C. Delegate Fauntroy, the march's national director, has announced that the "New Coalition of Conscience" will remain together to push for adoption by Congress of its legislative package. The "coalition" will continue operations from the National Education Association office it occupied while gearing up for the march.

(7)

march on Wash. aug 27

[redacted]

NOTES

NATIONAL OFFICE June, 1983
275 Seventh Avenue / 25th Floor / New York, N.Y. 10001 / Volume XII, Number 5

Many of our members were instrumental in organizing the 1963 March on Washington at which the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. inspired the nation with his "I Have a Dream" speech. A "Jobs, Peace and Freedom March" is scheduled to take place at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. this August 27 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the original event. However, most of our members who were so intimately involved in the first march, along with many of the organizations which backed it, are largely absent this time, with the planning being done by others.

The August 27 event strays from the original civil rights theme to introduce many foreign policy considerations that are troubling to some of the original backers. This diversion is not surprising given the attitude of the current organizers. For example, Brady Tyson, an aide to Coretta Scott King, Dr. King's widow and a moving force behind the August march, drafted the call to the march. Some of you may recall him from an LID-sponsored debate he had with Leo Cherne of the International Rescue Committee on the Human Rights Policy of the Carter Administration. Tyson was then serving in the office of the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Andrew Young.

In the first month of the Carter Administration, at a U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting, Tyson apologized to the whole world for U.S. complicity in toppling the regime of Salvador Allende in Chile, a charge which has often been made, but never proven. He was promptly brought home to be chastised. Later, on returning from a trip to the Middle East, Tyson made the unbelievable observation that the United States could learn a lot about democracy from the PLO.

Given these foreign policy perspectives, it is not altogether surprising that the foreign policy aspects of the call to the march have left many supporters of civil rights rather disturbed. The following article, which appeared in the Jewish Week of July 1, helps explain the dilemma faced not only by major Jewish organizations which enthusiastically backed the 1963 march, but also many of the other sponsors and participants of the earlier event. It was written by Walter K. Lewis.

"Jewish Groups Facing Dilemma on D.C. March."

Major Jewish organizations which supported the civil rights movement in the 1960's are faced with the problem of how to abstain discreetly from a 20th anniversary observance of the 1963 march on Washington that is tainted by anti-Israel, pro-PLO and Soviet propaganda overtones.

The event, "Jobs, Peace and Freedom March," is scheduled for the Lincoln Memorial on August 27.

The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council -- which represents 11 national organizations and 111 community councils -- rejected a proposal that it formally decline the invitation, leaving Jewish groups to decide on their own.

Most of the largest Jewish groups backed the advisory council's leadership in an appeal to bow out but local councils opposed such a group action at a [recent] meeting.

The Jewish War Veterans, which had endorsed the event, has withdrawn its support. National commander Stanely N. Zwaik said that "the event's declaration deals with issues unrelated to civil rights and distorts the original purposes of the commemoration." He added: "JWV does not and will not participate with people or organizations who are anti-Semitic."

It was learned that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who is an endorser and whose organization is a sponsor, will not withdraw, nor will UAHC.

The New Jewish Agenda also plans to remain an endorser.

The Agenda is a left-oriented group which has sided with the Palestinians on statehood, assailed the war in Lebanon and endorsed the Soviet position in the nuclear disarmament debate.

Consultations between Jewish and non-Jewish human rights groups and several sponsoring groups have been going on for some time. Jewish groups have expressed concern over the deviation from the theme of civil and economic rights of the 1963 march and a shift to foreign policy issues closely paralleling the anti-Israel stance of many Third World countries. The injection of anti-nuclear slogans and anti-American posturing is cited as another factor.

Most major Jewish organizations had close ties to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. whose widow, Coretta, is listed as a co-chairperson of the 1983 event. However, another co-chairperson is Dr. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who spoke in La Grange, Illinois in 1981 at a pro-PLO conference.

One of the sponsors of that meeting addressed by Lowery was Pax Christi, which generates pro-PLO sentiment in the American Christian community. The organization is listed as a sponsor of the August mobilization.

Bayard Rustin, who coordinated the original march in 1963, is not listed as a convener nor as an endorser. Nor is the Civil Rights Leadership Conference.

Leading the list of conveners is former U.S. Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.) of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, who was a leader of anti-Israel activity in the Senate and more recently at public meetings and rallies. He has participated in the mobilization's organizational meetings.

On June 6, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Mobilization for Survival, the U.S. Peace Council and Women for Racial and Economic Equality were among those who endorsed a demonstration at the Israel Consulate General in New York to mark the first anniversary of the invasion of Lebanon. They are among the endorsers and the leaders of the August 27 event. And, like the call for the march, they urged in their June 6 rally that there be "no U.S. military aid to the Middle East."

Several sponsors were in Prague last month at the Soviet-backed World Assembly on Peace, at which PLO chief Yasir Arafat received a standing ovation and delivered a strong anti-Israel speech.

Representative Walter Fauntroy of the District of Columbia is not only a convener but is also the majo domo of the 1983 event. He was the sponsor, early last summer after the Lebanon invasion, of a congressional seminar for leading Arab propagandists.

Although the Communist Party USA is not listed officially as an endorser, its fronts, the U.S. Peace Council and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, are. The latter is headed by the Communist official, Angela Davis. The former, at its Philadelphia founding convention in 1979, called for U.S. recognition of the PLO, return of Israel to its pre-1967 borders and an end to U.S. arms to Israel.

The Daily World, official organ of the Communist Party, has been prominently displaying articles on: "How to mobilize for August 27 march on D.C." It is also planning to distribute 100,000 copies at the demonstration.

Jewish leaders are concerned over how a refusal to endorse will be perceived in the black community. Some non-Jewish organizations are also reassessing their roles. Some of them have already decided to let their initial contributions stand only as symbols of support. Trade unions, which comprised the bulk of the marching participants in 1963, are having economic hardships that may limit their presence.

The problem for Jewish organizations is complicated by the fact that August 27 falls on the sabbath.

Spokesmen for Jewish groups point out their concern that, while the call for participation cites human rights violations in South Africa, no mention is made of the Soviet Jewry plight, the Soviet war in Afghanistan or Cuban incursions in Central America. And while there is an expression of support for free trade unionism "everywhere," Poland's suppression of Solidarity is not mentioned.

The call for the march, while silent on Soviet arming of Syria or rebels in Central America states: "We oppose the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human rights are neglected."

ILO

There was a very different outcome on foreign policy questions, and particularly on the Middle East, at the recent annual assembly of the International Labor Organization. The U.S., spurred by the AFL-CIO, withdrew from the international body in 1977 because of the increased politization of the deliberations.

The U.S. returned in 1980, and its government-worker-employer delegation has been having increasing success. Effective lobbying by free workers and employers among fellow delegates from Third World countries helped turn the tide against the automatic majority that the Soviet Union, its Eastern European satellites and the Arab Countries enjoyed for many years.

Many Third World delegations were willing to vote with us if it was a secret ballot. In the first of two key secret ballots, the assembly ratified by 263 votes to 4 (with 164 abstentions) a report from its watchdog committee describing specific violations by Czechoslovakia's government of the ILO pact outlawing discrimination in employment for political, racial or religious reasons. The Soviet Union was particularly infuriated by this outcome because it put the "workers state" of Czechoslovakia in the same category as Chile and Turkey as violators of ILO standards on trade union and human rights they had freely accepted.

The ILO named a commission of three widely respected legal experts (from Greece, Venezuela and Switzerland) to make an official inquiry on Poland's suppression of trade union rights. Only the Soviet Union and the four other Communist delegates on the 56-member Governing Body opposed the apppointments. At the same time, the ILO established a committee to examine a complaint from Chile's National Trade Union Coordinating Council that the Chilean government is contravening ILO conventions on employment policy and working conditions, including the one banning forced labor.

Poland's reaction was to suspend its membership in the ILO. While objecting to the ILO action, General Augusto Pinochet of Chile notified the body that he would cooperate with the committee.

Israel realized its first victory in the ILO since 1978. An Arab-inspired resolution condemned Israeli "expansionism and racism" in the occupied territories, and called for a halt of ILO assistance to Israel and a day of solidarity with Arab workers in the territories.

SD member Eugenia Kemble of the American Federation of Teachers, who sits on the ILO Resolutions Committee, helped persuade the assembly delegates to vote against the resolution, arguing that it was a misuse of the ILO. She denounced the attacks on Israel as a "distraction from the real labor work" that is the mission of the ILO. She stressed the time lost from constructive work because the Arab tactic of presenting resolutions condemning Israel deviated from the "way we discuss the behavior of all other member states" under established supervisory machinery.

Genie challenged the assembly by saying that the vote on the anti-Israel resolution would show whether "this organization still stands for a single set of labor standards and a due process machinery that will monitor their enforcement."

The resolution failed in the plenary session, with 225 voting for it, 8 against, and 186 abstaining. This left the resolution 15 votes short of the required quorum. Genie received a medal from the Israeli delegation in appreciation for her outstanding efforts.

Bits and Pieces

Congratulations are in order for a number of our members. Sam Fishman (Detroit) was unanimously elected President of the Michigan State AFL-CIO. Chris Gersten (Washington, D.C.) has moved on from his position as Assistant to the President of the Operating Engineers to become Political Director of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Linda Chavez (Washington, D.C.), staff director of the American Federation of Teachers, has been nominated to the post of staff director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Helen Toth (Washington, D.C.), the educational consultant to the President of the American Postal Workers Union, has been named director of the Priority Planning Group of the American Postal Workers Union Task Force on how technological change and advancements will alter the style of work for people in the postal service. The task force is mandated to study new approaches to collective bargaining, legislative policies, future organizing efforts, and the union's role in telecommunications and the technological revolution.

Carl Gershman (N.Y.) is now the State Department's liaison to the Socialist International and its affiliated parties (in addition, of course, to his regular duties at the U.N.). He recently returned from an extensive trip to Europe.

Edward Tanski (Pioneer Valley, Mass.) is fresh from a two to one victory over his Republican opponent for a seat on the Easthampton Housing Authority. At the Authority's first meeting, he was elected its new chairman.

Wedding bells have been ringing for a number of our Washington, D.C. members. Joe Uehlein (with the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department) married Kim Keller. And Penn Kemble (Coalition for a Democratic Majority) tied the knot with Marie-Louise Caravatti.

SD'er David Evanier's book The One Star Jew, a novel set around a group of short stories which received the award for best American short stories in 1980, has recently been published. It's available from Northpoint Press (for $15).

Movement activities

SD executive director Rita Freedman recently returned from a trip to Costa Rica where she met with Costa Rican president Luis Alberto Monge, as well as Salvadoran and Nicaraguan trade unionists. Also coming back from abroad are SD'ers Doris Alexander (Louisiana), John McDowell (California), Jan Heller (Detroit) and Dan Kubiske (Washington, D.C.). They were part of the American delegation to the youth committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which was meeting in Oslo, Norway.

The Der Vecker luncheon of the Jewish Socialist Verband featured Rita Freedman as the guest speaker. She addressed the group on the recent Socialist International Congress held in Portugal. Freedman also spoke at a Workmen's Circle meeting on "What's Going on in Central America?"

Josh Muravchik addressed the Washington, D.C. local on "Misreporting in Lebanon." Josh recently had an article in The New Republic on the same topic, and he has just returned from a conference in Israel which examined press coverage of the Middle East. Joel Freedman, Chairman of the SD's International

Affairs Committee, reported to a Local New York meeting on the recent SI Congress and the political changes that the SI is undergoing.

Roger Clayman (Connecticut) was involved as the AFL-CIO representative in a successful organizing drive at Yale University. Almost 3,000 clerical and technical employees were signed up in one of the largest victories in the private sector the country has seen in many years. The victory was not easy -- it was 15 years in the making!

The Polish government has offically told the U.S. that American broadcasts beamed into Poland are "aggressive and slanderous" and that Polish-language broadcasts by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are intended to "destabilize the situation in Poland." It did not make these remarks after the Pope's visit to Poland, but rather shortly after SD'er Mike Perry (Philadelphia), representing the Jewish Labor Committee, was interviewed by VOA. The occasion was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemoration, and Mike presented the JLC arguments for boycotting the offical proceedings in Poland.

Take heed all you SD'ers: the Pioneer Valley (Massachusetts) Local continues to send in a steady stream of gift subscriptions to New America as a way of keeping in touch with prospective members and supporters. A fine example to follow! Victor Velen of the Pioneer Valley local was interviewed about El Salvador in an extensive article in the Daily Hampshire Gazette. Dr. Elias Shulman, editor of the Jewish Socialist Verband's organ Der Wecker, was the scholar in residence at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass. While in the area, he and his wife were entertained by members of the SD local. Robert Murphy is seeking re-election to the Board of Supervisors of Smith Vocational school in the upcoming Northampton municipal elections. We wish him luck.

* *

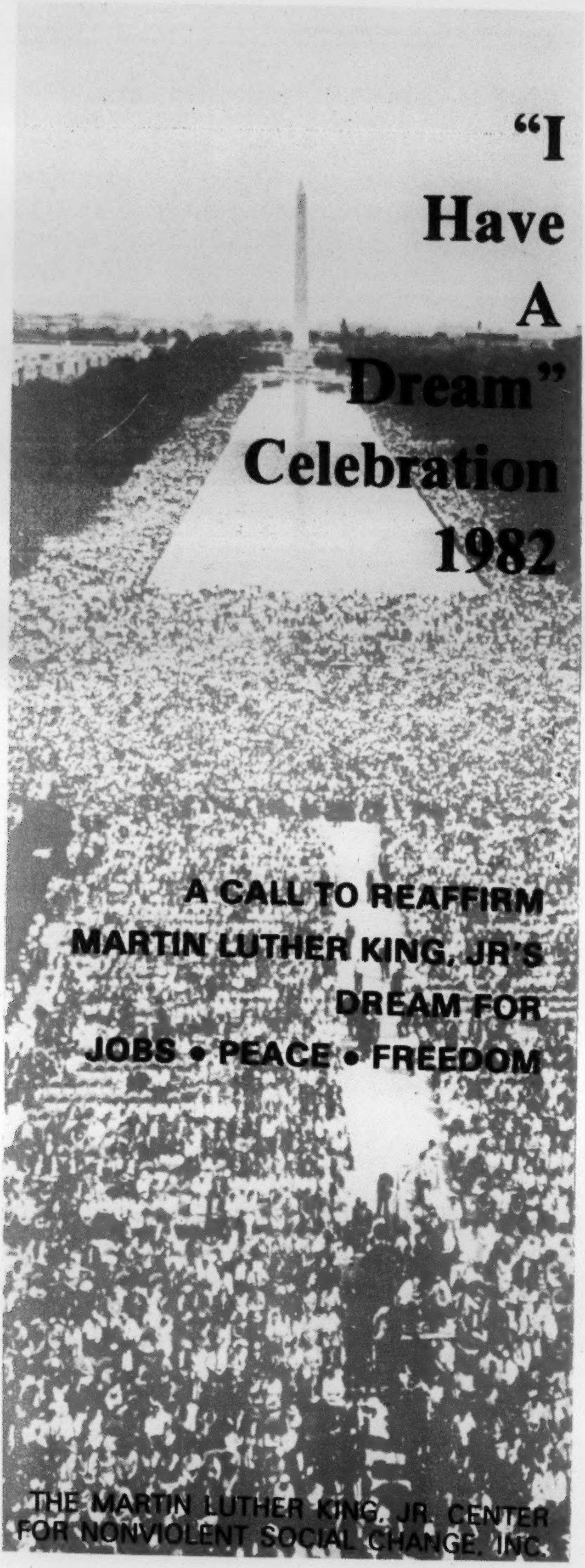
We are very sorry to have to report that Bert Suall died of cancer. Those who wish to express condolences to his widow Joan or to his brother Irwin can send cards to them at 330 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10010, and 511 East 20th Street, New York, NY 10010 respectively.

* *

Walter Kirschenbaum is home recuperating from a mild heart attack. Paul Feldman is in the hospital. Cards or notes sent to their home would be appreciated.
For Walter, the address is 453 FDR Drive, New York, NY 10002
For Paul, the address is 1551 Stoltz Road, Bethal Park, PA 15102

* *

Did you know that the new national newspaper USA Today is a scab publication? Not so for any SD publication! Which is one reason why all you members of the pledge plan out there send in your pledges so readily each month!



"I Have A Dream" Celebration 1982

A CALL TO REAFFIRM
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR'S
DREAM FOR
JOBS • PEACE • FREEDOM

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER
FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE, INC.

"THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER is pleased to host and join with nearly 100 organizations representing CIVIL RIGHTS, LABOR, JEWISH, WOMEN, BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL HISPANIC, YOUTH, PEACE, POLITICAL, FRATERNAL and other groups in co-sponsoring the August 1982 *"I HAVE A DREAM"* CELEBRATION.

Coretta Scott King

"Now that we have extended our voting rights -- Let us extend our voting -- Right!!

Joseph E. Lowery

"Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream lives today. The 19th Anniversary of the March on Washington will witness the reassembling of the "Coalition of Conscience," in America that shares that dream."

Walter E. Fauntroy

"Never before has the need to reaffirm the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr. for jobs peace and freedom through nonviolent social change been more urgent than today."

Benjamin Hooks

"If we want our planet to survive until tomorrow, we must live and teach nonviolence, in the spirit of Martin, today."

Andrew J. Young

"Americans must continue to insure that Dr. King's ideals and objectives remain a part of our nation's dreams and objectives and not merely a history of the past."

Tony Bonilla,
League of United
Latin American
Citizens

GOALS OF THE 1982 CELEBRATION

- **Reaffirm** the vision and dream of Martin Luther King, Jr. for nonviolent social change -- relevance for the 1980s
- **Articulate** major issues of the 1980s and strategies for collective action: JOBS, PEACE and FREEDOM
- **Establish** a plan, timetable and mobilization strategy to renew "the Coalition of Conscience" in support of the 20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION of the GREAT MARCH ON WASHINGTON, D.C. on August 27 and 28, 1983.

WHAT YOUR ORGANIZATION CAN DO TO HELP

1. Make a financial contribution to defray expenses of the 1982 Celebration
2. Mobilize your leadership to come to Atlanta in 1982.
3. Contribute in-kind services: full-time staff through August 30, volunteers, transportation, free printing, housing, meals, etc.
4. Suggest major issues and strategies for 1983 CELEBRATION.
5. Spread the message about the August '82 CELEBRATION.

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

Friday, August 27, 1982

6:00 - 7:45 P.M. WELCOME RECEPTION

8:00 - 10:00 P.M. HONORS NIGHT AWARDS

Saturday, August 28, 1982

9:00 - 12:00 NOON POLICY SEMINAR

Meditations & Reflections on the Dream

THE CALL for Jobs, Peace and Freedom -- Reaffirming the Vision and Dream of Martin Luther King, Jr. -- Relevance for the 1980s.

12:15 - 1:30 P.M. LUNCH/TOUR OF KING CENTER

1:45 - 3:15 P.M. 20TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

DISCUSSION

3:30 - 5:30 P.M. "WHY WE CAN'T WAIT RALLY"

7:30 - 9:30 P.M. "STARS SALUTE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. " VIP BENEFIT RECEPTION*(Omni Hotel)

— Meet many entertainers who supported and marched with Martin Luther King, Jr. —

*Special Tickets Available @ $25/each.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Barbara Williams-Skinner
National Coordinator
The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center For
Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
449 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312
(404) 524-1956

REGISTRATION FORM
"*I HAVE A DREAM*" CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

NAME ______________________ ADDRESS ______________________

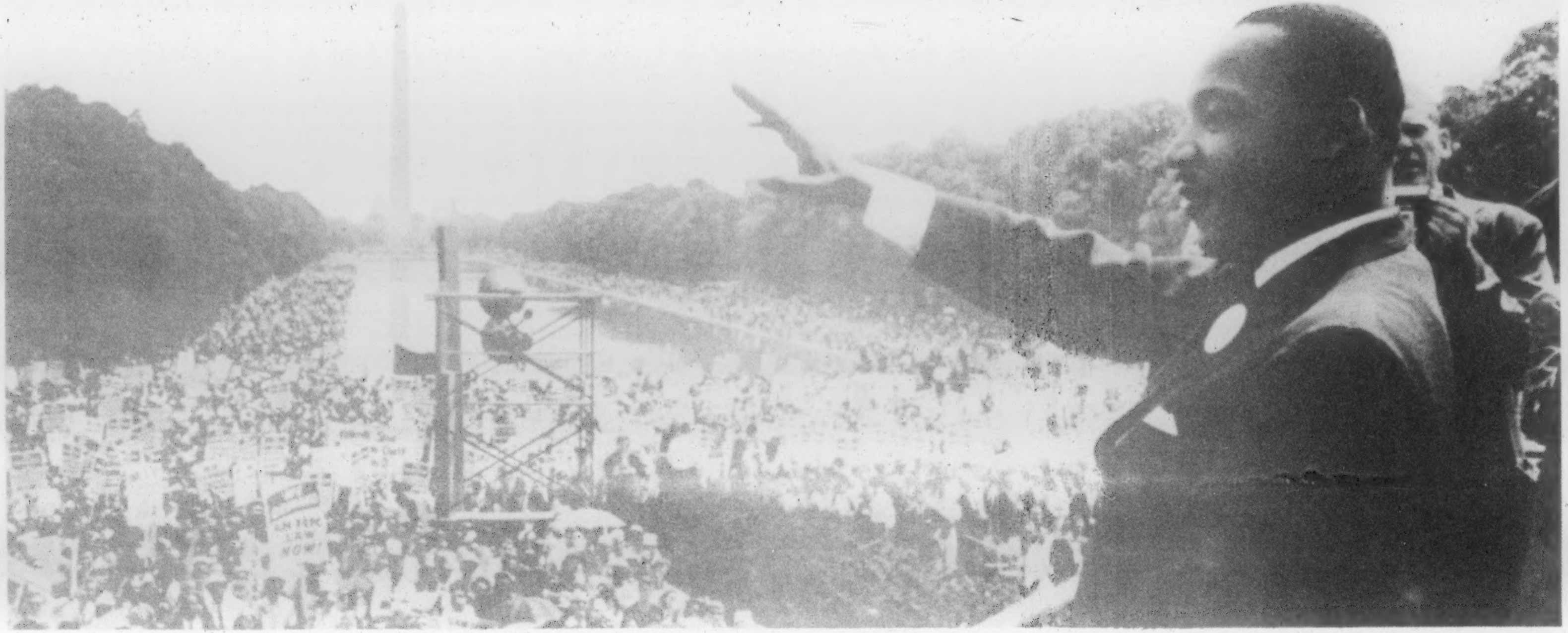
CITY ______________ STATE ____________ ZIP CODE ________ TELEPHONE ______________

Please Check Appropriate Boxes:

☐ Enclosed is my tax deductible contribution of $25.00 for registration fee.

☐ Enclosed is my tax deductible contribution of $25.00 for the "STARS SALUTE DR. KING" VIP BENEFIT Reception, Saturday, August 28th.

PLEASE MAIL YOUR REGISTRATION FORM AND CHECK TO:
"*I HAVE A DREAM*" CELEBRATION
The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center
For Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
449 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312


LAW
NOW!

The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy

Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr.

Co-Chairpersons
of the
"I HAVE A DREAM" CELEBRATION

MAJOR ISSUES and STRATEGIES

JOBS

- We will call for a social contract between labor, industry, government and education to provide training in jobs with a future, particularly for black and poor citizens.

PEACE

- We will move to protect against human destruction in unnecessary wars – today and for future generations. Black and Hispanic men are a disproportional number of those involved and killed in such wars.

- We will move to reverse the trend toward nuclear annihilation, record defense spending and a reduction of the arms race.

- We will move to resolve world conflict through nonviolent means.

FREEDOM

- We will resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan.

- We will work vigorously to defeat anti-civil rights legislation.

- We will work to ensure enforcement of hard-won civil rights legislation (like the Voting Rights Law.)

- We will work for equal rights for women.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center
For Nonviolent Social Change, Inc.
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Mr. Bayard Rustin
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New York NY 10010

Time Marches on, and old allies away

EARL CALDWELL

IN THE LATE afternoon he sat in his office on the 11th floor of a building on Park Ave. at 30th St. and he fingered the gray in the hair that framed his face and he shook his head.

"If someone had said we were going to have a problem when it came to the 20-year anniversary," Albert Chernin said, "I would have said, you're crazy."

But that is the way it is happening.

It is approaching 20 years since the historic March on Washington. The 1963 march was like no other, not just because of the huge crowd, or because it was to be the scene of Martin Luther King Jr.'s famed "I Have a Dream" speech.

It was to become the high point of the civil rights movement. The events of that one day, the 28th of August of 1963, raised the issue of civil rights to another level. By 1963, the coalition that was the civil rights movement had become a powerful force, and the march that August was evidence of the progress the movement had made.

Now, 20 years have passed and the plan for this August is to gather the old coalition and go back to Washington. A part of it would be to ask that the unfinished business of the civil rights agenda from 20 years ago be dealt with.

"It's a regrettable issue," Albert Chernin said. "It's a symbol of the fragmentation, of the division in the civil rights movement today."

Albert Chernin is executive vice president of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council. The letter that urged Jewish organizations across the country to shun the anniversary march went out from his office. Today, the council meets in New York and is expected to make official the action which Chernin and his staff suggest.

"My feeling and the feeling of many is one of deep disappointment that we find ourselves placed in a position where we cannot participate in what should be a meaningful observance in Washington," Chernin said. "I think the feeling is pretty widespread. Sadness is the best way of describing it. But we also have to be true to our own principles. History as far as we're concerned did not end in 1963."

Over 100 national organizations have agreed to participate in the march and a "call to the nation" has been written and endorsed by the conveners of the march.

It is that call and some of the participating groups that have led the advisory council to urge Jewish groups not to participate.

"The call is too far-reaching in all kinds of areas,"

See CALDWELL Page 22

CALDWELL FROM PAGE FOUR

Chernin said.

"We use the Middle East as illustrative," he said.

In the call, it says: "We oppose the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports, in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected."

Chernin singled out former Sen. James Abourezk among the conveners. Abourezk now heads the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. "They're not going to talk about civil rights," he said. "I've never heard them talk about civil rights, not 20 years ago or not last year on the Voting Rights Act. But I know where we were," he said.

●

IN HIS OFFICE LATE in the afternoon on Friday, Albert Chernin went back to 1963 and the March on Washington. "For 20 years prior to that (the march)," he said, "the civil rights movement came down to the black community, the Jewish community and the trade union movement. We were pretty much alone."

He said that back then, in the late 1930s and the mid-40s, the blacks and the Jews shared the same values and had the same self-interests and that they worked together because they felt the same pressures. He mentioned quotas that kept Jews and blacks out of professional schools. He mentioned Nazi rallies and marches that threatened Jews and blacks. And he mentioned the Ku Klux Klan. "Congress wouldn't even pass an anti-lynching bill," he said. "You had segregation in America then in the most blantant way."

By 1963, the coalition suddenly began to expand and other groups began to play significant roles in the civil rights movement. But while the March on Washington was one of the first events to have full participation of the white churches, Dr. Joachim Prinz was one of the chairmen and virtually every major Jewish organization, religious and secular, endorsed the march and was heavily represented.

In the '60s, the relationships between blacks and Jews began to change.

Chernin mentioned that merchants who were Jewish and did business in black areas began to be attacked. He said the position of Jews regarding affirmative action was misunderstood. "What we opposed were quotas," he said.

Israel's relationship with African nations also became a factor, he said.

"But up to 1967, the relationships between African nations and Israel were good," he said. "It was oil, not politics that changed that," he said. "I still believe the Saudis bludgeoned the Africans to break relations with Israel.

"The Jewish community didn't walk away from the civil rights movement," he emphasized.

●

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL WAS organized in 1944 and includes 11 national Jewish agencies and 111 others that operate at the community level. The national groups include the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

Today's meeting in New York is the organization's scheduled quarterly meeting and the prime business is the adoption of a joint program plan for Jewish community relations.

NY DAily News
mon. 6/27/83

On the Left

John Trinkl

ACTIVISTS ASSESS AUG. 27 DEMO

Left forces around the country are organizing for the Aug. 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., for "Jobs, peace and freedom." The action will mark the 20th anniversary of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington led by Martin Luther King Jr. The demonstration call was initiated by Coretta Scott King and Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and to date, some 600 organizations have endorsed the action.

Left groups contacted by the Guardian generally expressed the view that the march laid the basis for drawing out the links between economic, peace and human rights issues and could be an important step in the fight against cutbacks and repression at home and aggression abroad. However, several revolutionary nationalist groups expressed reservations about the vagueness of some of the demands and the actual political content of the demonstration.

Mobilization for Survival (MfS), a national coalition of some 150 local groups working on disarmament and other issues, expressed a common position. "It's going to be a broad march with broad issues," MfS's Jackie Gelb said. "We'll raise issues like disarmament and nonintervention within the context of the march but not organize a separate contingent. For example, we might have flags concerning non-intervention spread throughout the demonstration."

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party strongly support the action. Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is also mobilizing for the demonstration. DSA's Leo Casey said, "We are making a major effort to get our locals to participate."

Some revolutionary nationalist forces are more hesitant about the march. "We're only giving it critical support," Dardisi Sanyika of the National Black Independent Political Party said. "We're planning to have a separate conference on the state of the Black nation and the state of the Black liberation movement in Washington the night of Aug. 27." Sanyika said his group is critical of "the class character of the leadership and the vagueness of the demands. On jobs, the call is to support the Humphrey-Hawkins Act—this is inadequate and unacceptable. On peace, they are talking about disarmament but not about true peace—in the ghettos and barrios of this country. And on freedom, they are talking about freedom in the abstract and not about liberation."

Charles Barron, who represents the National Black United Front on the national planning council for Aug. 27, said, "We feel there's a certain exclusion of progressive, activist and Pan-Africanist organizations in the planning of the demonstration. There's a lack of participation of grassroots groups." Barron argued that the leadership of the action "wants to revive the old civil rights coalition of the 1960s and doesn't seem concerned about people who want new methods of organizing and new strategies. . . . We can't just talk about jobs," Barron added. "There has to be a radical reorganizing of the economic order—which is what King called for later in his life."

The African People's Socialist Party (APSP), based mainly on the West Coast, was highly critical of the march. APSP issued a statement arguing that "the Aug. 27 mobilization to Washington, D.C. . . . represents an attempt by the Black petty bourgeoisie and a sector of the white ruling class to establish the agenda for our movement." The APSP said it would organize its own contingent in the march around the slogan "Bread, peace and Black power."

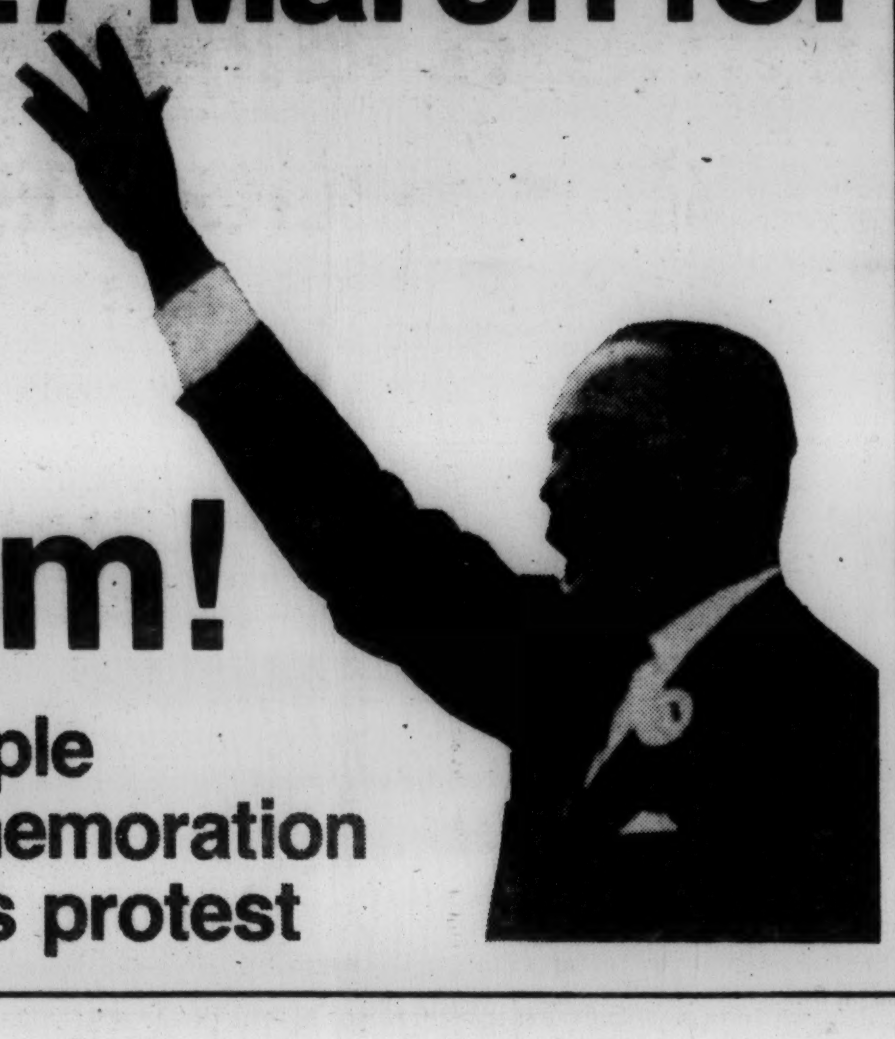
Manning Marable, a leading Black activist and one of the national planning committee members for the demonstration, acknowledged some of the criticisms, but argued that they should be struggled out within the framework of the action. Marable spoke in favor of "pushing from within for progressive politics which would link peace with issues concerning the third world community and with changing the American economic system."

Not all of the criticism has come from the left. The AFL-CIO, although it formally endorsed the march, has given it only token support because of its reluctance to support the proposals concerning peace in the demonstration. Right-wing social democrats have sharply attacked the action. Bayard Rustin, a leading figure in Social Democrats USA, circulated a letter to trade unions and other organizations condemning the action. Rustin claimed that large numbers of unemployed Black youths brought into Washington "could not be controlled." He also argued that a focus on peace was wrong, that economic and peace issues should not be combined.

The mobilization of grassroots Black forces and the linking of peace with economic and human rights issues that Rustin fears, is what most on the left are actively supporting. As Deirdre Griswold, a leader of Workers World Party, put it: "We feel this demonstration is very important. We hope it is as big a response as is possible against Reaganism, against attacks on workers and oppressed peoples and in opposition to pro-war policies. It's crucial to project the demands for jobs, peace and freedom, but success will depend on grassroots participation." ■

Guardian 7/13/83

August 27 March for Jobs, Peace, Freedom!



Why working people should join commemoration of 1963 civil rights protest

By Mark Weddleton

"We have sat down too long. It's time for us to put on our marching shoes and march to Washington," declared Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) president Joseph Lowery. Lowery spoke to a crowd of more than 600 gathered together on June 2 in New Orleans to build the August 27 Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom in Washington, D.C.

Lowery spoke as one of the civil rights and women's movement leaders on tour to promote the demonstration. Coretta Scott King, National Organization for Women President Judy Goldsmith, and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65, have addressed enthusiastic audiences in Philadelphia; New York City; Columbia, South Carolina and other cities.

This march will commemorate the anniversary of the historic civil rights demonstration led by Martin Luther King, Jr. twenty years ago. The organization of this protest has been spearheaded by Black leaders, who have moved to forge a broad alliance to build it. Endorsements for the action have come from the AFL-CIO labor federation, farmers groups, coalitions opposed to the U.S. war in Central America, Puerto Rican and Hispanic rights organizations, and hundreds of other groups.

Anger at government policies

This action promises to turn out thousands of people angry at the policies of the Democrats and Republicans. The slogans for the march, "jobs, peace, and freedom," are a challenge to the big-business attack on our basic needs. In calling for this protest under these slogans, the organizers explained that these issues are "inextricably linked."

"Jobs, peace, and freedom" encompasses the concerns of the vast majority of the American people. Through their two parties, the Democratic and Republican, the capitalist rulers of the U.S. are attempting to make working people pay for the crisis the capitalist system is facing worldwide. This handful of wealthy businessmen and bankers is waging what amounts to a war against working people at home and abroad.

The rulers have used unemployment and wage and benefit cuts to push down the standard of living of working people and beef up profits forcing racist and sexist discrimination across the board. And to pursue increasingly anti-working-class policies, the government is tightening restrictions on the democratic rights of the American people.

August 27 will be a day when fighters against war will join with unionists demanding jobs. Black fighters will join with women demanding equality. Immigrants opposing deportations will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with farmers protesting the big business attacks on them. Working people, the oppressed and exploited in this society, can come together on that day, and take a stand against the ruling class' policies of austerity, war, racism and sexism.

Blacks in vanguard

It's not surprising that the August 27 protest against the government's policies has been initiated by the Black movement. Blacks and other oppressed nationalities are the hardest hit by every aspect of the bosses' offensive.

Black people know that the new Vietnam in Central America and the Caribbean will mean disproportionate deaths and maiming of Black youth, as happened in the Indochina war.

Unemployment, social service cuts, and attacks on basic human rights strike the Black community especially hard. The rulers are moving to strengthen racist discrimination in every area of life, attacking affirmative action and desegregation, and escalating racist police brutality.

These conditions impel Black working people to begin fighting and to pose demands that express the most basic interests of all working people. The August 27 march is an example of Blacks both fighting for their rights as an oppressed nationality, and serving as a vanguard of the working class. Blacks are leading in the fightback against the ruling class antilabor offensive at home and abroad and advancing the building of a fighting alliance which can harness the power needed to carry the struggle forward.

War in Central America

In the face of Washington's new moves to escalate the war in Central America and the Caribbean, this march is especially important.

As a leaflet put out by the local coali-

nuclear weapons. . . . The schools in our inner cities have no money for computers, bilingual education or teachers salaries, yet Mr. Reagan can find plenty of money to subsidize arms purchases for some of the most repressive governments in the world. . . . We can find the money to send military advisers to El Salvador but no money for public housing in Newark."

The same corporations that have shut down plants in the U.S. are demanding further sacrifices by workers and farmers in underdeveloped countries. The U.S. military is being used to make sure that the bosses get the profits from these sacrifices. And it is being used to stop anyone who dares to chart a course for their country independent of Washington's control — one that serves the needs of their people, not the U.S. corporations. That's why the U.S. rulers are bringing us to war in Central America.

The government demands that the working class pay, with our blood and our money, for the new Vietnam war in Central America. That is why the determination of the big business rulers of this country to overthrow the revolutionary Nicaraguan government and back the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship against a popular revolution must be opposed by working people. The August 27 march will be an important opportunity to make a loud protest against the Reagan administration's growing intervention in the region.

SCLC President Lowery told the crowd in Louisiana that "We can't do it by ourselves alone. The same enemy of women's rights is the same one against human rights for Blacks and all people. Let's go to Washington."

Women, farmers, labor

Opposition to the government's attacks on women's rights is one of the demands of the August 27 demonstration, which is being actively promoted by women's rights organizations, including the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Farmers groups, like the American Agriculture Movement and the North American Farm Alliance have backed the march. This fits in with the discussion taking place on a farm program and strategy to pull family farmers out of the economic crisis they face. Central to these discussions is the need to ally themselves with the concerns of Blacks, labor and women.

At an Atlanta rally commemorating the April 4 anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., Harold McIver, regional director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department said that "the labor movement is going to march arm-in-arm with the civil rights movement and others August 27. We won't be left out."

It is especially important that the labor movement live up to this pledge. If working people are to wage a struggle against the attacks on us the labor movement must champion especially the rights of the hardest hit — the oppressed Blacks, Latinos, women — to undercut the divisions the bosses foster and to mobilize the fighting power of our class. The unity this demonstration can help forge with the Black community and others who are in the vanguard of the fight against the rulers policies is a critical need for the labor movement.

The August 27 demonstration has the endorsement of the United Auto Workers; International Association of Machinists; United Food and Commercial Workers; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; National Education Association; American Federation of State, County [redacted]ees and other unions.

The wide support already won puts union members in a good position to build for the strongest possible participation by organized labor. Union members should publicize the march among their coworkers and urge locals to invite speakers to discuss the August 27 march. Endorsements can be won from many more locals and international unions.

Unions should participate in the local and national coalitions, put out union leaflets for the march, and provide buses to get their membership and others to Washington.

The fighters in the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) will be wearing our marching shoes on August 27 with other young militants. The YSA is a multina-

PROTESTS
PAYOFFS
For Big Oil
LAYOFFS
ERA
YES
REAGAN
YOU DON'T
SPEAK FOR
IUE
IUE

Jobs, Peace, Freedom!

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The rulers have used unemployment and wage and benefit cuts to push down the standard of living of working people and beef up profits.

The rulers are escalating a new Vietnam in Central America, and are carrying out a massive military buildup to back it up, while slashing social services.

To further divide working people and lower living standards, they are reinforcing racist and sexist discrimination across the board. And to pursue increasingly anti-working-class policies, the government is tightening restrictions on the democratic rights of the American people.

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In the face of Washington's new moves to escalate the war in Central America and the Caribbean, this march is especially important.

As a leaflet put out by the local coalition building the march in New Jersey said, "New Jersey has already lost 15% of her fresh water supply to toxic contamination and has some of the highest cancer rates in the world related to these same contaminants. But federal money is not being spent on toxic cleanup — it's going to the production of nuclear weapons. . . . The schools in our inner cities have no money for computers, bilingual education or teachers salaries, yet Mr. Reagan can find plenty of money to subsidize arms purchases for some of the most repressive governments in the world. . . . We can find the money to send military advisers to El Salvador but no money for public housing in Newark."

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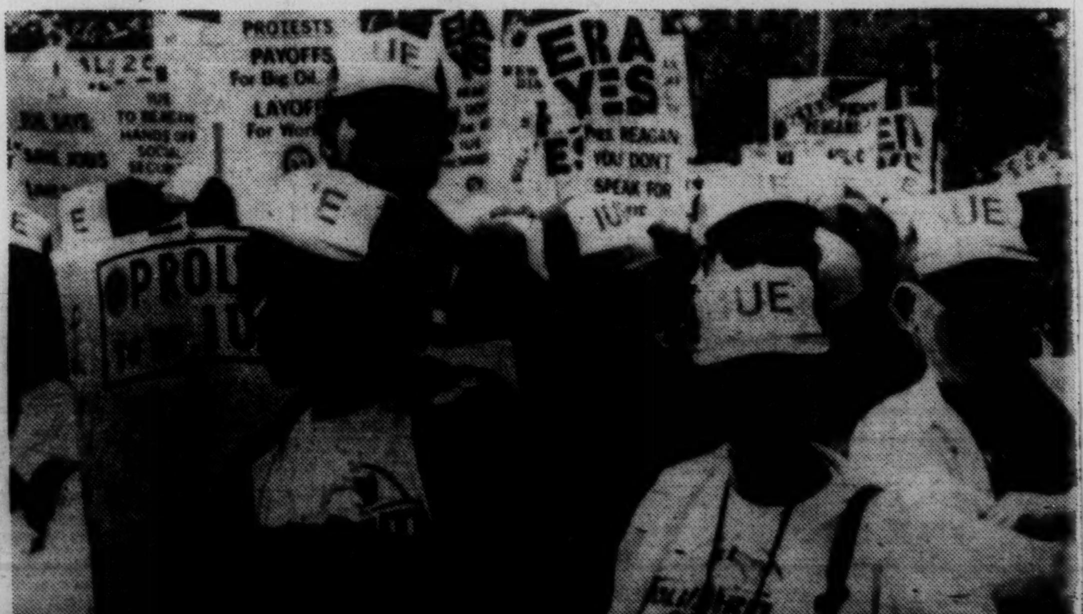

Electrical workers protesting government policies at giant labor-led Solidarity Day mar
1981. August 27 march will be another opportunity for working people to stand toget
abroad.

tional revolutionary youth organization with chapters in almost 50 cities across the country. YSA members are steelworkers, miners, garment workers, high school and college students, unemployed youth.

The YSA is a part of the political discussion taking place across the country on how to reverse the rulers' attacks on our rights and standard of living. This discussion has touched every organization which tries to defend the rights of working people. Unions, the NAACP, NOW, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the National Conference for Puerto Rican Rights, farm groups and others have all had this discussion reflected at their gatherings.

Forging alliance

Central to this discussion is the question of what kind of political alliances need to be forged for the oppressed and exploited to exercise political power. The YSA believes that the August 27 Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom points the way forward.

It is through mobilizing in the streets, independent of the two capitalist parties, in actions demanding our rights against the policies of the bosses and their government that the needed alliance of the oppressed and exploited can be forged. The powerful alliance that will be reflected through the August 27 march must be mobilized in the electoral arena as well. Independent working class political action is what is needed for such an alliance to be effective in advancing the interests of working people. This cannot be done within the framework of the two big business parties, the Democratic and Republican parties of racism, unemployment and war.

To advance our interests we need a labor party based on the unions — a fighting party built on this alliance of the oppressed and exploited.

Blacks can lead the way in the fight for such a party — in the same way they are leading on the August 27 action — by breaking from the Democratic and Republican parties and building a Black party based on the fighting spirit of the Black community. Activists in the National Black Independent Political Party are attempting to carry out this perspective. This would set an example for the labor movement to do the same.

Such a party could organize working people to end the domination of our lives by the ruling rich, to get rid of this rotten system of capitalism, to fight for a workers and farmers government that would move society forward to socialism.

The August 27 march in Washington will be an important opportunity to continue this discussion on the needed alliance, in the context of standing together against the government's policies. The YSA says:

"All out for the August 27 Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom!"

For Big Gas
LAYOFFS
For Workers
IUE
IUE
IUE S
SAVE JOB
TO REAG

YS/Osborne Hart

in Washington, D.C. on September 19,
against rulers offensive at home and

The Washington Post

Wednesday, December 22, 1982

William Raspberry

20 Years Later, a New March on Washington

A group of civil-rights leaders, many of whom were centrally involved in the 1963 March on Washington, called this week for a 20th anniversary revival of that massive demonstration to address once again the questions of jobs, peace and freedom.

The hope, said Coretta Scott King, whose husband, Martin Luther King Jr., led the 1963 march, is to convene "a new coalition of conscience" whose thesis is that "our problems cannot be considered apart from one another, that the problems of unemployment, the arms race and retrenchments of civil-rights enforcement—all of these problems—are interrelated."

The idea is a natural, evoking the high point of the American civil rights struggle at a time of growing despair among blacks. The obvious question is whether the leadership group can use the occasion for concrete gains rather than a frustration-building trip down memory lane.

D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy, chairman of the steering committee, said the group recognizes the problem and will be careful to avoid it: "We see the 1963 march as a frame of reference to encourage us to be very specific in what we want and to work toward the fulfillment by 1984 of those specific goals."

By next April 4, the 15th anniversary of the death of Dr. King, the coalition expects to have drafted legislation to address the issues of "jobs, peace and freedom." Between then and the Aug. 27 march, it will lobby for that legislation. The march itself is designed to galvanize national support for final passage.

"That's what happened in 1963, and the result was the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965," Fauntroy said. He expects similar success this time, even though the details of the legislative proposals won't even be discussed until a Jan. 13 meeting in Atlanta.

Fauntroy said he expects the basic ideas of the proposals may already be contained in the Congressional Black Caucus budget package that failed to win congressional support earlier this year.

"There are some solid ideas in that package," he said. "Indeed there are three specific elements of the Caucus budget that the Reagan administration has had to lift to handle the failure of its own policies. Sen. Dole lifted $51.9 billion in tax-loophole closings from our proposal, and the president has signed that into law. When the unemployment picture got so bad that there was need for retraining, they lifted Rep. [Gus] Hawkins' bill, and the president has signed that. The infrastructure rebuilding that is the heart of the president's 5-cents-a-gallon gasoline tax was a part of our budget. I would say the prospects for success are good."

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That's the jobs part of the three-pronged initiative. The peace element may or may not include a call for a nuclear freeze, but it will almost certainly call for a reduction in military spending and for a commitment from industries that benefit from military spending to undertake job training programs. The freedom aspect will focus on enhancing affirmative action requirements in federal contracts and "probably embrace some features of the women's rights and Indian rights questions," Fauntroy said.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Saturday, May 14, 1983

Philadelphia Inquirer / JAMES L. McGARRITY

Bayard Rustin, now 73 and nearly 20 years after the march for civil rights, says the event could not be repeated now

Looking back

A leader recalls the March on Washington

By Walter F. Naedele
Inquirer Staff Writer

Bayard Rustin still speaks in that soft manner with elegant pronunciation, and these days he wears a red silk handkerchief in the lapel pocket of a gray pin-stripe suit and walks with a stick of Irish ash that he likes for ornamentation.

Rustin is 73 now, almost 20 years removed from that steamy August afternoon in 1963 when he strode arm-in-arm with the legendary black leaders of the day into that watershed civil rights event known as the March on Washington.

Today, that march could not be repeated, he said in an interview in Philadelphia yesterday.

"In 1983, the problems we have are not fundamentally black problems," he said. "They are class problems. For every black who cannot get a job, there are three or four whites."

The arithmetic behind that, Rustin said, is "no mystery. We are only one-tenth of the population. Given the millions unemployed, it is quite simple."

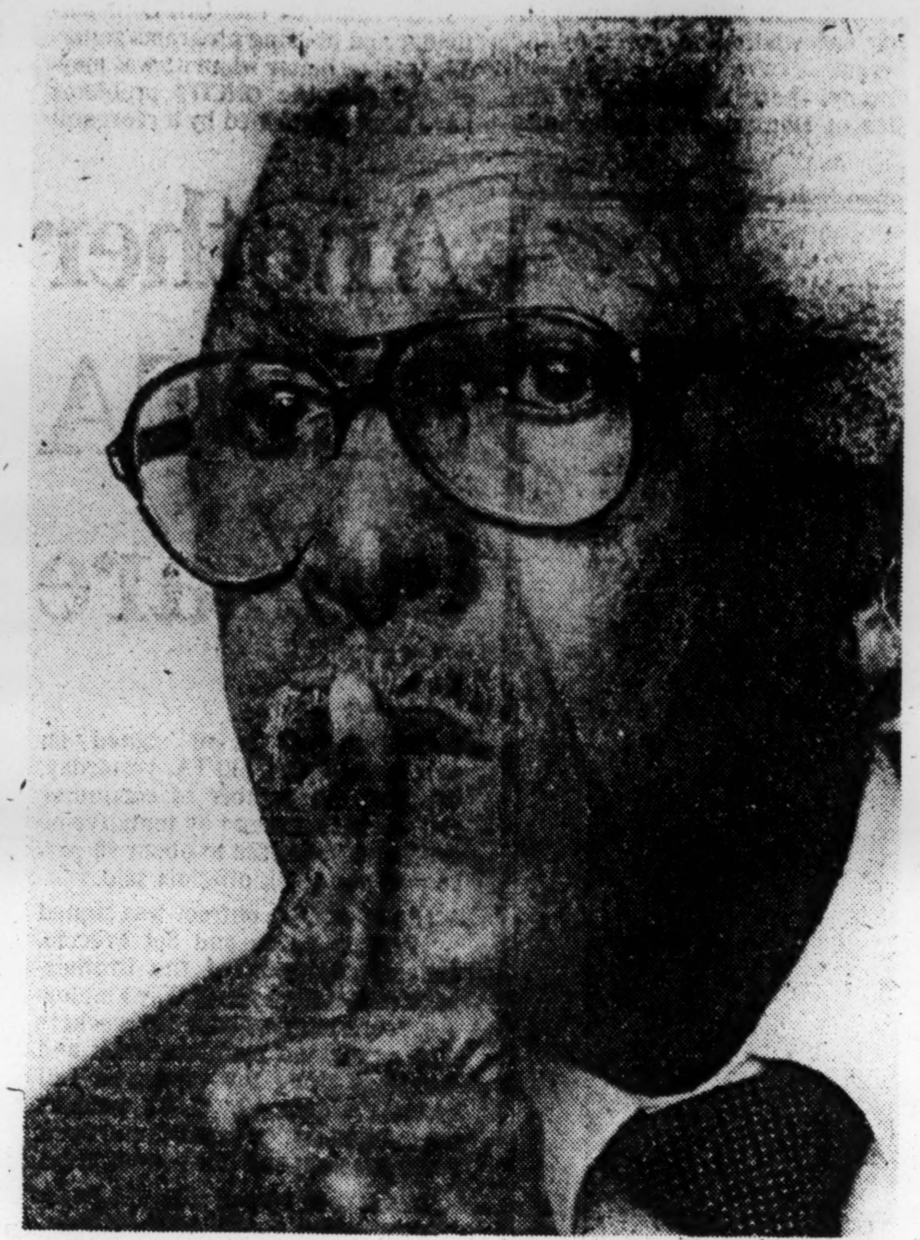
Rustin, deputy director of the 1963 march, was recognized in news reports of the time as the principal organizer of the event, which drew an estimated 200,000 people to the Mall near the Washington Monument.

In the 1960s, the mood was right for such a march focusing on black concerns, he said, because "we were dealing only with a moral problem: Do these people have the right, when other people don't have it?

"Today, you have a different situation, because all people are in trouble when it comes

(See RUSTIN on 2-B)

A look back at march to the Mall



Philadelphia Inquirer / JAMES L. McGARRITY

Rustin says today's problems are not mainly black problems

RUSTIN, from 1-B

to jobs, housing, education and medical care. Therefore, you can't ask for anything special for black people in that situation.

"You have not to approach it as a black problem. You have to approach it as a class problem.

"The minute today [that] you distinguish and ask for something special along racial or religious lines, you're in trouble."

Rustin was in Philadelphia as board chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, which is holding its three-day national convention at the Philadelphia Centre Hotel through tomorrow.

Soon after the march, the institute was set up by the black labor leader, who died in 1979, and has since, in the words of an official statement, "built a national network of over 180 local affiliates involved in voter registration drives and other programs designed to strengthen relations between black people and the labor movement."

Marching, Rustin said yesterday, is no longer the way to get results.

"I am of the opinion that the nature of the problem has so drastically changed that marching — that is to say, protest — must now give way to politics as a solution.

"Twenty years ago, protest was absolutely essential to create a political atmosphere — most blacks could not vote; we had no political means of dealing with our problems.

"Now, we can not only vote, but elect black officials throughout the land. And therefore, our attention ought not to be wasted on protest; it ought to be creatively channeled into politics.

"Therefore, if people said to me: 'Mr. Rustin, 20 years later, would you like to organize a march?' my answer would be, 'Yes, [a march] on the polls.' "

Glancing back to that 1963 march, Rustin recalled that "we had a great deal of help even from our enemies in organizing the march. . . ."

Though he noted that "we were the positive organizing force . . . the mentality of the South was perhaps an even more compelling organizing force — the cattle prods, the fire hoses, the bombing of churches, the burning of buses. . . .

"These things so completely aroused the American public, and it was television's perhaps finest hour — because for 10 solid years they brought into the living room of every decent American concrete evidence of what had only been talked about before, but was now quite visible. . . .

"If we had had in this country television 60 years earlier, we would have got rid of lynching 60 years earlier."

Bayard Rustin had become acquainted with the sometimes unpleasant consequences of protest long before that August day in 1963.

"I was arrested my senior year in high school in West Chester [Pa.] for daring to go into the Warner Theater and sitting downstairs. That's unbelievable now.

"I was refused entry although I was a member of the football team, track team, manager of the basketball team and [a member of the] tennis team."

Rustin returns regularly to West Chester from his home in New York City, as he did three months ago, to visit an 89-year-old aunt who lives near the home where his grandfather raised him on South Market Street near the commuter rail station.

Though he was a Quaker, he recalled, as a teenager in West Chester, "I was refused permission to enter the Young Men's Christian Association."

Did he want to go work out in the gym? "No," he said, "my intention was to go in and protest against the fact that I was not permitted to work out."

And he laughed, softly.

the Harlem Weekly, Sept 8-14, 1983

Tony Brown

The recent march on Washington failed because it was a Democratic Party political rally and not a call to self-reliance of black Americans to defeat racism with group power under the direction of leaders capable of focusing on reality.

Moreover, this 1983 version proved that the majority of nationally known black leaders do not understand the basic problem of Afro-Americans and, consequently, do not have an intelligent approach to solving it.

Martin Luther King, the honoree of the outpouring of this year's rhetorical boilerplate, warned us 20 years ago that the ultimate barrier to a first-class American experience is economic deprivation. It doesn't take an advanced degree in economics to understand that the solution is the economic development of the nation's 30-million-member African-American community based on self-help.

Instead, the left-wing black leadership of the Democratic Party emphasized lesbian and homosexual rights, a Palestinian state, a new coalition government for El Salvador and disarmament. The only issue that is married to our almost 400-year struggle in this country that got attention was the inhumane treatment of other Afros in South Africa.

Neither the women's movement, gay movement, anti-nuclear nor any other leftist cause focuses on racism or black suffering. Homosexuals, for example, are so politically powerful that AIDS, affecting them almost exclusively, has been declared America's number one health problem and infused with millions of dollars for research. Communists, on the other hand, have become an integral part of the Black-Democratic Left and experts at infiltrating the civil rights cause as one black-Communist-turned-"grassroots"-black-newspaper-columnist has demonstrated.

John Jacob, president of the National Urban League, prophetically warned us that the march would lose the focus of black problems. While almost half of the black children in America live in broken homes headed by a single parent and more than half are born out of wedlock to teen-age girls, this demonstration focused on what President Ronald Reagan is *not* doing for blacks instead of what blacks must do to stabilize our family structure.

Beating the dead horse to death

Being against Reagan will never feed these children or put unemployed blacks to work or rebuild the moral fiber of black families. No white man has ever been committed to saving black people — especially white presidents. But speaker after speaker, appealing to the overwhelming anti-Reagan sentiment among blacks, beat an already dead horse to death. At least Jesse Jackson had the common sense to promote himself while doing so.

But among the thousands, maybe millions, of words wasted on complaints and begging white people to accept them (the tired appeal to the "conscience" of whites) getting what we want by developing our own power base was meticulously avoided. And speaking of avoiding issues, the proponents of black economic boycotts shied away from discussing how much of the more than $5 million spent that day for direct services (transportation, food and shelter) went to other blacks.

More than $3 million was spent on rented buses from white companies; those more affluent blacks left perhaps another million dollars with white airlines, matched by an additional million in white restaurants and hotels. It is apparent who really *profited* from this march of 250,000.

After 20 years, blacks going to Washington to "keep the dream alive" still refuse to "dream" of the power and affluence that, if recycled, would make a reality out of a pipedream.

This event was a step backward from the one I attended in 1963. It was so conspicuously out of tune with the demands for a new direction — and a new leadership for blacks — that a liberal ally was moved to criticism. *The Washington Post* said in an editorial that it "was not the march of 1963" and it lacked focus, a universal observation.

"There were stretches, hearing the rhetoric — the boilerplate, really — that some of its speakers thought fitting for the occasion, when you might have imagined you were sitting through those preliminary, time-killing sessions at a Democratic National Convention when speaker after speaker jumps up and down on the Republican adversary.

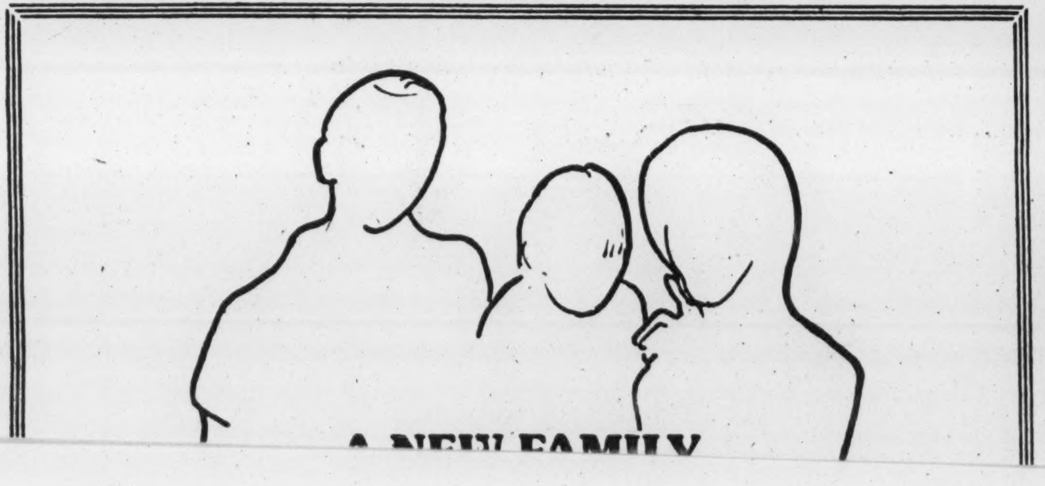
The message was clear

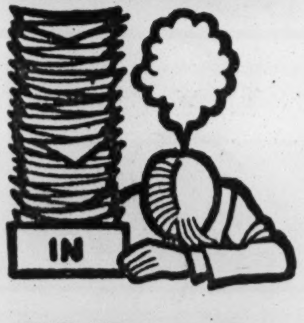
"*Down with Reagan!*" — that was the message. We do not speak as particular admirers of this administration's attitude to civil rights. The administration itself will be pleased to tell you that. But we do think that, so far as the fulfillment of Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream is concerned, anyone who believes that the Reagan government is the problem and its replacement the solution is living a different kind of dream: a pipedream."

It is a pipedream because, as leader after leader admitted, 20 years later, blacks have not closed the gap with whites. However, that statement is a fact because we still have the same leaders with the same failed politics.

The *Post* made a similar point: "Our sense of yesterday's march is that — unsurprisingly, given the horrendous difficulties and great disappointments attending the current effort to achieve social and racial justice in this country — it revealed a movement that has yet to find its most persuasive theme and its voice."

TONY BROWN'S JOURNAL TV series can be seen on public television in New York Sundays on Channel 13 at 4:30 p.m.; Mondays on Channel 21 at 11 p.m. and Thursdays on Channel 31 at 8 p.m. For other stations, please consult listings.





Job Burnout

Job burnout is an occupational exhaustion that people feel when

REGISTRATION FORM

I have read the Call to the Nation from national Black leaders and wish to endorse it, as part of the National Campaign for the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the historic 1963 March on Washington. I hereby give my permission to the Covenors to use my name, subject to the qualifications checked below, as an endorser at the the January 13, 1983 meeting in Atlanta, Georgia.

- ( ) An individual endorser of the call.
- ( ) My endorsement is personal, and institutional affiliation is given for identification purposes only.
- ( ) My endorsement represents the official endorsement of my institution or organization.
- ( ) My endorsement is personal, but I will be presenting this call to my organization for a formal endorsement.

Special Meeting of the National Campaign for the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration.

- ( ) I will be attending the special meeting of the Planning Council on January 13th. Please reserve one lunch for me.
- ( ) I am unable to attend the special meeting, please list ______________________________ as my representative at the meeting.
- ( ) My organization will not be represented at the meeting. Please keep me abreast of any activities.

NAME ____
Please print or type

SIGNATURE ____

TITLE AND ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS ______________________________

MAILING ADDRESS ____

CITY ______________________ STATE ________________ ZIP ________

AREA CODE AND PHONE NUMBER ______________________________

Please return this form immediately to:

National Campaign for the 20th Anniversary Celebration
c/o Donna L. Brazile
P.O. Box 26020
Le Droit Park Station
Washington, D.C. 20001

Or call (202) 225-8050

March on DC - Follow-up Article
9/83

OUTLINE FOR RUSTIN ARTICLE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES IN CONDITIONS OF 1963 AND 1983

1963	1983
1. Black Agenda a) Choice of Schools b) Right to Vote c) Access to Public Accommodations	1. Class Agenda Racism exists, but class is the primary issue in: a) Education b) Housing c) Medical care d) Jobs i. More whites in need.(Numerically) ii. Would there be any real change if the blacks in Harlem were turned white, or the whites of Appalachia were turned black?
2. Racism was the major factor influencing minorities and jobs.	2. Today, Technological factors - cybernation, automation, robots - are the major causes of job loss. a) Distribution of goods b) Loss of labor intensive industry: foreign policy c) Trade competition: Japan, etc., steel & auto industries.
3. No Vote - there was a need for extra-constitutional tactics to address grievances.	3. Today Blacks have the vote: the emphasis should be on getting them to use it effectively, otherwise we misdirect people from power.
4. Racism was the major focus of American concern.	4. Today, the economy, nuclear war, peace, and education are seen as the most important issues.
5. Elimination of segregation by means of a civil rights bill was not an economically costly venture for the Federal government.	5. Elimination of class problems will cost billions.
6. Elimination of segregation, etc. meant concrete, observable progress for all blacks.	6. Middle class gains; masses moving rapidly backward.
7. Period of unity, hope: "We Shall Overcome."	7. Period of frustration, division, anger and rhetoric. Coalition of '63 was fractured by the Vietnam War. Now we have vilification & hostility among those who seek change. This doesn't work, but seems imbedded in the rhetoric (as in '83 March).

1963	1983
8. Basic moral issues and concrete demands: Human dignity leading to the vote, the schools of our choice, and the use of public accommodations.	8. Social and economic demands requiring new forms of social organization: a) upward mobility not based on muscle power. b) retraining of millions c) redefinition of "work" d) new careers in human services where technology cannot takeover. e) free medical and dental care f) industrial policy to ease economic transition and spur growth. Our standard of living is so high that most Americans judge poverty in relation to Africa, India & Latin America. They perceive the welfare in U.S. as such that poverty is redefined. Yet, what happens to young people in the U.S. is so devastating that it is a moral problem. Beyond this, men & women are defined by their work and are statistics and not people if they have no work. Human dignity is thus at stake. Discuss Margaret Mead's views on the relationship to order and ownership.
9. 1963 - a major movement for civil rights	9. Civil rights advances will come with new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED - HOW BLACKS HAVE CHANGED

1. Blacks seen as one class - all needed 3 basic demands. Ralph Bunche and a share cropper were in the same boat as blacks.	1. Emergence of black classes. Kerner report mistaken in predicting 2 societies (black & white). There are two soceities, but they are poor (black & white) and rich (black & white). What can NAACP do for affluent blacks as blacks or for very poor blacks as blacks. What is their program?
2. Black entrepeneurial class lived providing the services to blacks that they were denied by the major white institutions.	2. Most black institutions are in decline or have left the black community: restaurants, hotels, theatres, barber shops, beauty salons, colleges.

1963	1983
3. Racism prevented examination of or obscured crisis of black family	3. Certain major family problems cannot be ignored: teenage pregnancy, families headed by single mothers, crime (black on black), prison population, underground economy. Failure to deal with these issues will result in new racist attitudes.
4. The church (and the leadership of the civil rights movement which emerged from the church) shaped the moral values and behavior in the black communiry.	4. The migration from the rural South to the Northern urban centers tended to lessen the role of the church and to secularize concepts and destroy the extended family. Black leadership has moved from the religious and ethical to the secular and political. The situation is now evaluated in terms of things & numbers (statistics, percentages, quotas) rather than in terms of ideas and values. Minorities are better off making their case in moral arguments rather than purely in numbers, particularly if the changes will cost money.
5. Some blacks saw the Jewish experience as a model in terms of upward mobility - that is, education was seen as the major way up.	5. Today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful. Use of Politics: capturing big cities, use of city and state contracts, etc. (But note that the cities and the political machines which controlled them have also undergone change).
6. Blacks became well versed in carrying on the struggle which centered in the courts.	6. Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change. Finding difficulty in restating the class problem as against racism - thus obscuring factors and problems which go beyond race.
7. Struggle for 3 objectives required courage, perseverence, and the ability to suffer - this meant DRAMA.	7. Today economic analyses, political organization, and social planning are the most essential factors. These are not dramatic and cannot be made so by protest actions.
8. Our fight in the 60's was a simple, moral one: it was wrong that whites had the 3 things we asked for while blacks were denied them.	8. Today while blacks are proportionately worse off, this is lost sight of by the fact that whites are numerically worse off. This fact makes a solely moral argument ineffective.

	1963		1983
9.	Southern violence unified us and established our strategy and tactics.	9.	Today we cannot succeed by reacting to violence which is not dramatically there. Nor can we use such violence to dramatize our plight.
10.	In the 60's, race was the dominant problem and was seen as such, morally and politically.	10.	Today, disarmament, nuclear war, women's rights, the economy, education and the ecology are all considered more pressing issues than race.
11.	In 1963 the most glaring forms of racial discrimination were in the South (i.e. Jim Crow).	11.	In 1983, the most blatant forms of economic discrimination are in the South. (Outside the South blacks who work have a median wage which is 99% of the white wage: in the South the median wage is only 78% of the white wage).

ELEMENTS ESSENTIAL TO A POSITIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM

1. The establishment of a federally-supported industrial development program through which, in consultation with labor, business, and community leaders, financing can be obtained for the modernization of America's basic industries.
2. Government investment in the repair and improvement of the productive infrastructure of our economy: roads, bridges, ports, railways, waterways, utilities, etc.
3. Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.
4. Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.
5. A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better - not with cynicism. A new concept of welfare must be developed.
6. All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment. We must examine the budgetary implications inherent in such restructuring and develop ideas on how the restructuring of the budget should be handled.
7. We must move from a racially based affirmative action program to economically based affirmative action strategies.

Black Problems →

8. We must address the issues which are particularly found in the poor black community: teenage pregnancy, crime, the prison population, underground economy, and female headed households. Unless these are dealt with, racism will grow.

Two Issues face
Black Community :—

① changing complexion of the economy
② the underclass ... what about this ???

1. what does the coalition that can achieve such a program consist of. when some people in historic coalition reject a basic concern for race and the programs, quotas, etc, etc. Is coalition politics what we want to support now electoral coalition

can affirmative action be sold on basis of class. what about affirmative action programs in Russia which they emphasized and are now abandoning

only one that can win ~~[illegible]~~ political or has chance to win political backing

1. Call Peretz or Hertzberg
2. Adrian
3. $500

OUTLINE FOR RUSTIN ARTICLE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES IN CONDITIONS OF 1963 AND 1983

1963	1983
1. Black Agenda a) Choice of Schools b) Right to Vote c) Access to Public Accommodations	1. Class Agenda Racism exists, but class is the primary issue in: a) Education b) Housing c) Medical care d) Jobs i. More whites in need.(Numerically) ii. Would there be any real change if the blacks in Harlem were turned white, or the whites of Appalachia were turned black?
2. Racism was the major factor influencing minorities and jobs.	2. Today, Technological factors - cybernation, automation, robots - are the major causes of job loss. a) Distribution of goods b) Loss of labor intensive industry: foreign policy c) Trade competition: Japan, etc., steel & auto industries.
3. No Vote - there was a need for extra-constitutional tactics to address grievances.	3. Today Blacks have the vote: the emphasis should be on getting them to use it effectively, otherwise we misdirect people from power.
4. Racism was the major focus of American concern.	4. Today, the economy, nuclear war, peace, and education are seen as the most important issues.
5. Elimination of segregation by means of a civil rights bill was not an economically costly venture for the Federal government.	5. Elimination of class problems will cost billions.
6. Elimination of segregation, etc. meant concrete, observable progress for all blacks.	6. Middle class gains; masses moving rapidly backward.
7. Period of unity, hope: "We Shall Overcome."	7. Period of frustration, division, anger and rhetoric. Coalition of '63 was fractured by the Vietnam War. Now we have vilification & hostility among those who seek change. This doesn't work, but seems imbedded in the rhetoric (as in '83 March).

1963	1983
8. Basic moral issues and concrete demands: Human dignity leading to the vote, the schools of our choice, and the use of public accommodations.	8. Social and economic demands requiring new forms of social organization: a) upward mobility not based on muscle power. b) retraining of millions c) redefinition of "work" d) new careers in human services where technology cannot takeover. e) free medical and dental care f) industrial policy to ease economic transition and spur growth. Our standard of living is so high that most Americans judge poverty in relation to Africa, India & Latin America. They perceive the welfare in U.S. as such that poverty is redefined. Yet, what happens to young people in the U.S. is so devastating that it is a moral problem. Beyond this, men & women are defined by their work and are statistics and not people if they have no work. Human dignity is thus at stake. Discuss Margaret Mead's views on the relationship to order and ownership.
9. 1963 - a major movement for civil rights	9. Civil rights advances will come with new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED - HOW BLACKS HAVE CHANGED

1. Blacks seen as one class - all needed 3 basic demands. Ralph Bunche and a share cropper were in the same boat as blacks.	1. Emergence of black classes. Kerner report mistaken in predicting 2 societies (black & white). There are two soceities, but they are poor (black & white) and rich (black & white). What can NAACP do for affluent blacks as blacks or for very poor blacks as blacks. What is their program?
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1963	1983
3. Racism prevented examination of or obscured crisis of black family	3. Certain major family problems cannot be ignored: teenage pregnancy, families headed by single mothers, crime (black on black), prison population, underground economy. Failure to deal with these issues will result in new racist attitudes.
4. The church (and the leadership of the civil rights movement which emerged from the church) shaped the moral values and behavior in the black communiry.	4. The migration from the rural South to the Northern urban centers tended to lessen the role of the church and to secularize concepts and destroy the extended family. Black leadership has moved from the religious and ethical to the secular and political. The situation is now evaluated in terms of things & numbers (statistics, percentages, quotas) rather than in terms of ideas and values. Minorities are better off making their case in moral arguments rather than purely in numbers, particularly if the changes will cost money.
5. Some blacks saw the Jewish experience as a model in terms of upward mobility - that is, education was seen as the major way up.	5. Today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful. Use of Politics: capturing big cities, use of city and state contracts, etc. (But note that the cities and the political machines which controlled them have also undergone change).
6. Blacks became well versed in carrying on the struggle which centered in the courts.	6. Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change. Finding difficulty in restating the class problem as against racism - thus obscuring factors and problems which go beyond race.
7. Struggle for 3 objectives required courage, perseverence, and the ability to suffer - this meant DRAMA.	7. Today economic analyses, political organization, and social planning are the most essential factors. These are not dramatic and cannot be made so by protest actions.
8. Our fight in the 60's was a simple, moral one: it was wrong that whites had the 3 things we asked for while blacks were denied them.	8. Today while blacks are proportionately worse off, this is lost sight of by the fact that whites are numerically worse off. This fact makes a solely moral argument ineffective.

1963	1983
9. Southern violence unified us and established our strategy and tactics.	9. Today we cannot succeed by reacting to violence which is not dramatically there. Nor can we use such violence to dramatize our plight.
10. In the 60's, race was the dominant problem and was seen as such, morally and politically.	10. Today, disarmament, nuclear war, women's rights, the economy, education and the ecology are all considered more pressing issues than race.
11. In 1963 the most glaring forms of racial discrimination were in the South (i.e. Jim Crow).	11. In 1983, the most blatant forms of economic discrimination are in the South. (Outside the South blacks who work have a median wage which is 99% of the white wage: in the South the median wage is only 78% of the white wage).

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3. Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.
4. Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.
5. A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better - not with cynicism. A new concept of welfare must be developed.
6. All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment. We must examine the budgetary implications inherent in such restructuring and develop ideas on how the restructuring of the budget should be handled.
7. We must move from a racially based affirmative action program to economically based affirmative action strategies.
8. We must address the issues which are particularly found in the poor black community: teenage pregnancy, crime, the prison population, underground economy, and female headed households. Unless these are dealt with, racism will grow.

H

OUTLINE FOR RUSTIN ARTICLE: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SITUATION IN 1963 AND 1983

1963	1983
1. Black Agenda a) School of choice b) Vote c) Public accommodations	1. Class Agenda Racism exists, but class is the primary issue in: a) Education b) Housing c) Medical care d) Jobs i. more whites in need ii. turn blacks white? what? iii. turn appalachian whites black? what?
2. Racism - major factor influencing minorities and jobs	2. Technological factors - cybernation, automation, robots - Distribution of goods Loss of labor intensive industry: foreign policy Trade competition: Japan, etc., steel automobiles.
3. No Vote - need for extra-constitutional tactics.	3. Have vote: need to expand energy to exercise it: otherwise we misdirect people from power.
4. Racism was ~~seen as~~ the major focus of American ~~problem~~. concern.	4. Today, the economy, nuclear war, peace, and ~~the ecology~~ Education are seen as the most important issues.
5. Elimination of segregation by means of a civil rights bill was not an economically costly venture for the Federal government.	5. Elimination of class problems will cost billions.
6. Elimination of segregation, etc. meant concrete, observable progress for all blacks.	6. Middle class gains; mass moving rapidly backward.
7. Period of unity, hope: "We Shall Overcome".	7. Period of frustration ~~and~~ division, anger and rhetoric
8. Basic ~~Simpl~~e moral issues and concrete demands:, Human dignity leading to the ~~Remove barriers, let us~~ vote, ~~let us go~~ to the schools of our choice, and to the ~~let us~~ use public accommodations.	8. Social and economic demands requiring new forms of social organization: a) upward mobility not based on muscle power b) retraining of millions c) Redefinition of "work" d) new careers in human services, where technology cannot takeover. e) free medical and dental care * f) industrial policy to ease economic transition and new growth

* our standard of living is
so high that most americans
judge poverty in relation
to africa, India + Latin
America. They perceive
the welfare in U.S. as such
That poverty is redefined

Yet what happens to young and children
people in U.S. is so devastating
. That it is a moral problem

Beyond this men + women are
defined by their work and
are statistics + not people
if they have no work.
Human dignity is thus at stake

Discuss Margaret Meads views
on relationship to order +
ownership

A Major difference between 1963 & 1983 is in the context of U S Society. Coalition in 1963 was fractured by Vietnam War. Instead of optimism & hope, as in 1963, vilification & hostility used to achieve gains. Doesn't work, but seems imbedded in the rhetoric (as in 1983 march).

Imperative that you discuss budgetary implications of your reforms.

1963	1983
9. 1963 - a major movement for civil rights	9. Civil rights advances will come with new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

add: impact of Vietnam war fractionation, changed 1963 context of optimism & hope to 1983 mood of vilification & hostility among those who seek change.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED - HOW BLACKS HAVE CHANGED

1963	1983
1. Blacks seen as one class - all needed three basic demands. Ralph Bunche and a share cropper were in the same boat as blacks.	1. Emergence of black classes. Kerner report mistaken in predicting two societies (black & white). There are two societies but they are poor (black & white) and rich (black and white). What can NAACP do for affluent blacks as blacks or for very poor blacks as blacks. What progra
2. Black entrepeneurial class lived basically providing services to blacks denied those of major white institutions.	2. Most black institutions are in decline or have left black community: restaurants, hotels, theatres, barber shops, beauty salons, colleges.
** 3. Racism prevented examination of or obscured crisis of black family. * move from S. to N. — From rural to urban tended to lessen the role of church and to secularize concepts and destroy extended family	3. Certain major family problems cannot be ignored: teenage pregnancy families headed by single women crime (black on black) prison population underground economy If these issues are not dealt with, they will result in new racist attitudes.
4. Some Blacks selected Jews to ~~emulate~~ saw the 'Jh experience' - as a model in terms of upward mobility.— that is Education was seen as the major way up.	* 4. Today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful. Use of Politics: capturing big cities, use of city and state contracts, etc. but here city is in different state
5. Blacks became well versed in carrying on the struggle which centered in the courts.	5. Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change. Finding difficulty in restating the class problem as against race - thus obscuring factors and problems which go beyond race.

and not so dependent: because the party was [illegible]

1963

* * The church (& the leadership of the C.R. movement which came out of the church) shaped moral values & behavior in the black community

*

1983 black leadership has moved from the ~~church~~ religious and ethical to secular & political.

Things reduced things & numbers rather than ideas & values

minorities are better off by appealing to (ethics & ideas) than to numbers.

If change will last, it must be seen as moral.

1963	1983
6. Struggle for 3 objectives required courage, perseverence and ability to suffer - this meant drama.	6. Today economic analysis, political organization, social planning are most essential factors. This is not dramatic and cannot be made so by protest actions.
7. Southern violence unified us and established our strategy and tactics.	7. Today we cannot succeed by reacting to southern violence which is not dramatically there. Nor can we use such violence to dramatize our plight.
8. Our fight in the 60's was a simple moral one: it was wrong that whites had the 3 things we asked for while blacks were denied them.	8. Today while blacks are proportionately worse off, this is lost sight of by the fact that whites are numerically worse off. This fact makes a clearly moral argument impossible. ineffective Solely
9. In the 60's, race was the dominant problem and was seen as such, morally and politically.	9. Today: disarmament nuclear war the ecology women's rights the economy are all considered more pressing issues than race.

* * * 10.

ELEMENTS ESSENTIAL TO A POSITIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM

1. The establishment of a federally-supported industrial development program through which, in consultation with labor, business, and community leaders, financing can be obtained for the modernization of America's basic industries.

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3. Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.

4. Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.

"Welfare" a new concept...

5. A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better - not with cynicism.

6. All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment.

Budgetary implications & how handled.

***

Page 3A # 10

1963	1983
10. In 1963 the most glaring forms of racial discrimination were in the South (Jim Crow).	10. In 1983 the most blatant forms of economic discrimination are in the south. (Outside the South blacks who work earn 99 percent of white wages; In the South blacks earn 78 percent of white wages).

The Newsweek article said that the Median wage of blacks, except for the South, was 99% of the white wage. That's a different statement than the above.

Point 7. at very
End.

7. Move from racially based affirmative
action to economically/~~soc~~i Based
affirmative action strategies,

Role of The Black Community to (cause & effect)
overcome:

1 Teen age pregnancy
2. "crime & prisons, dope, under economy"
3. Female headed family

unless These are delt with; racism will grow

We need to be concrete...

The 1984 Elections

A CHALLENGE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Policy Statement Adopted
by Social Democrats, USA

The challenge to the Democratic Party in the 1984 campaign will be whether the Democrats can retain their present strength among black and liberal voters while regaining the labor, white ethnic, Southern and moderate swing voters who have too often deserted the Party in elections of the past decade.

The failure of the Reagan Administration's economic program confronts the Democrats both with an opportunity and an urgent moral challenge. Whatever the fashionable economic prognosticators may say about the prospects for an economic recovery, there is every sign that this recovery will be weak—even by the gross measures of national economic activity.

More important, the direction of our economy offers very small hope to the poor, the hard-hit workers of America's construction, auto, steel, and other basic industries, or to regions and communities which are being devastated by profound structural changes in our economy. Those in these particular sectors of our society are likely to be as badly off in November of 1984 as they are today. Not coincidentally, they also include many of the groups which, although once staunchly Democratic, have been deeply disenchanted by a decade and more of neglect by the Party's national leadership.

The Democratic Party must demonstrate its intention to pursue a long-term industrial policy which will enable the United States to make the transition into an era of sophisticated industrial technology and a full engagement in the international marketplace. But such a policy must also assure that this change is accomplished without the economic damage to the have-nots and have-littles that is sure to result if it is carried out by the corporate and financial speculators who dominate in the Reagan Administration. Such a policy of economic reconstruction should be the centerpiece of the 1984 Democratic campaign platform.

~~Some elements of this policy must be:~~

1) The establishment of a federally-supported industrial development program through which, in consultation with labor, business, and community leaders, financing can be obtained for the modernization of America's basic industries.

2) Government investment in the repair and improvement of the productive infrastructure of our economy: roads, bridges, ports, railways, waterways, utilities, etc.

3) Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.

4) Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.

5) No more public assistance to U.S. bankers and international investors seeking exploitative profits by investing in third world or communist countries.

⑤ ~~6)~~ A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better—not with cynicism. As even George Will has argued, our society is by no means strained by the care and assistance it provides to its needy.

7) Opposition to the Republican laissez faire social philosophy, including the indiscriminate deregulation of business activity in areas vital to our economy and the protection of our environment.

6 ~~8) Finally, America needs jobs:~~ All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment. This policy will not be an easy one to carry out. But the object is not perfection—just a solid effort. Instead, the Republican Administration treats massive, serious, and continuing unemployment with an amiable indifference.

For a time, the Democratic Party showed healthy signs of progress towards the development of a sound economic program, and a political strategy that would build support for that program. There are now reasons to fear that the Democrats are letting this potential slip away.

In the past few months, certain Democratic Presidential candidates and Congressional leaders have returned to an emphasis on the kinds of foreign policy positions that cost the Democrats so heavily in 1972—policies identified with an erosion of American influence in the world.

There are grounds for debate about President Reagan's defense and nuclear strategies, or about the Administration's policy in Central America, or Southern Africa. But the drumbeat that is being pounded out today by some Democrats—and by a vast amplification system of publicists and activists which supports them—is that foreign policy should be the Party's main issue. Moreover, the positions those people advance are so one-sidedly critical of the United States and so naively forgiving of the Soviet Union and its friends that they are bound to inspire a democratic and patriotic backlash. If present trends continue, the current media celebration of Reagan's foreign policy weakness is likely to prove precisely wrong: the President will overcome his domestic failures by riding to a second term on a wave of public revulsion against Congressional doves who seem to believe that nothing could be worse than to allow a democracy to remain a superpower.

Elements Essential to a Positive Political Program

The veterans of the New Left are also attempting to bring back to life the separatist spirit of the "Black Power" movement of the 1960's. It is notable that strategies for a black candidacy focusing on an exclusively black agenda have provoked opposition among black leaders in the NAACP, the Urban League, the Joint Center for Political Studies, and elsewhere.

In sum: The Democratic Party seems to again be headed toward a period of tension between the New Left and the liberal mainstream. In the past, the latter have failed through lack of cohesion and leadership. This time, however, there is a force which possibly could fill that void: the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO has spent the last two years establishing itself in the Party, and mending fences damaged in past quarrels with the Democratic Party's "Left." If the above assessment is correct, however, it will soon find itself faced with a need to resist the ideological and organizational resurgence of the "Left."

So far, the only voices that have been raised even obliquely against the so-called Left are those of the Party's "Southern" wing. Their message, while useful in some respects, is undermined by their conservative, anti-labor approach.

The strategy for Social Democrats in this situation is threefold:

1) Work to develop serious, long-term legislative and policy proposals for strengthening the American economy and creating jobs.

2) Work with labor's political machinery to maximize labor representation in the nomination process, and to press other Democrats to recognize the need to rebuild the Party's working class base.

3) Campaign against the continuing influence of the "Left" in the Party, in particular its sympathy or tolerance for totalitarian and terrorist forces on the international scene.

Social Democrats, USA
June 1983
Bayard Rustin, National Chairman
Rita Freedman, Executive Director

Social Democrats, USA believes that democracy is the cornerstone of building a more just society. We believe that the struggle for economic and social justice at home is indivisible from the struggle for freedom and human rights abroad. We strive to extend democracy to all spheres of public life—political, social and economic.

☐ Please send me more information on Social Democrats USA.

☐ I want to join Social Democrats, USA.

☐ I want to contribute to the work of SDUSA. Enclosed is $ ....

Name ....

Address ....

City ...... State .... Zip ....

Social Democrats, USA
275 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10001

571

I

1963

① Block agenda:
1. School of choice
2. Vote
3. Public accomodations

1963
Racism:
② Dist. Major deterrence to work

1963
③ no vote; need for extra constitutional tactics

④ Racism was seen as major American problem

⑤ Elimination of race no major cost; Civil Rights bills required no money

1983

① class agenda Racism yes but. primarily
1. Education
2. Housing
3. Medical care
4. Jobs

(a) More whites in need
(b) Turn black white? what?
(c) Turn appalation black? what?

② Technological developments
(a) cybernation
automation
robotization
(b) distribution of goods
(c) loss of labor intensive industry; foreign policy
(d) trade competition: Japan auto; steel.

③ Have vote; need to expand energy to exercise it; otherwise we misdirect people from power

④ today nuclear war, Peace, Ecology Population are major:

⑤ Elimination class problems — will cost Billions

II

1963	1983
⑥ obvious Progress observed for all Blacks	⑥ middle class gains; masses moving rapidly backward...
⑦ Period of { Unity Hope "we shall overcome"	⑦ Period of frustration and Division
⑧ simple Moral issues + demands Remove Barriers Let us - vote - go to school of choice - use public accomodation	⑧ new Social + Economic demands) requiring create new concepts and social organizations; ① upward mobility not based on muscle power ② Retraining millions ③ Redefinition of work ④ New careers in service where technology continues ⑤ Free medical + dental care.
all of this means ⑨ 1963 — a major movement for civil rights	⑨ 1983 Civil Rights advances will come with in new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

III

How Times have changed; How Blacks have changed

1963	1983
Black seen as one class 1) all needed three basic demands * Ralph Bunche & share cropper in same trouble as blacks	Emergence of black classes 1) Kerner report mistaken two societies; one poor (black & white); one rich black and white what can race & do for affluent blacks as blacks For very poor blacks as black. what program
2) Black entrepreneurial class lived basically providing services to blacks denied those of major white institutions:	2) most black institutions are in decline or left black community: - Restaurants - Hotels - Theatres - barber shops - Hair dressing - colleges (students + teachers)
③ concern with today: Racism prevented or obscured crisis of black family	③ certain major family problems cannot longer be ignored * - teen-age pregnancy - woman headed families - crime (black on black) - prison population - underground economy * If not delt with these will create new racist attitudes
④ Black selected Jews to emulate in terms of upward mobility education	④ today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful use of politics; capturing big cities; use of city & state contracts etc
⑤ Black civil rights highly experienced to carry on struggle centering in courts	⑤ Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change Finding difficulty in resolving the class problems as against race — thus obscuring factors and problems for more destructive racism.

IV

How Times have changed; How Blacks have changed

1963	1983
(6) struggle for 3 objectives required courage perseverance ability to suffer — this meant drama.	(6) Today economic analysis, political organizations, social planning are most essential factors this is not dramatic and can not be made so by protest action.
(7) Southern violence organized us and established our strategy + tactics	(7) Today we cannot succeed by reacting ourselves to southern violence which is not dramatically there. nor can we use such violence to dramatise our plight
(8) Our fight in the 60's was a simple moral one: it was wrong that whites had the 3 things we asked for while blacks, in a democracy were denied them.	(8) Today while blacks are proportionally worse off is lost sight of morally by the fact that whites are numerically worse off. This fact makes a clear moral argument impossible.
(9) In the 1960's Race was the dominant and seen as the dominant [illegible] problem of our time — morally + politically	(9) Today — Disarmament — nuclear war — the ecology — women rights and the economy are considered more pressing.

#524 W. 57

10:30

10 – 11:20

Major
Article

Follow up "From Protest to Politics";
"From Race to Class"

OUTLINE FOR RUSTIN ARTICLE: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SITUATION IN 1963 AND 1983

1963	1983
1. Black Agenda a) School of choice b) Vote c) Public accommodations	1. Class Agenda Racism exists, but class is the primary issue in: a) Education b) Housing c) Medical care d) Jobs i. more whites in need ii. turn blacks white? what? iii. turn appalachian whites black? what?
2. Racism - major factor influencing minorities and jobs	2. Technological factors - cybernation, automation, robots - Distribution of goods Loss of labor intensive industry: foreign policy Trade competition: Japan, etc., steel, automobiles.
3. No Vote - need for extra-constitutional tactics.	3. Have vote: need to expand energy to exercise it: otherwise we misdirect people from power.
4. Racism was seen as the major American problem.	4. Today, nuclear war, peace, and the ecology are seen as the most important issues.
5. Elimination of segregation by means of a civil rights bill was not an economically costly venture for the Federal government.	5. Elimination of class problems will cost billions.
6. Elimination of segregation, etc. meant concrete, observable progress for all blacks.	6. Middle class gains; mass moving rapidly backward.
7. Period of unity, hope: "We Shall Overcome".	7. Period of frustration and division.
8. Simple moral issues and demands: Remove barriers, let us vote, let us go to the schools of our choice, let us use public accommodations.	8. Social and economic demands requiring new social organization: a) upward mobility not based on muscle power b) retraining of millions c) Redefinition of "work" d) new careers in human services, where technology cannot takeover. e) free medical and dental care

1963	1983
9. 1963 - a major movement for civil rights	9. Civil rights advances will come with new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED - HOW BLACKS HAVE CHANGED

1963	1983
1. Blacks seen as one class - all needed three basic demands. Ralph Bunche and a share cropper were in the same boat as blacks.	1. Emergence of black classes. Kerner report mistaken in predicting two societies (black & white). There are two societies, but they are poor (black & white) and rich (black and white). What can NAACP do for affluent blacks as blacks or for very poor blacks as blacks. What program?
2. Black entrepeneurial class lived basically providing services to blacks denied those of major white institutions.	2. Most black institutions are in decline or have left black community: restaurants, hotels, theatres, barber shops, beauty salons, colleges.
3. Racism prevented examination of or obscured crisis of black family.	3. Certain major family problems cannot be ignored: teenage pregnancy families headed by single women crime (black on black) prison population underground economy If these issues are not dealt with, they will result in new racist attitudes.
4. Blacks selected Jews to emulate in terms of upward mobility. Education was seen as way up.	4. Today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful. Use of Politics: capturing big cities, use of city and state contracts, etc.
5. Blacks became well versed in carrying on the struggle which centered in the courts.	5. Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change. Finding difficulty in restating the class problem as against race - thus obscuring factors and problems which go beyond race.

1963	1983
6. Struggle for 3 objectives required courage, perseverence and ability to suffer - this meant drama.	6. Today economic analysis, political organization, social planning are most essential factors. This is not dramatic and cannot be made so by protest actions.
7. Southern violence unified us and established our strategy and tactics.	7. Today we cannot succeed by reacting to southern violence which is not dramatically there. Nor can we use such violence to dramatize our plight.
8. Our fight in the 60's was a simple moral one: it was wrong that whites had the 3 things we asked for while blacks were denied them.	8. Today while blacks are proportionately worse off, this is lost sight of by the fact that whites are numerically worse off. This fact makes a clearly moral argument impossible.
9. In the 60's, race was the dominant problem and was seen as such, morally and politically.	9. Today: disarmament nuclear war the ecology women's rights the economy are all considered more pressing issues than race.

ELEMENTS ESSENTIAL TO A POSITIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM

1. The establishment of a federally-supported industrial development program through which, in consultation with labor, business, and community leaders, financing can be obtained for the modernization of America's basic industries.

2. Government investment in the repair and improvement of the productive infrastructure of our economy: roads, bridges, ports, railways, waterways, utilities, etc.

3. Increased federal support to education and manpower training (and retraining), with added emphasis on science, mathematics, and the advanced technological skills which are even now in short supply.

4. Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.

5. A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better - not with cynicism.

6. All the principles listed above, if incorporated into public policy, will help create jobs. But we need more: the policy of the United States must be that no able-bodied citizen who wants work will be forced into unemployment.

major article

1. for whom

2. Length ...

3. Consult in advance...

4. who blacks should see in advance of publication
for criticism
   - Eleanor Holmes
   - Vernon Jordan
   - John Jacob
   - Bill Wilson

H

OUTLINE FOR RUSTIN ARTICLE: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SITUATION IN 1963 AND 1983

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1. Black Agenda a) School of choice b) Vote c) Public accommodations	1. Class Agenda Racism exists, but class is the primary issue in: a) Education b) Housing c) Medical care d) Jobs i. more whites in need ii. turn blacks white? what? iii. turn appalachian whites black? what?
2. Racism - major factor influencing minorities and jobs	2. Technological factors - cybernation, automation, robots - Distribution of goods Loss of labor intensive industry: foreign policy Trade competition: Japan, etc., steel automobiles.
3. No Vote - need for extra-constitutional tactics.	3. Have vote: need to expand energy to exercise it: otherwise we misdirect people from power.
4. Racism was ~~seen a~~s the major focus of American ~~problem~~. concern.	4. Today, the economy, nuclear war, peace, and ~~the ecology~~ Education are seen as the most important issues.
5. Elimination of segregation by means of a civil rights bill was not an economically costly venture for the Federal government.	5. Elimination of class problems will cost billions.
6. Elimination of segregation, etc. meant concrete, observable progress for all blacks.	6. Middle class gains; mass moving rapidly backward.
7. Period of unity, hope: "We Shall Overcome".	7. Period of frustration ~~and~~, division, anger and rhetoric
8. ~~Simpl~~e Basis moral issues and concrete demands: Human dignity leading to the ~~Remove barriers, let us~~ vote, ~~let us go~~ to the schools of our choice, and to, the ~~let us~~ use public accommodations.	8. Social and economic demands requiring new forms of social organization: a) upward mobility not based on muscle power b) retraining of millions c) Redefinition of "work" d) new careers in human services, where technology cannot takeover. e) free medical and dental care * f) industrial policy to ease economic transition and spur growth

* our standard of living is
so high that most americans
judge poverty in relation
to africa, India & Latin
America. They perceive
the welfare in U.S. as such
that poverty is redefined

Yet what happens to young and children
people in U.S. is so devastating
. that it is a moral problem

Beyond this men & women are
defined by their work and
are statistics & not people
if they have no work.
Human Dignity is thus at stake

Discuss Margaret Meads views
on relationship to order &
membership

1963	1983
9. 1963 - a major movement for civil rights	9. Civil rights advances will come with new social reorganization to eliminate poverty.

HOW TIMES HAVE CHANGED - HOW BLACKS HAVE CHANGED

1963	1983
1. Blacks seen as one class - all needed three basic demands. Ralph Bunche and a share cropper were in the same boat as blacks.	1. Emergence of black classes. Kerner report mistaken in predicting two societies (black & white). There are two societies but they are poor (black & white) and rich (black and white). What can NAACP do for affluent blacks as blacks or for very poor blacks as blacks. What progra
2. Black entrepeneurial class lived basically providing services to blacks denied those of major white institutions.	2. Most black institutions are in decline or have left black community: restaurants, hotels, theatres, barber shops, beauty salons, colleges.
** 3. Racism prevented examination of or obscured crisis of black family. * move from S. to N. — From rural to urban tended to lessen the role of church and to secularize concepts and destroy extended family	3. Certain major family problems cannot be ignored: teenage pregnancy families headed by single women crime (black on black) prison population underground economy If these issues are not dealt with, they will result in new racist attitudes. *
4. Some Blacks selected Jews to ~~emulate~~ viewed the Jewish experience as a model in terms of upward mobility. — that is Education was seen as the major way up.	4. Today, perhaps the Irish experience is more useful. Use of Politics: capturing big cities, use of city and state contracts, etc. but here city is in different state
5. Blacks became well versed in carrying on the struggle which centered in the courts.	5. Little experience in waging struggle for basic economic and social change. Finding difficulty in restating the class problem as against race - thus obscuring factors and problems which go beyond race. [illegible]

1963

* * The church (& the leadership of the C.R. movement which came out of the church) shaped moral values & behavior in the black community

*

1983 Black leadership has moved from the ~~church~~ religious and ethical to secular & political.
Things reduced things & numbers rather than ideas & values

minorities are better off by appealing to (ethics & ideas) than to numbers.
If change will last, it must be seen as moral.

1963	1983
6. Struggle for 3 objectives required courage, perseverence and ability to suffer - this meant drama.	6. Today economic analysis, political organization, social planning are most essential factors. This is not dramatic and cannot be made so by protest actions.
7. Southern violence unified us and established our strategy and tactics.	7. Today we cannot succeed by reacting to southern violence which is not dramatically there. Nor can we use such violence to dramatize our plight.
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*
* 10.
*

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4. Federal insistence on fair international trade: American markets should be open only to those who permit us altogether equal access to their markets.

"Welfare" a new concept ...

5. A renewed commitment to provide the income assistance and social services necessary for the security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor, and disabled. While not every social program that we have attempted has proved successful, many did succeed. Those that did not should be replaced with programs which attempt to use what wisdom we have gained to do better - not with cynicism.

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***

Page 3A # 10

1963.	1983.
10. In 1963 the most glaring forms of racial discrimination were in the South (Jim Crow).	10. In 1983 the most blatant forms of economic discrimination are in the south. (Outside the South blacks who work earn 99 percent of white wages; In the South blacks earn 78 percent of white wages).

Point 7. at very
End.

7. Move from racially based affirmative
action to economically/~~soci~~ Based
affirmative action strategies,

Role of The Black Community to (cause & effect)
over come:
1 Teen age pregnancy
2. "crime & prisons, dope, hidden economy"
3. Female headed family

unless These are delt with; racism will grow

We need to be concrete...

official Materials from:
March on D.C. > 1983

TO: BAYARD RUSTIN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

TO NATIONAL DESKS

PRMI/PRESS RELATIONS WIRE WASH 347-5155

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEAST 08/26/83

WASHINGTON, D.C. //PRM// -- THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ISSUED TODAY BY FORMER SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK, FOUNDER AND NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE, AND ONE OF THE CO-CONVENORS OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY MARCH ON WASHINGTON TOMORROW.

ARAB-AMERICANS ARE PARTICIPATING IN THIS 20TH ANNIVERSARY MARCH ON WASHINGTON 20 YEARS AGO, BECAUSE WE SUPPORT JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM, AND RECOGNIZE THAT THESE THREE CIRITICAL ISSUES ARE CONNECTED.

FOR THE PAST FIVE MONTHS, THE AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE (ADC), HAS BEEN ORGANIZING OUR 18,000 MEMBERS IN CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WASHINGTON JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM ACTIVITIES. ARAB-AMERICANS ARE COMING FROM AS FAR AWAY AS LOS ANGELES, YET SOME OUTSIDE OUR COMMUNITY ARE STILL ASKING WHY WE ARE PARTICIPATING?

ARAB-AMERICANS NEED JOBS. IN THE NORTHEAST WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGH, WE HAVE OUR HIGHEST CONCENTRATION OF ARAB-AMERICANS. WE HAVE ARAB-AMERICAN FARM WORKERS FROM THE FIELDS OF CALIFORNIA AND ARAB-AMERICAN FACTORY WORKERS FROM DETROIT WHO ARE OUT OF WORK WHO ARE COMING TO MARCH. WE, TOO, HAVE BEEN HARD-HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT, AND LIKE ALL AMERICANS, ARAB-AMERICANS NEED JOBS.

ARAB-AMERICANS NEED PEACE. THE WAR IN LEBANON AND THE CONTINUING OPPRESSION OF PALESTINIANS, MOST OF WHICH HAS BEEN FUNDED BY U.S. DOLLARS, AND THE PRESENCE OF U.S. MARINES IN THE MIDDLE EAST RAISE THE DANGER LEVEL AND THE POTENTIAL OF YET ANOTHER WAR. ARAB-AMERICANS, LIKE ALL AMERICANS, WANT PEACE, AND OUR RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN LEBANON DESPERATELY NEED PEACE.

ARAB-AMERICANS NEED FREEDOM. TODAY, WE ARE WITNESSING AN INCREASE IN THE DEFAMATION, DISCRIMINATION AND SCAPEGOATING OF PEOPLE OF ARAB DESCENT, AS WELL AS OTHER ETHNIC AND RACIAL MINORITIES. ARAB-AMERICANS WILL BE MARCHING FOR AN END TO THIS RACISM AND FOR FREEDOM AND DIGNITY, NOT ONLY FOR OUR PEOPLE, BUT FOR ALL AMERICANS.

WE ARE PROUD TO BE A PART OF THIS 20TH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION. NONETHELESS, WE, LIKE MANY OTHER MARCH ENDORSERS ARE DISAPPOINTED BY THE PRESSURE FROM THOSE WHO ARE NOT EVEN SUPPORTING THE MARCH, SPECIFICALLY SOME OF THE JEWISH GROUPS WHO SEEK TO EXEMPT ISRAEL. WE FEEL STRONGLY THAT THERE NEVER SHOULD HAVE BEEN PRESSURE ON THE COALITION LEADERSHIP AGAINST TAKING STRONG AND CONSISTENT POSITIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS, BECAUSE WE ARE A PEACE MOVEMENT AS WELL AS A CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT--NO AREA OF CONCERN IS EXEMPT FROM OUR ATTENTION. WE ARE A COALITION OF CONSCIENCE, THEREFORE, WE SPEAK OUT ON ALL AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY ACCORDING TO A SINGLE SET OF PRINCIPLES.

AS NOTED IN THE CALL, "WE OPPOSE THE MILITARIZATION OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS OFTEN AIDED, ABETTED AND EVEN ENCOURAGED BY MASSIVE U.S. ARMS EXPORTS TO AREAS OF THE WORLD SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST AND CENTRAL AMERICA."

WE STAND FOR JUSTICE AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF ALL INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS. WE OPPOSE WARS OF AGGRESSION, ESPECIALLY WHEN U.S. WEAPONS ARE USED, AND WE CALL FOR THE CUT OFF OF WEAPONS TO ANY COUNTRY WHO USES U.S. WEAPONS ILLEGALLY.

NO AREA OF THE WORLD--NOR ANY COUNTRY--SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM OUR CRITICISM, EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE US EXEMPT ISRAEL. BECAUSE WE ARE A COALITION OF CONSCIENCE, WE CANNOT NOR SHOULD NOT. IT WAS AFTER ALL, THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WHO WROTE: "INJUSTICE ANYWHERE IS A THREAT TO JUSTICE EVERYWHERE."

-30-

CONTACT: BARBARA SHAHEEN OF AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE AT 202/797-7662

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MARCH ON WASHINGTON

DRAFT PROGRAM

August 27, 1983
Morning Rally

8:00 - 9:00 am	....	Inspirational Hour () Sweet Honey in the Rock () Freedom Singers
9:00 am	Lift Every Voice and Sing	Ms. Shirley Caesar World reknown Gospel Artist
	Invocation	Archbishop Iakovos Greek Orthodox Archdiocese
	Opening Remarks Co-Emcees	Mr. Ossie Davis Actor
		Ms. Ruby Dee Actress
		Ms. Gloria Steinem, Editor MS. Magazine
	Welcome	Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy, M.C National Director
	Statement of Purpose	Mrs. Coretta Scott King, Presiden Martin Luther King Center National Co-Chairperson
	Greetings from National Co-Chairs and Conveners	Ms. Asia Bennett Executive Secretary American Friends Service Committe National Co-Chairperson
		Mr. Howard Samuel President Industrial Union Department
		Ms. Margaret Kuhn President Grey Panthers
		Dick Gregory Human Rights Activists
	A SONG FOR JOBS	Graham Nash
	A Vision for Jobs	Owen Beiber President United Auto Workers

	President U.S. Farmers Association
	Honorable Shirley Chisholm Former Congresswoman
	Mr. Henry Nicholas President National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Union
A SONG FOR PEACE	Ms. Holly Near
A Vision for Peace	Reverend William Sloane Coffin Pastor Riverside Church
	Mr. Guillermo Ungo Salvadorian Freedom Fighter
A SONG FOR FREEDOM	Sweet Honey in the Rock and the Freedom Singers
A Vision for Freedom	Dr. Dorothy Height President National Council of Negro Women
	Dr. Charles Butler President Progressive National Baptist Conventi
	Dr. Mary Futrell President-elect National Education Association
The 1963 March and Today in Perspective	Mr. Cleveland Robinson Vice-President Coalition of Black Trade Unionist District 65- UAW
A Time for Marching	Mr. Ossie Davis
March Conductor	Bill Cosby
	Linda Lavin or Jean Stapleton

AFTERNOON RALLY

Lincoln Memorial
1:00 pm

Prelude	Civil Rights March Music

National Anthem	Leontyne Price
Invocation	The Very Reverend James Hickey Archbishop of Washington, D.C.
Presiding/Opening Remarks	Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy, MC National Director
	AND
	Honorable Andrew Young Mayor of Atlanta
Welcome	Honorable Marion Barry Mayor of Atlanta
Recalling the 1963 March and the Dream	Honorable John Lewis Member, Atlanta City Council and Youth Speaker at the 1963 March on Washington
Tribute to the 1963 Participants	
Moment of Silence	
A DREAM FOR PEACE	* Nathaniel M. Jones President Howard University Student Assn.
	Bishop James Armstrong National Council of Churches
	Mr. Harry Belafonte
	Bishop Joseph Francis
	*European Commons Movement
	Dr. Randall Forsberg President Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies
Moment of Silence	
A SONG FOR PEACE	Mr. Pete Seeger
A DREAM FOR JOBS	Mr. Lane Kirkland President AFL-CIO

	Bishop John Hurst Adams Chairman Congress of National Black Churche
	Mr. Tony Bonilla Past President LULAC
	Mr. William Lucy Vice President American Federation of State, County and Muncipal Employees
	Ms. Bella Abzug President Women USA
	Dr. Benjamin Hooks Executive Director National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
A SONG FOR JOBS	
A DREAM FOR FREEDOM	Reverend Jesse Jackson President Operation PUSH
	Dr. Alan Bosak South Africa
	Dr. T.J. Jemison President National Baptist Convention of th U.S.A.
	Mr. Clyde Bellecourt President American Indian Movement
	Ms. Judy Goldsmith President National Organization for Women
	Dr. Joseph Lowery President Southern Christian Leadership Conference
A SONG FOR FREEDOM	Odetta

LITANY OF COMMITMENTS TO JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

ADD: Mr. Jim Cohen, Environmental Task Force

JOBS

() Warner Coleman
High School Youth

() Unemployed Worker

() Ms. Addie Wyatt
Vice President
United Food and
Commercial Workers Union

() Mr. Kenneth Blaylock
President
American Federation of
Government Employees

PEACE

() Dr. Richard Deats
Director
Fellowship of Reconciliati

() Mr. William Winpinsinger
President
International Association
of Machinists and Aerospac
Workers

() Ms. Cora Weiss
Director
Riverside Church Disarm.
Program

() Minister Louis Farrahken
Nation of Islam

() Senator James Abourezk
Founder
American Arab Anti-
Discrimination Committee

FREEDOM

() Ms. Myrlie Evers

() Mr. Rafe Pomerance
Friends of the Earth

() Mr. Norman Hill
A.Philip Randolph Institut

() Ms. Dorothy Riding
President
League of Women Voters

	() Iman Warith Deen Muhammed American Muslim Mission
	() Honorable John Conyers
VISION FOR A WORLD OF JOBS PEACE AND FREEDOM	Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change
	Stevie Wonder Artists and humanitarian
Closing Prayer	Rabbi Alex Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Excerpts from Dr. Martin Luther King's "I HAVE A DREAM SPEECH"

Conclusion	We Shall Overcome

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Riverside Church Disarm.
Program

() Minister Louis Farrahken
Nation of Islam

() Senator James Abourezk
Founder
American Arab Anti-
Discrimination Committee

FREEDOM

() Ms. Myrlie Evers

() Mr. Rafe Pomerance
Friends of the Earth

() Mr. Norman Hill
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Conclusion	We Shall Overcome

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY MOBILIZATION
FOR
JOBS, PEACE AND FREEDOM

1201 16th Street, NW Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 467-6445

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PREAMBLE

Twenty years ago, over 250,000 people from all walks of life gathered at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial to demand an end to national policies that had kept our nation a dual society -- separate and unequal. The moral and political forces unleashed by the visible demonstration of unity and purpose profoundly changed our nation's history and character. The 1963 March on Washington served as a spring-board for a legislative revolution that erradicated *de jure* segregation and discrimination; provided full voting rights for all Americans; created a War on Poverty; fostered new Federal initiatives in education, housing and urban development; and the March itself fostered a mature anti-war movement that successfully advocated meaningful legislation, such as the War Powers Act.

Today, however, we find that the great progress achieved over the last two decades is endangered, and that new threats to the rights and aspirations of millions of Americans have emerged. The American Dream is tarnished as the tides of national self-doubt, aggressiveness and chauvinism of race, sex, class, and nation are seriously undermining our national unity and sense of human solidarity.

To help recapture a sense of noble and human spirit in which our domestic and foreign policies are consistent with the basic national principles as articulated in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the United States Constitution, we have formed a "New Coalition of Conscience" for Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

Our New Coalition of Conscience has been spurred by the spectre of unemployment at highest levels since the Great Depression. Millions of Americans are suffering the disasterous effects of double-digit unemployment. The groups affected most are Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, Disabled, Women, and Youth. The Federal Government has, to date, offered only minimal responses to this national tragedy. Moreover, as our economy is permanently changing, we find no coherent or comprehensive approach to the training and retraining of workers who -- once laid off -- will probably never be reemployed in their old capacities.

At the same time, excessive defense expenditures and cruel budget policies have created a situation in which the most needy and most vulnerable among us are helped the least. While only 18% of the Federal budget is devoted to programs designed to help the poor and the working poor, these same programs have borne over 60% of the budget cuts proposed by the Reagan Administration in three successive budgets.

These defense expenditures also create a climate which brings the world perilously close to nuclear annihilation. The uncontrolled arms race and a confrontationist foreign policy have removed the checks and balances on which interdependent nations normally rely. Moreover, this massive military build-up has diverted resources which should be committed to those programs that truly are in our "national security" interest -- namely programs to ensure the health, employment, education, and safety of our citizens. It is in the best interest of the nation and the world that we immediately freeze the production and deployment of nuclear weapons, that we reduce unnecessary defense expenditures and that we insist upon a foreign policy which upholds human rights; respects the rights to self-determination; and turns away from the support of rightist and racist regimes.

Finally, we are deeply disturbed that the tenuous progress to date in the areas of civil and economic rights has been imperiled by a national aura of conservatism and retrenchment; and a rising tide of racial, sexual, religious, and class prejudice. This national climate has been fueled by Administration policies which are inimical to the letter and spirit of federal laws and regulations designed to ensure open and full participation in specific areas of American life. In every area -- equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, fair housing, voting rights, school desegregation, rights for the handicapped, provision of bilingual education, support for minority business enterprise, respect for Indian treaty rights, nondiscrimination in the use of federal financial assistance, assurances of equality between the sexes in educational opportunity, credit, pensions, and pay -- the Administration has sought to systematically dismantle the laws and programs necessary to eliminate the remaining vestiges of societal discrimination.

In tandem, the staggering unemployment level, the stockpiling and proliferation of nuclear weapons and the retreat in civil and human rights enforcement, threaten to destroy the economic, political and social fabric of our nation. Prompt legislative action is needed to stave off destruction, and to put this country on a course designed to achieve genuine equality, security and freedom for all. Some measures are pending in Congress today, which, though not ideal, and not panaceas, are indeed necessary first steps toward achieving these objectives. Today, we therefore pledge our support for these measures. In the days and months ahead we will assiduously work for their enactment.

JOBS

The Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization embraces H.R. 1036, the Community Renewal Employment Act, as the necessary first step toward breaking the death grip of unemployment. Introduced by Congressman Gus

Hawkins (D-Calif.), and supported by more than 100 Members, the measure would create approximately one million jobs for long-term unemployed individuals in areas of high unemployment, through grants to State and local governments for labor costs associated with repair, rehabilitation or maintenance of public facilities; for public health, safety, education, and social service activities; and for conservation and improvement of public lands.

H.R. 1036 is a responsible effort to create jobs for those who are most in need, and simultaneously provide vital human needs, health, safety, education, and community services.

An early September vote is anticipated on the Community Renewal Employment Act.

Contact your Representative today and urge an affirmative vote on H.R. 1036, without weakening amendment.

PEACE/FOREIGN POLICY

Defense

H.R. 3023, Dellums Defense Authorization for Appropriations Bill. Although this measure has been rescinded, we support the principles of this alternative defense authorization measure introduced by Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), and urge the enactment of such a measure.

The Dellums Alternative called for a FY '84 budget authority of approximately $215 billion (and levels of $223 billion and $228 billion for FY '85 and FY '86). The $215 billion amount represents cuts of about $65 billion in spending. Moreover, the resulting outlay levels are still ~~above President Reagan~~'s massive FY '83 spending.

Underlying the Dellums Alternative is the basic premise that defense spending must be analyzed in terms of U.S. foreign policy and military objectives, and not as an abstract number. Defense spending buys forces and arms. These forces have missions which relate to supposed commitments and strategic interests. These commitments and interests, and the assumptions underlying them, must be questioned if a serious challenge to military spending is to be made. It is not enough to simply chip away at a few particularly noxious weapons systems.

The alternative rejects the whole nature of the present debate which has focused on the annual percentage increase of "real" growth to be approved.

S.J. Res. 2, Nuclear Weapons Freeze. The United States House of Representatives passed a resolution calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reduction in nuclear weapons, H.J. Res. 13. A companion measure, S.J. Res. 2, is pending in the Senate. Such a measure is needed to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce the risk of a holocaust that would be humanity's final war. Therefore, we urge all supporters of the to work for passage of this Resolution.

H.R. 425, The Defense Economic Adjustment Act. Introduced by Congressman Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.), this measure is a comprehensive economic conversion bill designed to mitigate the effects of a nuclear freeze or other cuts in military spending or military employees. The measure would:

- Require one (1) year pre-notification of cuts or reductions in defense contracts or military bases;
- Establish Alternative Use Committees (AUCs) comprised of management, labor, and community representatives, to develop detailed contingency plans for conversion in case a contract is lost or reduced. All defense contracts would have to include a requirement for the establishment of an AUC in most military facilities;
- Provide worker and community assistance for re-training programs, and planning assistance to protect against economic dislocation while conversion is underway; and
- Establish an economic adjustment council to coordinate federal conversion-related programs nationally; to develop specific conversion guidelines and make available a variety of resources to affected individuals and communities.

South Africa

The Reagan Administration has articulated a new U.S. policy toward South Africa. Known as "constructive engagement," this policy has sought to befriend the brutal apartheid regime in South Africa and end its "polecat status" in the world community. This Administration has increased diplomatic and military contacts with South Africa; supported increased trade and economic activities; tacticly supported South Africa's intrasigence on Namibia; and turned a blind eye to the increased repression and brutality of the regime against Black South Africa.

Several measures designed to reverse this policy shift are pending in Congress. We urge your active support of:

> H.R. 1020: A measure introduced by Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), to prohibit the export or other transfer to the Republic of South Africa nuclear material, equipment and technology.
>
> The bill would bar Executive officers or employees from making available to South Africa any information, technology or training that would accelerate their nuclear program.

H.R. 1083: (Incorporated in H.R. 2957, the IMF Authorization Bill) Introduced on January 31, 1983, by Congressman Julian Dixon (D-Calif.), for himself and 40 co-sponsors, this measure would require that the United States Government oppose the furnishing of assistance by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to any country which practices apartheid. The measure would require that the Executive Director of the IMF vote against any loan to the Republic of South Africa.

This measure was incorporated in the IMF Authorization bill. It is expected that the bill will come to the House floor early next week (July 25th week).

H.R. 1392: Congressman William Gray, III (D-Pa.), has reintroduced legislation to block new investments by United States firms in South Africa. During the 97th Congress, an identical measure died after winning the approval of two House Foreign Affairs Subcommittees. The measure:

- directs the President to issue regulations prohibiting U. S. citizens and firms from making any new investments in South Africa; provides stiff civil and criminal penalties for violators.
- allows for lifting the ban only if the President determines that South Africa has "made substantial progress toward the full participation of all the people of South Africa in the social, political and economic life of that country."

This measure is vitally important at a time when South African repression has become more harsh for all Blacks including those who labor in American subsidiaries.

El Salvador

S. Res. 688: Senators Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), are co-sponsors of Senate Resolution 688, a measure intended to promote unconditional negotiations toward a peaceful solution of the growing conflict in El Salvador. The bill provides that unless the Government of El Salvador actively participates in negotiations with all major parties to the conflict which are willing to participate unconditionally in negotiations for the purpose of achieving a cease-fire and an equitable political solution to hostilities, United States military support for El Salvador shall be terminated, with military assistance funds to be transferred for use for development and humanitarian assistance.

This measure does not encourage any particular peace plan, but rather a process of negotiation designed to arrest the toll of human life in El Salvador, avert an all-out war throughout Central America, and reduce the drain on U. S. resources.

Immigration

H.R. 1510, The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill (OPPOSE IN ITS PRESENT FORM)

The Twentieth Anniversary March strongly favors fair and effective immigration reforms, however, we OPPOSE "The Immigration Reform and Control Act" (Simpson/Mzaaoli) as reported by the House Judiciary Committee.

H.R. 1510 would impose sanctions on employers who hire undocumented workers. The employer sanctions provisions would lead inevitably to discrimination against some Americans. Additionally the measure would expand the H-2 temporary worker program without effective protections for the civil rights of the foreign and domestic workers. The expanded H-2 program could lead to a new "bracero" or guest worker program, and result in direct competition for jobs between domestic and foreign workers.

The Hawkins-Miller amendments, reported by the House Education and Labor Committee on June 27th, offer an effective means of addressing these problems.

Representative Hawkins' amendment to the employer sanction provisions would create an administrative mechanism for resolving employment discrimination claims which will likely arise under the sanctions provision of the bill. The Hawkins Amendment would establish the minimum protection necessary to ameliorate the discriminatory impact of employer sanctions.

Representative Miller's amendment to the H-2 provision of H.R. 1510 recognizes the need for a temporary foreign labor force in areas of labor shortage, but also protects the right of domestic workers to employment opportunities.

FREEDOM

S. 1220, The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1983

Title VIII of the "Civil Rights Act of 1968" prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of housing on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. As it presently exists, this measure has limited enforcement provisions. An aggrieved party may bring a private lawsuit or the Secretary of HUD may, with the consent of both parties, attempt conciliation. HUD has no authority to require conciliation, nor does it have power to enforce a final agreement. The Attorney General may pursue "pattern and practice" lawsuits.

The 96th Congress rebuffed a measure to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the Fair Housing Act. The 97th Congress tabled the issue.

S. 1220, introduced by Senators Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-Md.), and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) along with 37 co-sponsors, would substantially strengthen the Fair Housing Act. The measure:

- Provides a speedy, fair and cost-efficient administrative hearing enforcement process using independent administrative law judges (ALJs) selected by a Presidentially appointed three-member Fair Housing Review Commission;
- Allows decisions of the ALJ to be appealed to the Fair Housing Review Commission; and Commission decisions to be appealed in federal courts of appeals;
- Offers administrative enforcement as a last resort. The measure would offer conciliation or binding arbitration in the first instance; and allow a case to be referred to a State or local administrative agency which is substantially the same as that created by the bill;
- Allows the Attorney General or aggrieved parties to by-pass the administrative procedure and sue in the first instance; and
- Provides equitable, delcaratory and emergency relief for aggrieved persons.

H.J. Res. 1/ S.J. Res.10, The Equal Rights Amendment

This proposed Constitutional Amendment declaring that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex, is a necessary first step toward ensuring real and lasting protection against gender based discrimination

S. 888/H.R. 2090, Economic Equity Act

On March 14, 1983, the Economic Equity Act (S. 888 and H.R. 2090) was introduced in the House and Senate, with bi-partisan sponsorship. The Act is an amalgam of reform measures designed to achieve parity for women in areas of pensions, insurance, taxes, federal regulations, child support, and child care. The Senate bill was referred to the Finance Committee, chaired by Robert Dole (R-Ks.), where hearings were held in June. In the House, each of the Five Sections of the Act will be processed as a separate bill.

KING HOLIDAY BILL
(S. 400)

By an overwhelming vote of 338 to 90, the House approved this measure on August 2, 1983. The bill must now pass the Senate in order to become law.

It is expected that the Senate will begin debate on the King Holiday Bill early in the fall.

In the ensuing weeks, let your Senators know of your s
this measure, as passed by the House (H.R. 3345).

March on DC 1983
Newsweek "My Turn"

POINT of VIEW

Charlie ?:
Can we
2 contact him.

RECEIVED AUG 2 6 1983

August 24, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Chairman
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Your article in the August 29th issue of Newsweek was most impressive.

I don't want this to be too lengthy a letter, but I must dwell on the talk that you gave in Stamford, CT at Temple Sinai some years ago.

It was shortly after Leonard Bernstein had hosted a party for The Black Panthers.

You made the point that what would save the black American would be what would save all of America.

Some years later you were still making this point.

You are making it with as much force, intelligence and meaning today as you did then.

It disturbs me that while you have a great many supporters, I don't honestly believe the majority of Americans, black or white, have listened to what you have had to say as carefully as they should.

Perhaps because you don't supply easy answers to complex issues, but rather provide an agenda that can, with hard work and persistence, lead to results.

I just wanted to take a minute to let you know that you have touched many people.

I am grateful that you are still speaking and writing and I hope that you will continue to provide the good sense and dedication and insights in the future as you have in the past.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. MYERS
President
55 MARKET STREET, STAMFORD, CT. 06902 / 203 359-2907
P.O. BOX 359, STAMFORD, CT. 06904

Ⓕ

RECEIVED AUG 30 1983

COPY OF MAILGRAM August 24, 1982

To. The Editor
Newsweek Magazine
444 Lexingston Avenue
New York, NY

Bayard Rustin's advocacy of renewing traditional coalitions to address the social and economic problems of all Americans is right on target. Together coalitions can regain and further the accomplishments achieved in the past 40 years.

Better than than succumb to the now seemingly fashionable thrust of some leaders who pit race versus race, sex versus sex, religion against other faiths, groups against others.

Rustin's words recall a basic truth about this nation's stregnths: united we stand, divided we fall.

Francesco Cantarella
(212) 580-1495
(212) 802-7415

FREEDOM HOUSE
WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING / 20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018 / (212) 730-7744

August 25, 1983

RECEIVED AUG 29 1983

Memorandum

For: Board of Trustees
Advisory Council

From: Leonard R. Sussman

This column by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of Freedom House is, I believe, very important. He calls for a new, essentially non-race-oriented coalition to remove the deleterious causes of black as well as white poverty and inequality of opportunity.

jm
enc.

RECEIVED AUG 31 1983

DREW UNIVERSITY
College of Liberal Arts
Madison, New Jersey 07940
(201) 377-3000

August 29, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Your statement in today's Newsweek on "Civil Rights: 20 Years Later" is surely superb.

You summarize the basic black, white, and world problem so accurately and well.

We hope that your statement is widely read and heeded. We also trust that last Saturday's March on Washington will yield at least as much social gain as did the one two decades ago.

Cordially yours,

Elizabeth Briant Lee
Elizabeth Briant Lee, Ph.D.
Visiting Scholar

Alfred McClung Lee
Alfred McClung Lee, Ph.D.
Visiting Scholar

Prof. Alfred McClung Lee, 9 Gilbert
DREW UNIVERSITY
Madison, New Jersey 07940

MADISON N.J. AUG 29'83
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Mr. Bayard Rustin

Leo Cherne

Executive Director
The Research Institute of America, Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

August 31, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Your column in Newsweek is as persuasive as it is courageous. It is the very best column on any subject of national importance which I have read in many, many months.

With admiration.

Cordially,

Leo Cherne

LC/dd

Officers
Bayard Rustin
President
Norman Hill
Executive Director
Charles Bremer
Associate Director
Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer
Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

September 22, 1983

Robert Treuer
Rt. 4, Box 173
Bemidji, Minnesota 56601

Dear Bob,

How thoughtful of you to write after all these years! I remember well my visit to Antioch in '48.

Thank you for your generous comments on my recent NEWSWEEK piece. Interestingly enough, that column brought the kind words of several old friends from whom I had not heard in years. Perhaps it was the column, coupled with the 20th anniversary of the '63 March that rekindled memories of me. In any case, it always brings me joy to hear from my old friends.

It sounds as if you have a pretty self-sufficient operation out there. Tell me, does your tree farm generate the paper on which you write your columns?

Best wishes,

Bayard Rustin

BR/wn

Chron.
✓ Newsweek, Aug. '83

653

ROBERT TREUER
RT. 4 BOX 173
BEMIDJI, MN 56601
218-751-6561

Thank you
well

RECEIVED AUG 29 1983

Aug. 24, 1983

Dear Bayard,

your well-written essay in NEWSWEEK this week prompts me to write this congratulatory letter. Though it is a far reach to 1948 when we met at Antioch, I still have vivid memory of the occasion and have followed your career, having to interpret what appeared in print with a grain of salt.

In the strange crossings of human lives, Coretta Scott King came to Antioch the year after you were there for your visit, I believe. And in the rashness of youthful opinionatedness, I thought her most recalcitrant and Uncle Tom for refusing to participate in our various activities, not realizing the jeopardy and danger under which her family then lived.

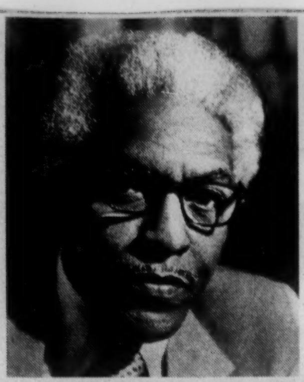
The course of my life has been eventful and uneven. I went into the labor movement after Antioch, with Wisconsin CIO and then UAW, which stationed me in Sheboygan in connection with the Kohler strike for several years. I moved to northern Minnesota in 1958, taught school, became active in Indian community organization and economic development, ultimately went to Washington to work at OEO and HEW before returning to my Minnesota tree farm, where I am now writing books and a small newspaper column. One of the recent columns took your name in vain, recapitulating the post-WW II civil rights drive and your role, as an entree to the need for activists today.

My second wife and I have four youngsters (Nancy and I divorcing after our first three had grown). Peggy is Minnesotan, Indian, an attorney in private practice here. Our kids have the distinction of being the only Injews in the county.

I find you still an exciting thinker and writer, and extend to you my very best wishes. If it should transpire that you ever come through our part of the country, it would be good to renew acquaintance and you are assured of our hospitality.

With respect and affection,

Bob



Civil Rights: 20 Years Later

MY TURN/BAYARD RUSTIN

Twenty years ago this week, 250,000 black and white Americans gathered in Washington's sweltering heat to assert their commitment to an America based on the principles of racial and social justice. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a landmark in the decades-long struggle for civil rights, economic justice and due process for all Americans.

Yet 20 years after that pivotal day on which our consciences were stirred by the eloquence of Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, the economic status of black Americans is deteriorating, black unemployment stands at nearly 20 percent and our civil-rights leaders appear to be incapable of developing broad-based support for their agenda.

It would be convenient to ascribe all the problems confronting black Americans to the persistence of racism. But while racism continues to exert a baneful influence upon our society, the plight of black Americans today is more and more the consequence of a number of important nonracist, structural features of our economy:

- The decline in labor-intensive industries and the displacement of unskilled and semi-skilled black workers as a consequence of automation and robotization.
- The elimination, because of unfair foreign competition and a severe recession, of hundreds of thousands of jobs in industries such as steel and autos that have historically provided well-paying jobs for large numbers of black workers.
- The collapse of black-family structures—a result as well as a cause of the black plight—and the alarming increase in the number of unwed black mothers, most of whom live in poverty.
- The decline in the size of the public sector, which in recent years has employed some 60 percent of all black college graduates and has been a major factor in the emergence of a black middle class.
- The shift from heavy industry and manufacturing toward high-technology industries for which many blacks are ill prepared.
- The continued growth of a black underclass of poor and indigent which in 1978 stood at 30 percent but today stands at approximately 36 percent.

It would, of course, be easy to pin the blame for all this on the current administration. Although President Reagan's policy of blind reliance on the marketplace has worsened the plight of blacks, the deteriorating conditions of the black poor and particularly of the working poor began before Reagan took office and would have continued, perhaps at a slower pace, even had President Carter been re-elected.

Some may argue that the problems I have outlined are too large ever to be solved. Yet, paradoxically, the dilemmas confronting black Americans *are* solvable, for the very reason that they are now intimately linked with the overall performance of our national economy. Although blacks are disproportionately represented among the poor, there are ever-increasing numbers of white poor. Although many blacks are joining the ranks of the jobless because of the decline in our basic industries, far larger numbers of whites have lost their jobs.

> Racism persists, but blacks, like whites, are poor because of structural problems in the economy.

An important opportunity exists to develop a broad coalition based on a nonracial strategy for dealing with the decline of basic industries, with the significant growth in poverty and with the high rates of unemployment that will persist even after our projected economic "recovery." Unlike 20 years ago, when discrimination was the most significant obstacle to black economic well-being, the latest available figures show that except in the South, the median wage of blacks who are lucky enough to hold jobs is 99 percent that of the median white wage. This rarely acknowledged fact is a consequence of the civil-rights legislation of the 1960s. It is also a consequence of the high rate of black participation in organized labor. For as the late black labor leader A. Philip Randolph noted, a union contract provides equitable, nonracial wage standards for all employees. Unlike 20 years ago, when we marched to protest the racist denial of black access to the voting booth, today as a result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black voters are a cohesive and increasingly significant national political force with a rate of voter participation approaching that of the white electorate.

Jobs: Each of these developments confirms the correctness of Randolph's view in 1963 that civil rights would be supplanted by economic rights as the fundamental issue for black Americans. Today the recession and the long-term crisis our nation confronts suggests that economic issues are not solely an item for the black agenda. They are a matter of concern for white blue-collar workers, for recent college graduates anxious about a stagnant job market and for the growing ranks of black and white poor.

It can therefore be asserted that the goal of the participation of large numbers of blacks in the economic mainstream has been achieved. Yet when in 1963 we marched under the banner of integration we did not envision that participation to be within industries and occupations that are in substantial decline.

Thus today's black agenda must be part and parcel of an agenda for all Americans. It must be an agenda that includes such items as national commitment to excellence in education, federal programs in vocational training, increased federal aid for higher education and a national industrial policy in which government plays an active role in fueling the growth of expanding industries, easing the transition of workers displaced by the changing economy and developing a more highly skilled work force able to compete in the international marketplace.

Clearly such an agenda is not specifically black. Rather it is an agenda that can unite a potent coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews, workers and the poor. Only such a coalition can help attain the goals that 20 years ago brought 250,000 of us to the edges of Washington's reflecting pool on a scorching August Saturday. Only such a coalition can help us achieve our centuries-long dream of "Jobs and Freedom."

Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, organized the 1963 March on Washington.

Newsweek
444 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 · (212) 350-2000

RECEIVED OCT 17 1983

Dear My Turn Contributor:

Enclosed are photocopies of letters sent to Newsweek in response to your Turn. We hope the variety of reactions will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

Pat Glossop

Pat Glossop
For the Editors

Rustin - MyT
8/29
pg

301 W. 262nd Street
Bronx, NYC 10471
August 24, 1983

8/29

Letters to the Editor
NEWSWEEK
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

In his article, Civil Rights: 20 Years Later, Bayard Rustin lists "the alarming increase in the number of unwed black mothers" as one of the "structural features of our economy." I fail to see how the birth of of a child to an unwed mother can be construed as a "structural" feature of our society. Birth control is available free through Planned Parenthood and numerous health services which aggressively advertise their programs.

Much has been written about the underlying psychological needs of young women from fractured families who feel they have no future in this society, to have children to prove their worth and to have someone to love. However, one does not even have to be literate to be aware of the economic devastation such behavior has on the lives of these women and their children. The responsibility for the birth of children to impoverished unwed women, black or white, lies with the women themselves and their sexual partners, not with society, Ronald Reagan, or anyone else.

Presently, society, through welfare programs, takes on the responsibility of supporting these children. That is an injustice. No one has the right to bear children he or she cannot or will not support when effective and safe birth control is easily available. It is within the sphere of the personal power of any woman to NOT become an unwed, impoverished mother. The choice is hers alone.

Sincerely,

M A McNicholas
Mary Ann McNicholas

ELLSWORTH M EHNI
18 GILBERT TRAIL
ATLANTA GA 30308 25AM

Western Union Mailgram

4-058218S237 08/25/83 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYAD
4048735080 MGM TDMT ATLANTA GA 79 08-25 0608P EST

8/29

LETTERS EDITOR NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE
444 MADISON AVE
NEW YORK NY 10022

Mr Ruskin

RE: CIVIL RIGHTS: 20 YEARS LATER

I APPLAUD BAYARD RUSKIN FOR HIS REALISTIC VIEWS ON OUR CURRENT PROBLEMS ON BLACK-WHITE RELATIONS, BOTH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC. AS THE WHITE RACE IS HEADING FOR ZERO POPULATION GROWTH, THE BLACK RACE IN AMERICA IS RAPIDLY FOLLOWING THE SAME COURSE. THIS MAY BE THE FINAL SOLUTION TO UNNEEDED POVERTY BOTH ECONOMIC AND EMOTIONAL.

ELLSWORTH M EHNI
18 GILBERT TRAIL
ATLANTA GA 30308

18:08 EST

MGMCOMP

5241 (R 7/82)

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8/29 8.25.09

The citizens or civil rights movement and the attitudes deriving from it, have among other things certainly made it equally possible for black men to abuse white women openly in the manner men have historically abused all women.

The end result is women as victim with an exploding black un-wed mother rate, delegating black women to positions of deprivation, ignorance and hopelessness. Their major worth and major accomplishment becomes that of procreator as all other doors are virtually inaccessible.

The civil rights movement has benefited men of color. However, women in general and women of color in specific have reaped its least rewards.

Erica E. Gyurin

E E Gyurin
7133 N Ridge Av
Chicago IL 60645

MT
Rustin
PS

Aug. 26, 1983

8/30

Letters Editor
Newsweek
444 Madison Ave.
New York, N Y 10022

I gladly takemy hat off to Bayard Ru stin for what he said in MY T URN.

He did not allow the fact that he is a black to prejudice his thinking, and he told it like it is, for both Whites and Blacks.

And I mean: Like it is!!!

Clement Canja

Clement Canja
12000 W Kings Gate Drive
Concord,TN 37922

615 / 966-1101

Rustin BS MV 8/27/83 8/29

Dear Editor,

Bravo Bayard Rustin! (My Turn 8/24/83) The refreshing beauty of ~~Rustin's~~ his position on the the conditions of blacks is that it is unifying. Usually we just hear finger pointing and fighting among subgroups over who gets how big a piece of the existing pie. Few speak of structural changes.

We disperately need more people in power who share Rustins vicion and will lead us out of our economic morass. We need to build an economy that serves the people rather than victimizes us.

Sincerely,
Ted Buxton
Ted Buxton

2243 Rogene Dr. T-3
Baltimore MD, 21209
Day time phone # 301-383-2630 or 4077

My T– Rustin

9/6

Charles Gregory
809 Dakota SE
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108
505-841-1033 or
505-255-0305

Letters Editor
Newsweek
444 Madison Ave.
New York, New York 10022

August 27, 1983

Re: "Civil Rights: 20 Years Later" by Bayard Rustin in the My Turn column in Newsweek, Aughst 29, 1983

Dear Sir:

Amazing: a black spokesman who doesn't blame racism and Republicans for all society's miseries. Mr. Rustin has this white man's respect — and attention.

Sincerely,

Charles Gregory

Rustin-MyT
8/29 pg

August 25, 1983

8/29

Letters Editor
Newsweek
444Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

RE: Civil rights: 20 Years Later (MY TURN/BAYARD RUSTIN 8/29/83)

Dear Editor,

The increase in the number of unwed black mothers may be alarming to Bayard Rustin - it's obviously not even inconvenient for them - the government, in effect, is paying them to stay home and have as many as they want. If welfare payments were not increased every time there was another little mouth to feed, you'd see a dramatic decrease in their birth rate in about 9 months!

Barbara Vasquez
4917 Ithaca St.
Metairie, LA 70002
(504) 464-9821

nr Rustin B

3191 Morning Way
La Jolla Ca 92037
August 29, 1983

9-1

Congratulations for publishing Bayard Rustin's Statement "Civil Rights - 20 years Later"

His Statement was brilliant and more comprehensively insightful than anything that has been spelled out in recent times.

We would appreciate his joining your team to contribute a column to Newsweek as often as possible. This would improve this superior magazine.

Sincerely,
Sam Strozhak

BRENDA R. TANGER
35 FOX LANE – NEWTON CENTRE, MASSACHUSETTS 02159

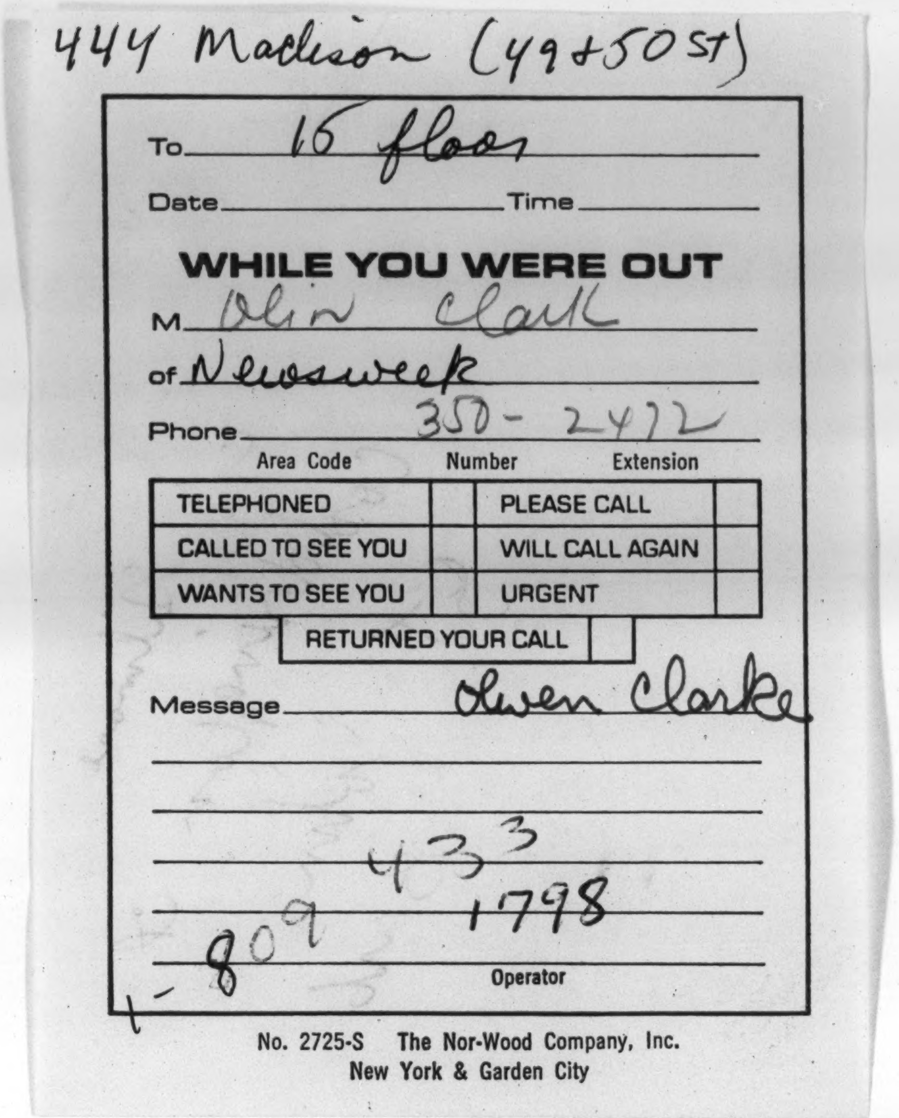
MyF Rustin

9/14

Dear Mr Rustin – Re: Newsweek article

As a long-time admirer of you as a leader (not limited to "black leader") who had two feet on the ground, I would like to point out the seriousness – above all – of one of your specifics. If the careless disregard – (as an acceptable part of a culture?) of reproducing children – one after another – without marriage (a responsible partner) continues, nothing else will matter. I think it may be the single most devastating element in retarding black progress.

Brenda Tanger



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M Olin Clark

of Newsweek

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RETURNED YOUR CALL	☐		

Message Owen Clarke

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to run in issue of August 25.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA: TWENTY YEARS LATER

by Bayard Rustin

Twenty years ago this week 250,000 black and white Americans gathered in Washington's sweltering summer heat to assert their commitment to an America based on the principles of racial and social justice. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a landmark in the decades-long struggle for civil rights, economic justice, and due process for all Americans.

Yet twenty years after that pivotal day on which our consciences were stirred by the eloquence of Martin Luther King, Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, the economic status of black Americans is deteriorating, black unemployment stands at nearly twenty percent, and our civil rights leaders appear to be incapable of developing broad-based support for their agenda.

It would be convenient to ascribe all the problems confronting black Americans to the persistence of racism. But while racism does persist and continues to exert a baneful influence upon our society, the plight of black Americans is today more and more the consequence of a number of important non-racial, structural features of our economy:

* the decline in labor intensive industries and the displacement of unskilled and semi-skilled black workers as a consequence of automation and robotization;

- unfair foreign competition and a severe recession which have eliminated hundreds of thousands of jobs in industries such as steel and auto, which historically have provided well-paying jobs for large numbers of black workers;

- the collapse of black family structures (both a consequence and cause of black economic plight) and the concomitant alarming increase in the number of unwed black mothers, the overwhelming majority of whom live in poverty;

- the decline in the size of the public sector, which in recent years has employed some sixty percent of all black college graduates and has been a major factor in the emergence of a black middle class;

- the shift from heavy industry and manufacturing toward high technology industries for which many black are ill-prepared;

- the continued growth of a black underclass of poor and indigent which in 1978 stood at 30 percent but today stands at some 37 percent.

It would, of course, be easy to pin the blame for all these problems on the current administration. Yet although President Reagan's doctrinaire policy of blind reliance on the economic marketplace has served to heighten black plight, the deteriorating conditions of the black poor and particularly the black working poor began before Reagan took office and would have continued, perhaps at a slower pace, even had President Carter been elected to a second term.

Some might throw up their hands in desperation and argue that the problems I have outlined are too large ever to be solved. Yet, paradoxically, the dilemmas confronting black Americans are solvable, for the very reason that they are now intimately linked with the overall performance of our national economy. Although blacks are disproportionately represented within the ranks of the poor, they are being joined by ever-increasing numbers of white poor. Although many blacks are joining the ranks of the jobless because of the decline in our basic industries, far larger numbers of white workers have lost their jobs.

What this suggests is that an important opportunity exists to develop a broad coalition based on a non-racial strategy for dealing with the economic decline of our basic industries, with the significant growth in poverty, and the high rates of unemployment that are expected to persist even after our projected economic "recovery." Unlike twenty years ago, when discrimination was the single most significant obstacle to black economic well-being, the latest available figures show that in all areas of our country, with the exception of the South, the median wage of blacks who are lucky enough to hold jobs is 99 percent that of the median white wage. This rarely acknowledged fact is in large measure the consequence of the civil rights legislation of the 1960s. It is likewise an important consequence of the high rate of black participation in organized labor. For as the late black labor leader A. Philip Randolph observed, a union contract provides equitable, non-racial wage standards for all employees. Moreover, unlike twenty years ago, when we marched to protest the racist denial of black access to the voting booth, today as a result of such legislation as the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black voters are a cohesive and increasingly significant national political force with a rate of voter participation approaching that of the white electorate.

Each of these developments confirms the correctness of Randolph's view in 1963 that civil rights would be supplanted by economic rights as the fundamental issue for black Americans. Today the recession and the long-term economic crisis our nation confronts suggests that economic issues are not solely an item for the black agenda. They are a matter of concern for white blue collar workers, for recent college graduates anxious about a stagnant jobs market, and for the growing ranks of black and white poor.

It can therefore be asserted that the goal of the participation of large numbers of blacks in the economic mainstream has been achieved. Yet when in 1963 we marched under the banner of integration we did not envision that participation to be within industries and occupations that are in substantial decline.

Thus today's black agenda must be part and parcel of an agenda for all Americans. It must be an agenda which includes such items as a national commitment to excellence in education, federal programs in vocational training, increased federal aid for higher education, and a national industrial policy in which government plays an active role in fueling the growth of expanding industries, easing the transition of workers displaced by the changing economy, and developing a more highly-skilled workforce able to compete in the international marketplace.

Clearly such an agenda is not specifically black. Rather it is an agenda which can unite a potent coalition of blacks and whites, Christians and Jews, workers and the poor. Only such a coalition can help attain the goals which twenty years ago brought 250,000 of us to the edges of Washington's reflecting pool on a scorching August Saturday. Only such a coalition can help us achieve our centuries-long dream of "Jobs and Freedom."

Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, who serves as Chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, was the principal organizer of the historic 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Washington Post
Article on BR.

Dissenter

His voice is still asking the unpopular questions

"That day, for a moment, it almost emed that we stood on a height, and uld see our inheritance; perhaps e could make the kingdom real, erhaps the beloved community ould not forever remain that dream e dreamed in agony."

— James Baldwin

y Jacqueline Trescott
shington Post Service

NEW YORK — Early, that steamy ugust morning 20 years ago, long efore the day became history, long efore the echoing words "I Have a ream" became part of the American exicon, Bayard Rustin walked to the rounds near the Lincoln Memorial.

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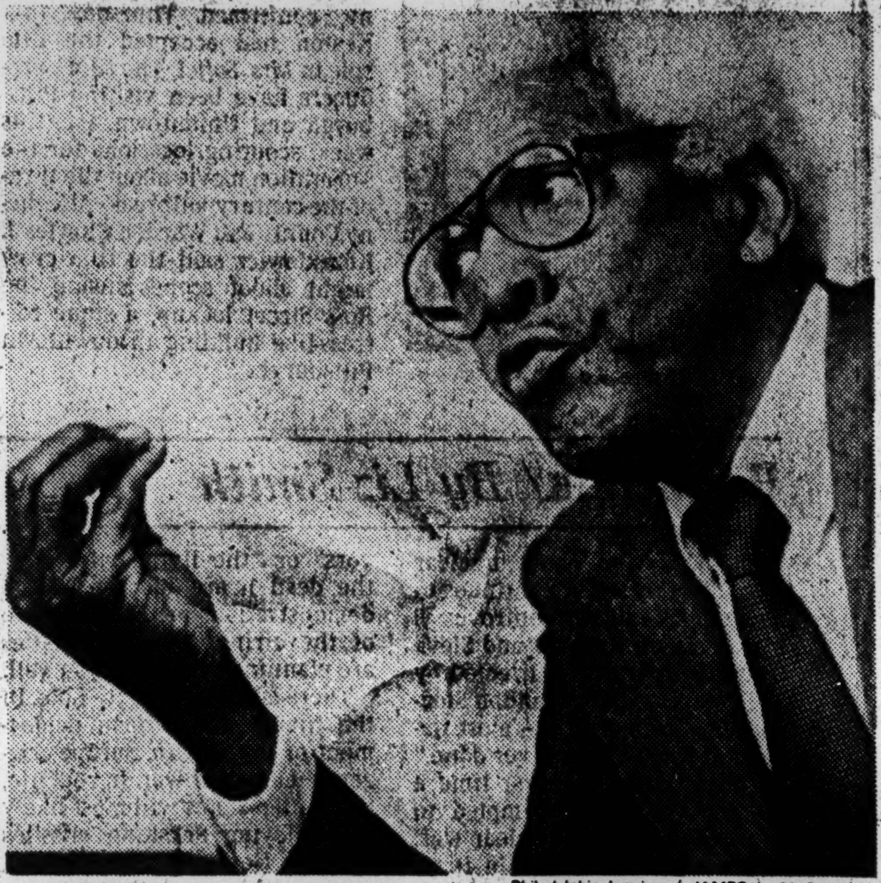
His laugh, long and easy, flies away from his lined face.

The day, Aug. 28, 1963, turned out to be more important than anyone had expected, the largest civil rights demonstration America has ever seen. Rustin was its locomotive, ordered by march director A. Philip Randolph, the preminent elder of the civil rights leaders, to pull together in eight weeks the organization that brought more than 250,000 people to the haunting shadow of Lincoln and sent them home with a brand-new vision of possibilities.

Long before, Rustin, who was raised in West Chester, Pa., and attended Cheyney State College, had been in the thick of civil rights, pacifist, labor and refugee movements. His life has been one of the myths, and some think one of the contradictions, of the civil rights struggle. He was once universally seen as a courageous and progressive thinker, but now some former allies consider him an exponent, even an apologist, for the neoconservatives. In recent years, some of his political positions have been criticized by liberal blacks and whites, and some distance has grown between him and parts of the civil rights leadership.



Philadelphia Inquirer / JAMES L. McGARRITY

Rustin has angered former associates with conservative views

Many of those same critics, however, acknowledge their belief that the Great March wouldn't have worked without him. James Farmer, then national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, says today, "I don't know anyone else who could put together all the various elements."

But, when the call went out for the 20th anniversary march, which takes

(See RUSTIN on 4-C)

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RUSTIN, from 1-C

place today, Rustin rejected it.

"I had a number of reasons for questioning a march in this time of economic frustration in the black community," says Rustin, sitting among the pictures and posters from those days that now fill his New York office. At 73, he is tall and bony, an angular 6-foot-3.

He is asking, as always, unpopular questions: "Would it be possible to have orderly demonstrations? Wouldn't the attempt to combine the peace and civil rights movements obscure the civil rights nature? If it failed, wouldn't people say the country had lost interest in civil rights? I was also fearful it would not be done with dignity. So, I cannot give my energy to something I do not fully believe in."

It is a decision that fits into his complex and controversial life.

•

Bayard Rustin has always heard a different drummer. He operated from socialist and pacifist credos, 40 years ago developing a much more radical base than most black leaders had.

Though his visibility has decreased dramatically since the 1960s, Rustin is still very active as chairman of the executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; chairman of Freedom House's executive committee; chairman of the board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a labor-policy research group that he says is supported by wealthy individuals and trade unions, and international vice president of the International Rescue Committee.

He is seen as a spokesman for minority interests, especially by labor and Jewish groups. He was the only black named by Commentary magazine editor Norman Podhoretz in the early 1970s as a leading intellectual.

Outraged former friends

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All of his work, Rustin says emotionally, has been part of his lifelong twin quest: a fight for democracy and against oppression. "I believe you cannot separate what happens to blacks in America from what happens to people seeking justice all over the world."

•

In West Chester, where Rustin was born, a community of black freedmen founded by the Quakers had existed since the Civil War. His mother never married, and he was raised by his grandmother, who was a nurse, a Quaker and an early member of the NAACP.

Rustin went to Wilberforce University in Ohio on a music scholarship, attended Cheyney State for two years and then went to the College of the City of New York (CCNY) and the London School of Economics. He worked his way through CCNY by singing, occasionally at the Cafe Society with blues legends Leadbelly and Josh White. In New York in 1936, he joined the Young Communist League because it was speaking for black causes. Rustin left the league in 1941 when it wouldn't fight against segregration in the armed forces. In 1942 he was beaten by police for refusing to sit in the back of a bus in Tennessee.

The man Dr. King enlisted as an adviser in 1955 was a rare person, a black person who had traveled extensively and knew firsthand the freedom movements in India and Africa. Mohandas Gandhi, along with Dr. King and Randolph, were Rustin's main influences. Rustin drew up the organizational prospectus for what became Dr. King's national organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and spearheaded a fund-raising campaign in New York.

Rustin hears the complaints about him. And his powerful voice rises as he protests: "Some people don't like honesty. People want you to agree with them."

Some critics, he says, "feel Rustin is running all over the place, concerned with everybody else, not us. I

the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Birmingham's segregation was unconstitutional. After much debate among President John F. Kennedy's cabinet members, Kennedy made a civil rights address on June 11. That next night Medgar Evers, the NAACP field secretary in Mississippi, was gunned down in his driveway. Eight days later Kennedy sent a bill to Capitol Hill asking for the end of segregation in interstate public accommodations.

Rustin remembers meeting earlier that year with three colleagues. Their conclusion: "We needed a great march to do two things: to close down the period of street protest and to usher in the period of politics."

It wasn't easy.

Weeks before the march, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.) spent 45 minutes on the Senate floor saying that Rustin had been a member of the Communist Party and entering his police records, including his 1953 conviction on a morals charge, into the Congressional Record.

Rustin chuckles. "That was the best thing he could have done for me. Actually, because I was a homosexual, and because I had been a conscientious objector and because I was a Quaker, Mr. Wilkins [Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director] had been deeply distressed. He didn't want me as the director of the march because he thought people would do just what they did. But Wilkins ended up being an enormous help."

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Bayard Rustin: He's still asking unpopular questions

RUSTIN, from 1-C

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Some of his public statements in recent years, however, have outraged former friends. He has spoken against quotas for employment and school admissions and in support of much of the U.S. policy on Israel. Some of his associations, too, particularly with Freedom House (a conservative international policy group), have made old supporters furious.

District of Columbia delegate to Congress Walter Fauntroy, who is director of today's march, says Rustin's criticism of it "caps a failure on his part to move with the movement since 1963." He adds, "I have been uncomfortable with what I considered to be a former progressive becoming a reactionary."

•

Among his friends and foes there is no disagreement that Rustin has style.

In 1955, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. turned to him for help with the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. City officials wanted to know who this man was with the clipped, adopted British accent. Rustin pulled himself up in soldierly fashion and answered, "a reporter from Le Figaro." In the time it took for the officials to determine his true identity, Rustin finished his work and left town.

On a trip to Thailand in 1982 to look at Laotian refugee camps, Rustin thanked the refugees by singing. He raised his hands in a V, tears pouring down his cheeks, and sang the spiritual "Oh Freedom."

Still, many ask, why Thailand, why Israel, why El Salvador, why Poland, when many American blacks are caught on the carousel of progress and slippage?

All of his work, Rustin says emotionally, has been part of his lifelong twin quest: a fight for democracy and against oppression. "I believe you cannot separate what happens to blacks in America from what happens to people seeking justice all over the world."

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Some critics, he says, "feel Rustin is running all over the place, concerned with everybody else, not us. I got that very definitely for [my association with] Black Americans to Support Israel. What people forget is that when I was raising money for Dr. King, a great deal of that money came from Jewish people. They also forget that two Jewish boys, along with a black boy, were murdered in Mississippi. I can't call on other people continuously to help me and mine, unless I give indication that I am willing to help other people in trouble."

He hears, and it hurts. Sometimes, he says, he cries.

•

Rustin had always wanted the Great March to be the Final March.

In 1963, he was 53, executive secretary of the War Resisters League, a close associate of Randolph.

The year before had been the most tumultuous in American streets since the Civil War. Black churches were being routinely dynamited. A Southern-dominated Congress wore blinders where civil rights were concerned.

Gov. Ross Barnett turned away three blacks, including James Meredith, at the doors of the University of Mississippi.

In January 1963, George Wallace was inaugurated governor of Alabama and vowed, "Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"

In April, Dr. King headed for the Birmingham of Sheriff Bull Connor, and wire services flashed photographs throughout the world of police dogs attacking blacks. On May 20, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Birmingham's segregation was unconstitutional. After much debate among President John F. Kennedy's cabinet members, Kennedy made a civil rights address on June 11. That next night Medgar Evers, the NAACP field secretary in Mississippi, was gunned down in his driveway. Eight days later Kennedy sent a bill to Capitol Hill asking for the end of segregation in interstate public accommodations.

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The Washington Post

Sunday, August 21, 1983

The March, the Dream

Bayard Rustin: Contradictions Of a Legendary Leader

By Jacqueline Trescott

> *"That day, for a moment, it almost seemed that we stood on a height, and could see our inheritance; perhaps we could make the kingdom real, perhaps the beloved community would not forever remain that dream one dreamed in agony."*—James Baldwin

Early, that steamy August morning 20 years ago, long before the day became history, long before the echoing words "I Have a Dream" became part of the American lexicon, Bayard Rustin walked over to the grounds near the Lincoln Memorial.

It was 6:30 a.m. and reporters had started to gather. Some were highly skeptical of the effort to bring hundreds of thousands of blacks and whites to Washington to call attention to the bucket marked justice that was empty for black Americans.

"Well, you claim over 200,000 people are coming. No one is here. What is happening?" a reporter asked Rustin, the march coordinator, as the two of them surveyed the empty expanse.

"I was terrified people wouldn't show," Rustin said recently, describing the first of many emotions that day. "I took out my pocket watch, checked it, took out a blank piece of paper, looked carefully at it, and announced, 'Everything is going according to schedule.' "

His laugh, long and easy, flies away from the lined, bronze face.

The day, Aug. 28, 1963, turned out to be more important than anyone expected, the single largest civil rights demonstration America has ever seen. Rustin was partly its catalyst, definitely its locomotive. March director A. Philip Randolph, the preeminent elder of the civil rights leaders, had given him eight weeks to pull together in eight weeks the massive organization that brought more than 250,000 to the haunting shadow of Lincoln and sent them home with a brand-new vision of possibilities.

Long before and long after 1963, Rustin had been in the thick of civil rights, pacifist, labor and refugee movements. His life has been one of the myths, and some think one of the contradictions, of the civil rights struggle. Once he was universally seen as a courageous and progressive thinker; now some former allies consider him an exponent, even an apologist, for the neoconservatives. In recent years, some of his political positions have been criticized by liberal blacks and whites, and some distance has grown

Continued on Page 6

Bayard Rustin

Continued from Page 1

between him and parts of the civil rights leadership.

Many of those same critics, however, take the generosity of the long view and believe the Great March wouldn't have worked without him. James Farmer, then national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, says today, "I don't know anyone else who could put together all the various elements."

But, when the call went out for the 20th anniversary march, which is to take place Saturday, Rustin rejected the summons.

"I had a number of reasons for questioning a march in this time of economic frustration in the black community," says Rustin, sitting among the pictures and posters from those days that now fill his New York office. At 73, he is tall and bony, his angular 6-foot-3 frame fed by a daily lunch of yogurt. He is always impeccably tailored, with a clipped lawn of white hair, an appearance once described by poet Robert Penn Warren as "a strange mixture of strength and sensitivity."

He is asking, as always, unpopular questions: "Would it be possible to have orderly demonstrations? Wouldn't the attempt to combine the peace and civil rights movements obscure the civil rights nature? If it failed, wouldn't people say the country had lost interest in civil rights? I was also fearful it would not be done with dignity. So, I can not give my energy to something I do not fully believe in."

It is a decision that fits into his complex and controversial life.

Out of the group that bravely initiated the push for social rights in the 1940s through the 1960s—especially among those who spoke at the march—A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Walter Reuther, Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins are dead. Farmer was in jail in Louisiana the day of the march, and is now quietly writing an autobiography. John Lewis, then national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a city council member in Atlanta.

Bayard Rustin has always heard a different drummer. He operated from socialist and pacifist credos, 20 and 30 years ago developing a much more radical base than most black leaders.

He has had no large membership organization of his own to back his controversial opinions, and yet he is seen as a spokesman for minority interests, especially by labor and Jewish groups. He was the only black named by Commentary magazine editor Norman Podhoretz in the early 1970s as a leading intellectual. Some of his allies from those days regard Rustin as a liberal turned neo-conservative. They feel his status as one of the few blacks inside those circles has hampered a broader dialogue between white conservatives and black liberals.

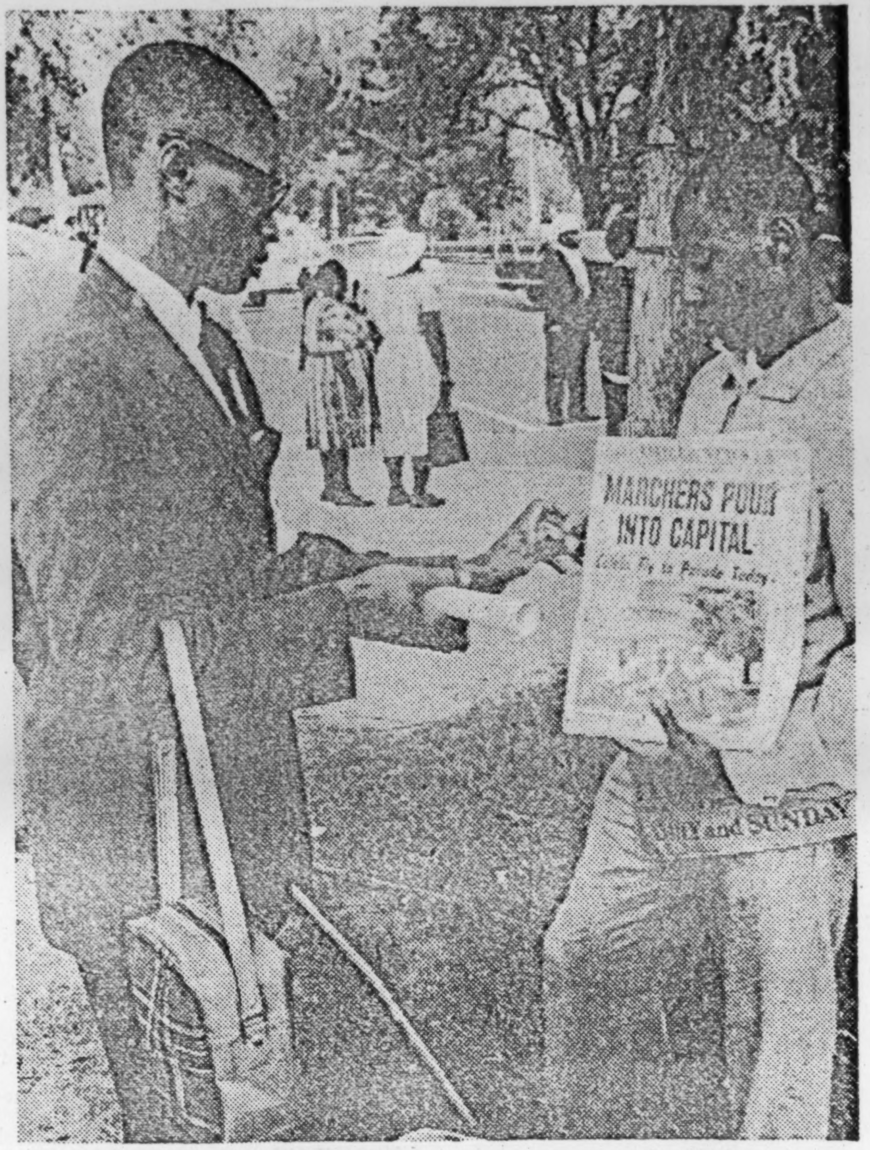
Some of his public statements in recent years outraged former friends. He has spoken against employment and admissions quotas and in support of much of the U.S. policy of Israel through his group BASIC (Black Americans to Support Israel Committee). Some of his associations, too, particulary with Freedom House (a conservative international policy group), have made old supporters furious. That group made a move Rustin says he has been encouraging for years when he put South Africa on its list of repressive governments for the first time last year.

Those old supporters have reacted with public displays of anger. At a meeting in 1979 of 100 black leaders, who were discussing Middle East policy and black-Jewish relations in the aftermath of Andrew Young's resignation at the United Nations, Rustin was booed for defending the American-Jewish position. "I was denounced," he shouts even today.

Though his visibility has decreased dramatically since the 1960s, Rustin is still very active as chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights executive committee, chairman of Freedom House's executive committee, chairman of the board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a labor policy research group that he says is supported by wealthy individuals and trade unions, and international vice president of the International Rescue Committee.

His criticism of the upcoming anniversary march, says its national director, Del. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.), "caps a failure on his part to move with the movement since 1963." Fauntroy says he wanted Rustin to help organize, even direct again, the upcoming march.

Their disagreement is longstanding and public. Fauntroy cites Rustin's opposition to trying boycotts in northern cities in the mid-1960s, his opposition to King's denouncement of the Vietnam War (a charge Rustin disputes) and his siding with the Jewish-American community against Young. "I have been uncomfortable with what I considered to be a former progressive becoming a reactionary," says Fauntroy. Rustin says he is greatly pained by personality politics, and did indeed publicly sup-



"MARCH ON WASHINGTON": *To commemorate the 20th anniversary of the largest civil rights demonstration in U.S. history, an exhibit of photographs and artifacts is now on view through Aug. 28 at the Smithsonian's Museum of American History. Above, James H. Wallace Jr.'s photograph of a marcher and a newspaper vendor near the route of the unprecedented march on Aug. 28, 1963.*

port King's opposition to the war, but didn't want the peace and civil rights movements linked.

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In 1955, King turned to him for help with the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. The town officials wanted to know who this man was with the clipped, adopted British accent. In soldierly fashion, Rustin straightened and answered, "a reporter from Le Figaro." In the time it took for the officials to determine his true identity, Rustin finished his strategy and left town.

Though publicly harmonious, the Great March leadership was rife with jockeying, jealousies and some impatience. Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, criticized Rustin at one meeting for all his nitpicking, such as the number of portable johns. Rustin shouted back, "you can't have these people p------ all over Washington."

On a trip to Thailand in 1982 to look at Laotian refugee camps, a U.S. Embassy staffer was introducing the delegation to the governor of the province. The Thai word for Mister is Khun. He keep saying 'Khun Rustin this, and Khun Rustin that.' After a while, recalls a participant, Rustin joked, in a stage whisper, "If that son of a b---- calls me a coon again, I am going to kick him in the a--." Everyone burst into laughter, to the bewilderment of the Thais.

Later on that same trip, Rustin, dressed in a blue polo shirt, white pants, white panama hat, and carrying an Irish walking stick, thanked the refugees by singing. He raised his hands in a V to the top of the hut, tears pouring down his cheeks, and sang the spiritual "Oh Freedom."

Still, many ask, why Israel, why Cambodia, why El Salvador, why Poland, when many American blacks are caught on the carousel of progress and slippage? "My problem with Bayard basically is his concern on any issue is transitory," says Farmer.

Continued on Page 7

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"He has the tremendous ability, because of his real talent, to speak on any side of the issue. But one wonders what he believes."

Yet in places there is access and respect. "Bayard has been consistent . . . in his belief in the need for coalitions. And he has not grown conservative, he is trying to cut through the rhetoric and get to the issue," says William Taylor, director of the Center for National Policy Review.

"I learned long ago to respond to anything Mr. Rustin is involved in and not ask questions," said Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr. (R-N.Y.), looking across the table at Rustin during a briefing on Indochinese refugees on the Hill a year ago.

Rustin, doodling on a piece of paper, smiled slightly.

Rustin was born in West Chester, Pa., where a community of black freedmen founded by the Quakers had existed since the Civil War. His mother never married and he was raised by his grandmother, who was a nurse, a Quaker and an early member of the NAACP.

Though the town boasted of harmony between blacks, Jews, Irish and Chinese, Rustin's childhood did not escape the scars of segregation. In high school, he played guard on the football team, and when he was refused service in a restaurant with his teammates, he held his own sit-in.

He went to Wilberforce on a music scholarship, attended Cheyney State College for two years, and then the College of the City of New York, as well as the London School of Economics. At CCNY, he worked his way through by singing, occasionally at the Cafe Society with Leadbelly and Josh White. In New York in 1936, he joined the Young Communist League because they were the ones speaking for black causes, such as the trial of the Scottsboro Boys. Rustin left the League in 1941 when they wouldn't fight against segregration in the armed forces.

After college he joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group. From that base he helped organize Randolph's first attempted march on Washington in 1941 (which was called off after President Roosevelt signed an executive order barring discrimination in defense industries or government) and worked as the first field secretary of CORE, organizing some of the early chapters.

As early as 1942 he was beaten by police for refusing to sit in the back of a bus in Tennessee.

Though he had his share of beatings, those early years for Rustin went beyond southern police blotters. During World War II, Rustin went to California and protested against Japanese internment and was jailed 28 months as a conscientious objector. In 1947 he spent 22 days on a North Carolina chain gang during the original Freedom Ride.

The man King enlisted as an adviser in 1955 was a rare person, a black who had traveled extensively and knew firsthand the freedom movements in India and Africa. Gandhi, along with King and Randolph, were Rustin's main influences. "From Gandhi I learned that the greatest strength is to be right and to have a single standard," he said.

Rustin drew up the organizational prospectus for what became King's national organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spearheaded the fund-raising for the southern movement in New York, and arranged one of King's early national appearances, a speech at the 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage here.

In that time, Rustin also worked on other fronts in New York, where he saw the fight for equality as much different than the Birminghams and Selmas. In 1964, he organized a school strike of black parents and students in New York City. Later during the volatile school decentralization in New York, Rustin sided with the unions, whose exclusion of blacks from leadership positions at that time was criticized. Even today he maintains strong connections with the trade unions. Rustin's New York office is the only other tenant in the United Federation of Teachers building, and for years he has lived in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union housing cooperative near New York's Penn Station.

In 1960 Stokely Carmichael invited Rustin and Malcolm X to debate "Separation or Integration." Rustin took 10 minutes of his half hour to discuss integration and then gave the rest of his time to Malcolm X, saying the students needed to hear a different view. A few years later, however, when Carmichael grabbed Black Power as a slogan, Rustin said the term was "positively harmful."

Increasingly Rustin seemed at odds with liberal views on foreign affairs. In April 1979, when Ian Smith, then prime minister of Rhodesia, called an election, the State Department, the Organization of African Unity, the civil rights leadership and others had called the vote "a sham." Rustin, along with Allard Lowenstein, joined a group of observers and lent the effort credibility.

All of his work, he says emotionally, has been part of his lifelong twin quest: a fight for democracy and against oppression.

Continued on Page 8

Bayard Rustin

Continued from Page 7

"I believe you cannot separate what happens to blacks in America from what happens to people seeking justice all over the world," says Rustin. When he went on the "Today" show last year and discussed Afghan refugees, but not Haitians, he deflected the criticism by saying he was calling attention to Haitians through other conferences and committees.

He hears the complaints about him. And his powerful voice rises as he protests: "Some people don't like honesty. People want you to agree with them."

Some critics, he says, "feel Rustin is running all over the place, concerned with everybody else, not us. I got that very definitely for Black Americans to Support Israel. What people forget is that when I was raising money for Dr. King, a great deal of that money came from Jewish people. They also forget that two Jewish boys, along with a black boy, were murdered in Mississippi. I can't call on other people continuously to help me and mine, unless I give indication that I am willing to help other people in trouble."

He hears and it hurts. Sometimes, he says, he cries.

"The biggest hurt is to be considered an Uncle Tom by your own people. On the door of my house, a Star of David has been printed, I have been called a Jew lover. I don't mind that. What I mind is that the people I love most would misunderstand my motives. I have been accused of getting money from Jews, have been accused of holding certain views because that's what the Jewish community wants me to hold. That hurts me."

He refuses to dwell on the past. "Somebody once asked Rembrandt what was his favorite painting and he said, 'The one I am working on now.' I don't look back. I think it is a considerable waste of energy. Then again someone asked Mr. Randolph when he was going to write his book, and he said 'I am too busy making history to write it.' "

Rustin had always wanted the Great March to be the Final March.

In 1963, he was 53, working as the executive secretary of the War Resisters League, and again a close associate of Randolph. The time seemed right.

The year before had been the most tumultuous in American streets since the Civil War. Black churches were being dynamited. A southern-dominated Congress wore blinders where civil rights were concerned.

Gov. Ross Barnett turned away three blacks, including James Meredith,at the doors of the University of Mississippi.

In January 1963, George Wallace was inaugurated as governor of Alabama for the first time and vowed, "Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"

In April, King headed for the Birmingham of Bull Connor and wire services flashed photographs around the world of police dogs attacking blacks. On May 20, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Birmingham segregation unconstitutional. After much debate among the Kennedy cabinet, President Kennedy made a civil rights address on June 11. That next night Medgar Evers, the NAACP field secretary in Mississippi, was gunned down in his driveway. Eight days later Kennedy sent a bill to Capitol Hill asking for the end of segregation in interstate public accommodations.

Rustin remembers meeting earlier that year with three colleagues. Their conclusion: "We needed a great march to do two things: to close down the period of street protest, and to usher in the period of politics."

Yet it wasn't easy.

Weeks before the march, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) spent 45 minutes on the Senate floor charging that Rustin had been a member of the Communist Party and entering his police records, including his 1953 conviction on a morals charge, into the Congressional Record. That was the wrong tactic, and the organizers closed ranks around Rustin, with King and Randolph defending his integrity and ability.

Rustin chuckles, "that was the best thing he could have done for me. Actually, because I was a homosexual, and because I had been a conscientious objector and because I was a Quaker, Mr. Wilkins had been deeply distressed. He didn't want me as the director of the march because he thought people would do just what they did. But Wilkins ended up being an enormous help."

Rustin remembers other moments:

- A discussion among the leaders as to whether Kennedy should address the crowd: Rustin argued against the invitation, believing the march should be a protest—how could you invite the head of the goverment you were criticizing? The moderate members, arguing protocol over politics and wanting the civil rights legislation passed, seemed to be winning. Then Rustin excused himself from the meeting, went out into the hall, and came back saying "his sources" told him "Kennedy would be stoned." The Rustin style again won the debate.
- Inside the march headquarters in a church building in New York: "A week before the march, Mr. Wilkins said to [march transportation director] Rachelle Horowitz, 'Rachelle, I don't want you to say to me what you say to the press. Add up the people coming by train, plane and bus.' Rachelle came up with a number around 100,000. He looked at her, put his arms around her, and said, 'If you are telling the truth, we will have a quarter million people.' Everyone just looked at him. And Mr. Wilkins said, 'I know my people, they are not going to make up their minds until the last minute. I can see a couple waking up and John saying to Mary Lou, 'Girl, we are going to the March on Washington today.' "

A perfectionist, Rustin also got a special order from the New York City police department to allow black officers to work in plainclothes that day in Washington. And he trained them. Horowitz remembers the sessions: "He had these guys from the federation of black officers. He would take these big cops out on the street and instruct them in nonviolence. 'Now you will link hands and quietly encircle the crowd, do not push, do not shove.' At the end they were absolutely docile."

The day became a time for the famous and the anonymous.

While making sure the television camera platforms weren't blocking the view of the Lincoln Memorial, Rustin noticed a woman in a medal-decorated blue suit trying to get on the platform. "And I said, 'Madam, where are you going?' And she said, 'I just got off the plane from Paris, I had a limo waiting for me and I am going up. I am Josephine Baker.' And, of course, I had her taken up immediately," recalls Rustin. He remembers trying to escort Paul Newman up to the stage, but the actor wanted to hang back in the crowd.

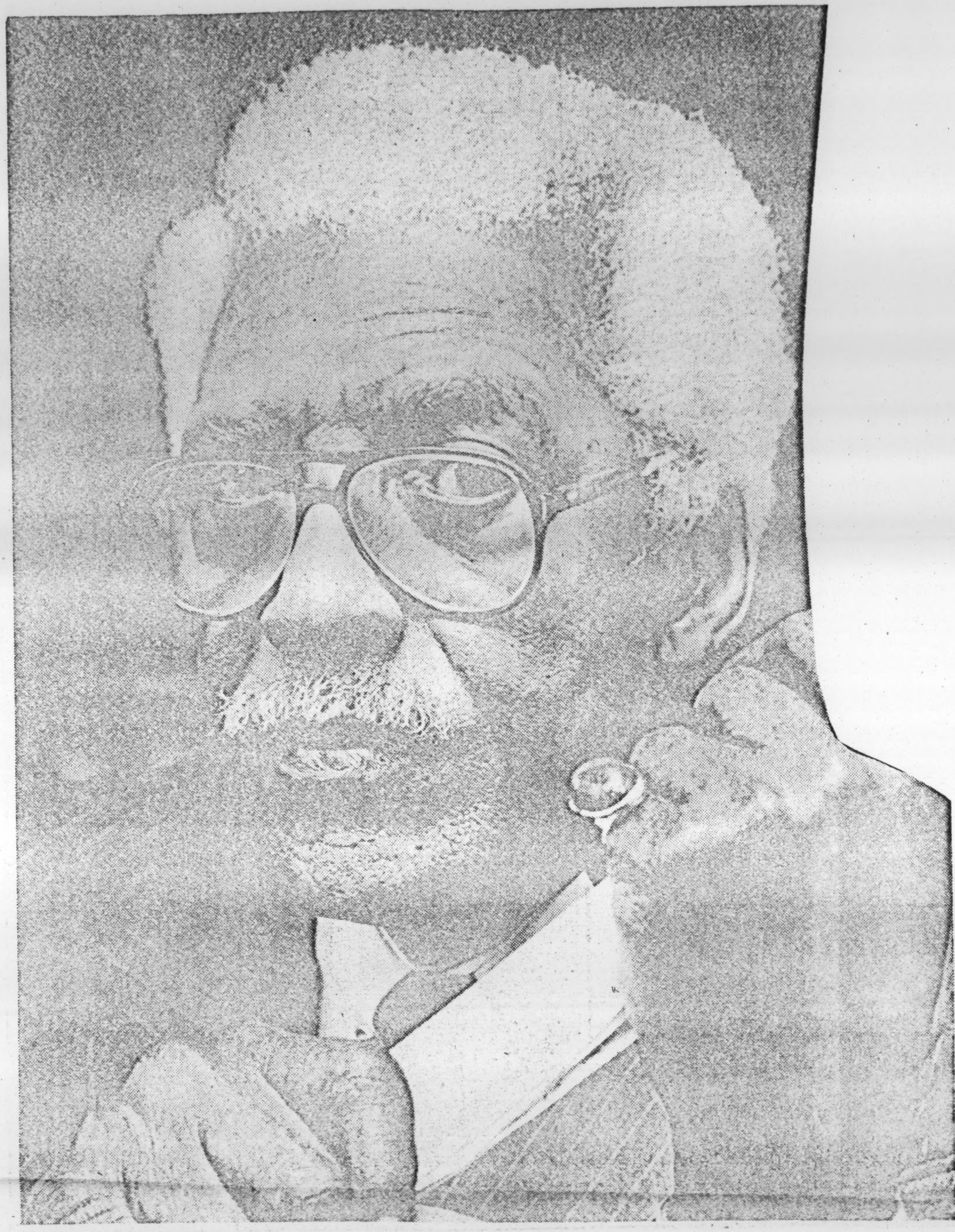
And he still has pride in his voice when he talks of another kind of spirit. "Dick Gregory showed me a woman known as Scarlet Mary, a Chicago prostitute. And she had asked Dick for a job for a couple of days. He asked why. She said 'I want to go to Washington with clean money.' She went out and did housework for two days."

But Rustin remembers best the words of Randolph, King and Rabbi Joachim Prinz, the president of the American Jewish Congress; he never mentions his own brief oratory, when he and Randolph read what was called "The Pledge." The yeses of the multitude echoed for miles.

The march remains majestic in his eyes, and not just for his own part.

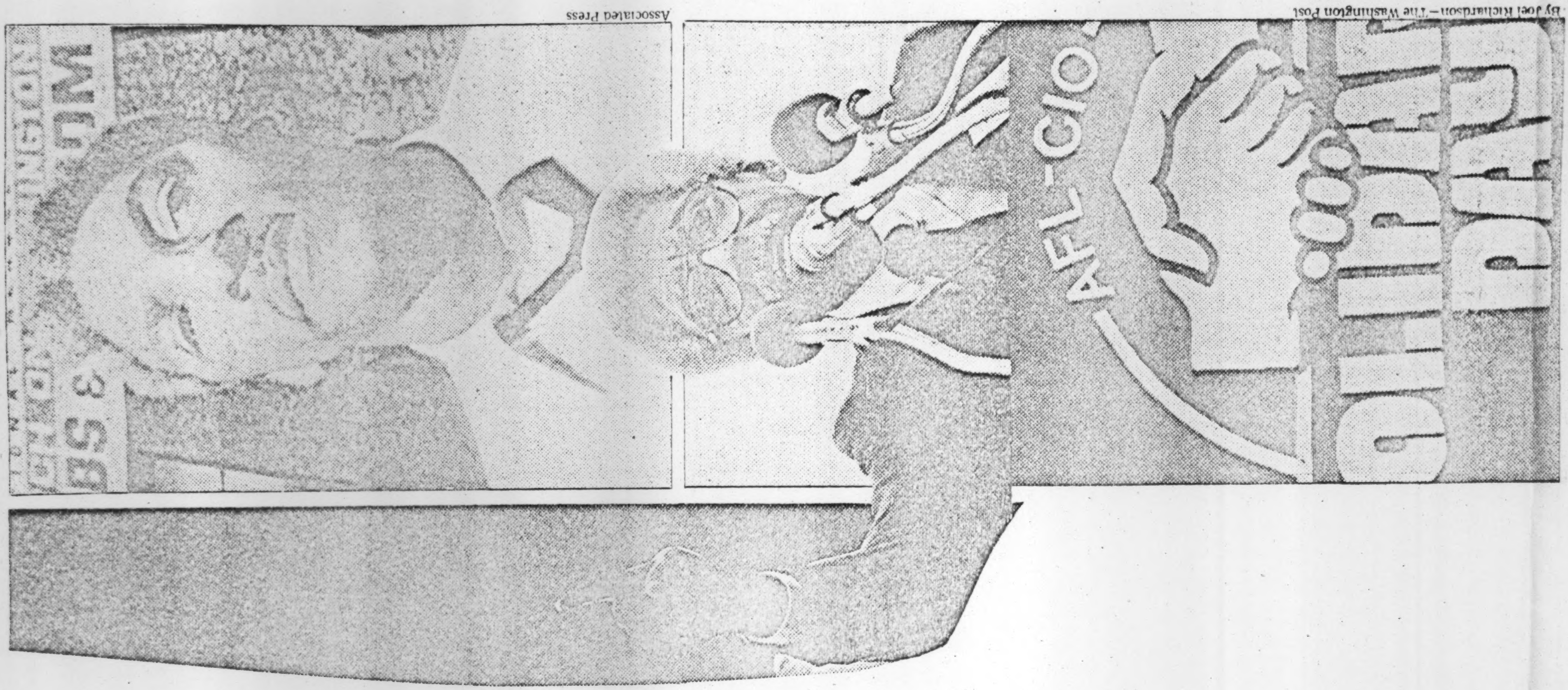
"Mr. Randolph was a man who never expressed emotion, never raised his voice. At the end of the march, I went over to give him a note about the death of W.E.B. DuBois. Mr. Randolph looked at me and I saw tears rolling down his cheeks and I said, 'I knew he was a friend of yours, but I didn't know you knew him so well.' And he said, 'I do not weep for DuBois but for today. I think the time has come that America is ready to accept us.'

"That was one of the great moments of my life that I had been useful in making a man I dearly respected happy."



By Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

Bayard Rustin in 1981.


MARCH ON WASHINGTON
AFL-CIO
SOLIDARITY DAY

Associated Press

By Joel Richardson—The Washington Post

Right, Rustin in New York City three weeks before the 1963 civil rights march on Washington and in 1981 addressing AFL-CIO Solidarity Day participants.

March on Washington - 1982
anniversary (memo to Black Leadership)

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER
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449 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30312 (404) 524-1956

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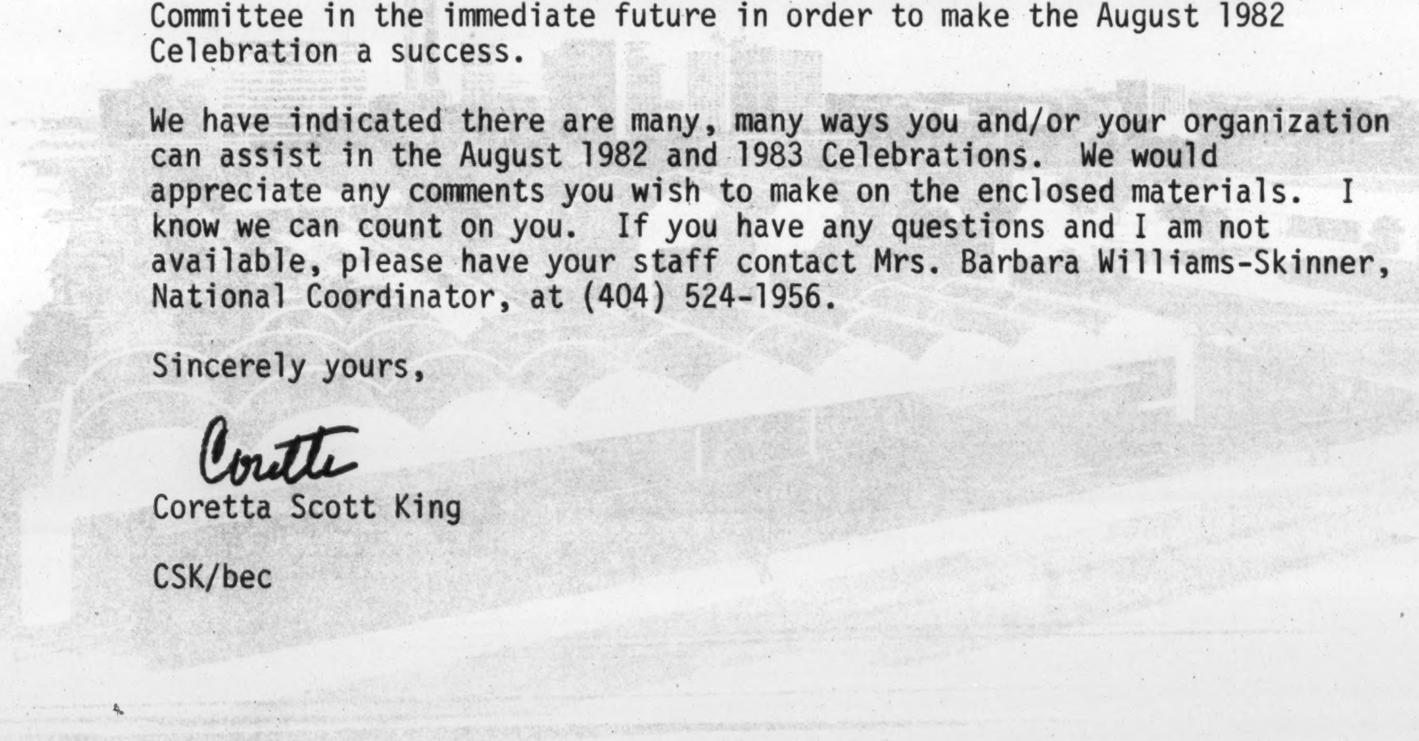
July 9, 1982

Mr. Bayard Rustin, President
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH EDUCATIONAL FUND
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Bayard:

On June 28, 1982, the Steering Committee for the "I Have a Dream Celebration" met in Atlanta to review and discuss proposed plans and resource needs for the August 27-28, 1982 Dream Celebration in Atlanta and the August 27-28, 1983--20th Anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington. The tremendous experience, commitment and enthusiasm of the organizations represented at the meeting was indeed encouraging given the magnitude of the events we are planning. I have enclosed a synopsis of the meeting to share with you what was accomplished at the meeting and the commitments we need from you as a member of the Steering Committee in the immediate future in order to make the August 1982 Celebration a success.



We have indicated there are many, many ways you and/or your organization can assist in the August 1982 and 1983 Celebrations. We would appreciate any comments you wish to make on the enclosed materials. I know we can count on you. If you have any questions and I am not available, please have your staff contact Mrs. Barbara Williams-Skinner, National Coordinator, at (404) 524-1956.

Sincerely yours,

Coretta
Coretta Scott King

CSK/bec

FREEDOM HALL COMPLEX

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
August 27-28, 1983 - Washington, D.C.

"RECALLING THE DREAM"

Co-Chairpersons 1982
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy

National Coordinator
Barbara Williams-Skinner

Co-Chairpersons 1983
Coretta Scott King
Rev. Joseph Lowery

August 18, 1982

Mr. Norman Hill
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Hill:

We have received an overwhelming and enthusiastic response from a broadly representative number of organizations and individuals who will participate as co-sponsors of the "I Have A Dream" Celebration on August 27-28, 1982 in Atlanta. As a member of the Steering Committee, I want to share with you a tentative agenda of the Steering Committee meeting scheduled for Friday, August 27, 1982 at 3:00 p.m. The meeting will be held in Freedom Hall, Room 252, at The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Inc. Also enclosed is an updated list of co-sponsoring organizations and other materials.

The primary purpose of the meeting is to discuss strategies and activities to be undertaken over the next twelve months in anticipation of the 20th Anniversary Celebration of the 1963 March on Washington as well as activities for the Celebration itself. Emphasis will be on the August 27-28, 1983 planning details and resources required to ensure the kind of message which must be conveyed to the nation about JOBS, PEACE and FREEDOM.

If you have not already done so, please contact Barbara Williams Skinner or Olivia Capers at (404) 524-1956 to confirm your participation. Let us know also of persons from your organization who will be attending the August 28th Celebration. I look forward to sharing this special time with you.

Sincerely yours,

Coretta Scott King

Coretta Scott King

CSK/bec
Enclosure(s)

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Rev. Joseph Lowery, Chairman and Members of the Black Leadership Forum

FROM: Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

RE: Proposed Anniversary of 1963 March on Washington

DATE: October 19, 1982

We believe that the 1963, March at which Martin Luther King, Jr. made his now world famous speech, I Have a Dream, was a historic moment for all Americans. Thus we are most enthusiastic about an anniversary of that great event. But it must be carried out in a manner that enhances the cause of civil rights. As Deputy Directors of the '63 March, we are fully acquainted with the financial and organizational details that contributed to its moral and political success.

Norman Hill, you will remember, abstained in the vote on this particular proposal when it was presented at the last meeting of the Forum. Bayard Rustin saw the plans for the first time following the forum meeting.

Having now reviewed the present plans for a March in 1983, we wish to raise a number of questions regarding its wisdom. We would not at this time question these current plans if we were not prepared to offer an alternative. But let us first raise the questions we have regarding a March.

1. Money.

In 1963 over $300,000 was spent by the organizing committee. There is actually no accurate way to estimate the costs incurred by other national and local groups. But we would guess that $600,000 to $700,000 was spent by them. One can assume that the 1963 March cost about $1,000,000 all told. Given the subsequent inflation, we would estimate the cost for a similar effort in 1983, conservatively, would be at least $2,000,000.

We do not believe that the commitment and financial state of the present coalition can raise any such amount either in terms of the central committee or for an adequate local response. We base that judgement on the fact that, after months of discussion, significant funds have neither been collected or committed.

2. The 80's more complicated than the 60's.

We believe that, out of a sentimental appreciation of the dynamics of the 1960's and out of deep respect for the great contribution of Dr. King, many people will find it difficult to evaluate objectively the new and more complicated situation we face in the 1980's. They may therefore approve such a March while not recognizing that they cannot arouse in their constituencies either the political and moral response, the financial commitment, or the energy to equal or surpass the dynamic and unique demonstration that the situation in 1963 made possible.

3. Comparison of numbers a political danger for the movement.

A March in 1983 will be compared in every detail with the March of 1963. Failure to equal the quarter million mark will, automatically be considered by the media as a failure of the movement. It will also, in this difficult period, be considered by many black people a failure attributable to today's black leadership. It will, beyond this, reveal a weakness in our coalition and will send the wrong signals to the Administration, to Congress, and to the various state and local governments. Civil rights forces will be seen not as gathering strength, but as withering on the political vine.

It is our considered judgement that we cannot afford to hold a commenorative March in 1983 without attracting more people than we did in 1963. Otherwise, we will be doing grave damage to our cause and movement and to all of its constituent segments.

4. Movement results from hope not despair

Growth and movement in voluntary agencies and in individual action springs not from despair but from hope. This was evidenced in an article in the New York Times (Friday, October 8th, 1982), reporting on a survey among the unemployed. In their despair, many gave up hope on politicians and the electoral system and indicated that they would not turn up at the polls for the 1982 election.

1963 was truly a period of great hopes. Our slogans became We Shall Overcome; Freedom Now; Pass the Bill. Yet even so, it took months of organizing, cajoling, and persuasion, to get 250,000 people to Washington. Can we hope to top that figure in 1983? And if we decide to try, should we not first fully weigh the extreme political consequences if we do not succeed?

5. The Question of Order

One of the most impressive aspects of the 1963 March was its sense of joy, camaraderie, and order. In fact, not a single arrest was made in all of Washington that day. It is reported that this helped convince some in Congress who had opposed civil rights legislation to reverse their positions.

There is a serious question in our minds as to whether order can be maintained in Washington, D.C. on a hot summer afternoon in a period when black youth are justifiably distraught and angry; when their rate of unemployment is far greater than that for the average adult even in the Great Depression; when training programs have been curtailed; and when the loss of welfare and other benefits the government once provided has caused many black youths to lose faith that there is a role for them in American society.

We believe that to call thousands of blacks, especially youth, in these circumstances to a place where they may not have the expectation of control, nor we the capacity, is taking on a responsibility we may well not be able to shoulder.

6. Programmatic Confusion

We believe that the effort to combine, in one demonstration, issues of civil rights, peace, and other important, even valuable, matters on the social agenda, will lead to diffusion and watering down of the basic economic and civil rights issues. Since the issues of peace and environment are perceived in the public and news media as far more urgent than civil rights, inclusion of these issues will detract from what should be our basic emphasis. All the more so, since there exist numerous environmental, peace, and other organizations to which individuals can turn for such expression. In addition the achievement of programmatic unity among ourselves becomes more difficult by the inclusion of peace, thereby making the success of the event even more problematic.

Can such issues be separated out if the form of protest is a march in which it is patently impossible to control the material distributed, or the posters, banners, and other displays carried and sold.

7. An Alternative to Consider

We should like to propose an alternative that we believe would overcome the problems outlined above.

Instead of a March, we suggest a 20th anniversary of the 1963 March and of Dr. King's great speech, to be held as an indoor political meeting in the largest auditorium in Washington.

The purpose would be to outline the agenda of blacks, other minorities, and the poor in general, addressed to the Administration and Congress in 1983, and to the 1984 elections.

A concrete limited manifesto would be drawn up and presented as a guideline statement for the 1980's.

All Representatives and Senators would be invited to hear the manifesto, in addition to leaders, administration officials, and other prominent people.

At the same time, in many cities across the nation, similar rallies could be held to present the same broad agenda, but also including specific issues of state and local concern. These would be attended by state and local officials, and by business and organization leaders. As in the 1963 March, these local activities would be coordinated by the national committee. For organizing centers, would use local chapters of the basic civil rights organizations that agree to cooperate. The national committee should be composed of one representative of each major civil rights sponsoring organization plus (as in '63) a Labor, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representative.

We respectfully suggest that the Black Leadership Forum meet to discuss this alternative and any others that may be presented. We areprepared to present such a meeting a fuller and more detailed plan of the above proposal.

Please address any response to this memorandum to:

Bayard Rustin
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Memo to: Black Leadership Forum
From: Bayard Rustin + Norman Hill
Reference: Proposed anniversary of 1963
March on Washington
Date: October 12, 1982

We believe that the 1963 march at which Martin Luther King, Jr. made his now world famous speech, I have a Dream, was one of the great historic moments in our history for all Americans. As deputy directors of the '63 march, we are fully acquainted with the financial and organizational details that contributed

Thus we are most enthusiastic that an anniversary of that great event be carried out in such a manner as to enhance the cause of civil rights morally and politically

to its success. Thus having now reviewed the current plans for a march in 1983, we wish to raise a number of questions regarding the wisdom of such a plan. Norman Hill, you will remember, abstained in the vote on this matter which was taken at the last meeting of the Forum. Bayard Rustin saw the plans for the first time ~~when they were~~ following the forum meeting.

to top of page

Bear in mind that we would not at this time question the current plans if we were not prepared to offer an alternative. But let us first raise the question we have regarding a march

1. Money

In 1963 over $300,000 was spent by the organizing committee. There is actually no clear way to estimate the cost by local groups. But our estimate is that $600,000 to $700,000 was spent. Thus if one assumes the march to have cost over one million dollars in 1963, given the subsequent inflation the cost for a similar effort in 1982 conservatively would require over two million dollars.

We do not believe that the present commitment + financial state of the coalition can by any means raise any such amount either in terms of the central committee or in an adequate response locally. We cannot ignore that after months discussion adequate funds are neither committed, collected or promised.

2. The 80's more complicated than the 60's

We believe that out of a sentimental appreciation of the dynamics of the 1960's and out of deep respect for the great contribution of Dr. King, many people will find it difficult to objectively evaluate the new and more complicated situation we face in the 1980's. They may therefore vote for such a march while not recognizing that they cannot arouse in their constituencies either political + moral response, the financial commitment, or the energy to duplicate the dynamics and unique situation that obtained in 1963.

3. Comparison of numbers a Political dangers for the movement

A march in '83 will be compared in every detail with the march of '63. Thus failure to equal the quarter million mark will automatically be considered a failure by the media. It will also in this difficult

IV

period be considered by many black people a failure attributal to today's black leadership. It will, beyond this, reveal a weakness to elements in our coalition. It will send the wrong signals to the administration to congress, and to the various state and local governments. In the nation civil rights forces will not be seen a gathering political strength but rather withering on the political vine.

It is our considered judgment that we cannot afford to hold a commemorative march in '83 without attracting more people that we did in '63 without doing grave damage to our cause and movement and to all of its constituent segments.

④ Movement results from hope not dispare.

The growth and movement in voluntary agencies and in individual action springs not from dispare but from hope.

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an indication of this was discussed in an article in the New York Times (Fri Oct. 8th 1982.) revealing that their survey indicated that the unemployed in their dispare revealed that they were turning away from the polls for the 1982 election.

And yet it in this period ~~indeed~~, it took month of organization ~~in our most hopeful period~~ (~~[illegible]~~) to get one quarter million people to washington, how can we expect to top that figure in 1983. And if they but do not, have we fully weighed the extreme political consequences involved in such a gamble.

¶ 1963 was truly a period of vast hope. Our slogans became, We shall overcome, Freedom Now, Pass the Bill. I have a dream

⑤ The question of order

One of the most impressive aspects of the 63 march was its sense of joy, comaradarie, and and order. In fact not a single arrest was made by police that day. It is reported that these fasts led some in congress who had opposed civil rights legislation to call for its passage. There is a serious question in our minds as to whether order can be maintained in Washington D.C. on a hot summer afternoon in a period when black youth are justifiably distraught and angry when the rate of unemployment for them is far greater that for the average adult in the great depression; when training program have been curtailed; when welfare and other benifits the Government once provided have cause many black you to lose any faith of a plase for them in american Society.

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Instead of a march, we propose a 20th anniversary of the March of 1963 and of Dr Kings great speech to be held as an indoor political meeting at the largest auditorium in Washington.

The purpose would be to outline the agenda of black and the poor in relation the roll of the administration and congress in 1983 and to the 1984 elections.

A concrete limited manifesto would be drawn up, presented and would become a guide-line statement for the 1980's

To such an assemblies, both sides of the congress, the business community the administration, etc would be invited to hear the manifesto but would not be permitted to speak as occurred at the 63 march.

At the same time in many cities similar rallies could be held to present the same broad manifesto plus quite concrete state and local additions to state + local officials. As in the March of 63, these local activities would need to be coördinated by the national committee. And the national committee should be composed of one representative of each major civil rights organization sponsoring it (as in 63) a labor, catholic protestant + jewish representative.

We respectfully urge the coalition to ~~should~~ call a meeting to discuss these ideas and any others that may be presented. We are prepared to prepare for such a meeting a

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fuller and more spelled out plan of our proposed alternative for discussion.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Rev. Joseph Lowery, Chairman, and Members of the Black Leadership Forum

FROM: Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill

RE: Proposed Anniversary of 1963 March on Washington

DATE: November 29, 1982

On October 19, 1982, we addressed a memorandum to Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Joseph Lowery, and to other members of the Black Leadership Forum. In that memorandum we raised a number of questions as to the wisdom of attempting a march on the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington and proposed that the Black Leadership Forum convene a meeting to consider an alternative to the proposed march. A copy of the original memo is enclosed.

Neither Mrs. King, who proposed the march, nor Mr. Lowery, Chairman of the Black Leadership Forum, responded to our memo and no meeting of the Forum was called although several members of the Forum indicated that they were disposed to meet and to discuss an alternative.

On November 19th we received from Mrs. King, Mr. Lowery, Mr. Fauntroy and Mr. Hooks, a telegram calling for a meeting on December 3rd to implement the march for August 28, 1983.

Since the December 3rd meeting is for the purpose of implementing a march on August 28, 1983 rather than for considering what activity might be most appropriate, we see no reason to attend such a meeting. But we do stand ready to discuss and work for some kind of activity that can be a reasonable, appropriate, and successful anniversary of one of the most important days in our history.

cc: Congressman Fauntroy
Jesse Hill
Vernon Jordan
Arnold Aronson
William Pollard
Kenneth Young
Lane Kirkland
Jessica Smith
Robert Weaver
Mrs. Roy Wilkins
Mrs. Ralph Bunche
Jack Greenberg
Fred O'Neal
Ralph Neas

apri
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Robinson
Roche
Rowland
Samuel
Sheinkman
Shields
Sickman
Smothers
Sombrotto
Summers
Stephens
Stodghill
Stone
Turner
Turner
Tyler
Tyner
Van Blake
Waddy
Wall
Watts
Weaver
Williams
Williams
J. Wilson
Winpisinger
Woodward
Wynn
Young
Executive Committee members

August 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM

TO: APRI Affiliates

FROM: Norman Hill

RE: 20th Anniversary Commemoration of the March on Washington

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The National Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute unanamously passed the following resolution on the March on Washington:

> August 28, 1983 marks the 20th anniversary of the March on Washington called for and organized by A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, and Bayard Rustin. The A. Philip Randolph Institute urges all its affiliates to commemorate this milestone in the history of the American civil rights movement. We, likewise, endorse the planned 1983 March on Washington, as a re-affirmation of the original 1963 March on Washington for "jobs and freedom."

Enclosed please find the National Logistics Update which will give you the pertinent information on the March. I look forward to seeing you there.

Encl:

TEXT

Telegram Sent to Black Leadership Forum

December 1, 1982

Riotous confrontation during Washington KKK demonstration on November 20th gives further evidence of need for alternative to 20th Anniversary March. It is evidence of inability to control program, tactics and strategies of demonstration held outdoors in times of unemployment and frustration. Such demonstrations provide opportunity for irresponsible groups to provoke violence and pursue unrelated agendas, We urge Leadership Forum to meet to consider indoor alternative for August 1983.

Bayard Rustin   Norman Hill

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1201 CONNECTICUT AVE NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON DC 20036

RIOTOUS CONFRONTATION DURING WASHINGTON KKK DEMONSTRATION ON NOVEMBER 20 GIVES FURTHER EVIDENCE OF NEED FOR ALTERNATIVE TO 20TH ANNIVERSARY MARCH. IT IS EVIDENCE OF INABILITY TO CONTROL PROGRAM TACTICS AND STRATEGIES OF DEMONSTRATION HELD OUTDOORS IN TIMES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND FRUSTRATION. SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR IRRESPONSIBLE GROUPS TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE AND PURSUE UNRELATED AGENDAS. WE URGE LEADERSHIP FORUM TO MEET TO CONSIDER INDOOR ALTERNATIVES FOR AUGUST 1983

BAYARD RUSTIN AND NORMAN HILL

14:28 EST

MGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

BLACK AMERICA MARCHES

by Adrian Karatnycky

Last Saturday's march on Washington, attended by over two hundred thousand participants, was a *cri de couer* from black America. Although the march suffered from an appalling lack of focus--virtually every cause on the American left's agenda was trumpeted--it served to underscore the severe dilemmas which continue to confront the black community.

In 1983, when labor leader A. Philip Randolph and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. led 250,000 marchers in a quest for "Jobs and Freedom" the sources of black plight were far easier to identify: the denial of voting rights, segregation in public accommodations, police brutality, discrimination in hiring, segregated and inferior education, and the violation of other basic civil rights all were understood to be appalling manifestations of a racism which contributed to black poverty.

The 1963 march,at which Dr. King delivered his "I have a dream" litany, had the effect of ushering in a wave of federal civil rights and voting rights legislation which eliminated many racial barriers to black participation in the life of the country. Today, despite the fact that racism persists and exerts a pernicious influence upon American society, the legal protections adopted in the 1960s provide an important mechanism for ensuring that blacks receive adequate protection from discrimination and bias.

Ironically, despite such widespread measures as the 1964 Omnibus Civil Rights legislation and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, black

-more-

unemployment today stands at roughly 20 percent (twice the white rate), and 36 percent of the black population lives in poverty. Moreover, median black family incomes stand at some 56 percent of white incomes, a level comparable to that of the mid-sixties.

For some, such statistics are evidence that in the last twenty years little has substantively changed within the black community. Yet such arguments conceal the more complicated fact that in the 1960s and 1970s two widely divergent trends occurred within the black community: the growth of a substantial middle class of well-educated and skilled black workers and the simultaneous growth of a black underclass, mired in a cycle of joblessness, crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, and violence.

Some black leaders and civil rights proponents continue to argue that racism remains the principal source of black poverty. However, the plight of black Americans is more and more the result of a number of non-racial, structural features in the American economy: the decline in labor-intensive industries and the displacement of unskilled and semi-skilled black workers as a result of robotization and automation; the elimination of millions of jobs in heavy industries such as auto and steel, which in recent years have provided well-paying jobs for many black workers; the shift from heavy industry and manufacturing to high-technology industries for which most blacks are inadequately prepared; and the decline in government jobs, which in the 1960s and 1970s employed some two-thirds of all black university graduates and is a major factor in the emergence of a black middle class. Moreover, a number of social trends contribute to the grim state of black America. These include: an alarming growth of a black underclass of poor and indigent, the collapse of black family structures, and the alarming increase in the number of unwed black mothers (more than half of all black children are now born out of wedlock), most of whom are poor.

Yet in the face of such alarming and damaging trends, much of the black political leadership remains wedded to the shibboleths of the past. Nowhere was this more clear than at last week's March on Washington. At the march few substantive issues were addressed. No comprehensive program was advanced. Instead, the demonstration became a rally of divergent anti-Reagan sentiments ranging from the nuclear freeze to *adhominem* attacks on U.S. support for Israel to denunciations by American Indian leaders of Christopher Columbus, George Washington, and Andrew Jackson.

It is quite unlikely that the 1983 March, for all its hundreds of thousands of participants, will have the galvanizing effect its organizers intended. For one thing, the injection of speakers from El Salvador's Farabundo Marti Liberation Front and the Greenham Common women tended to cloud the focus of the demonstration. Secondly, the decidedly left-wing tone of the speeches seemed sadly out of touch with the political sentiments of the vast majority of Americans.

-more-

That a coalition such as the one which gathered in Washington on August 27 leads to a political cul-de-sac was made clear in pre-demonstration squabbling. Recognizing that virtually every left-wing cause was being given its day in the sun by the protest's organizers, homosexual rights and abortion rights advocates demanded inclusion in the program's list of speakers. Such demands tested even the patience of the most generous of the march's organizers. National March Director, Congressman Walter Fauntroy, compared "homosexual rights" to "penguins' rights" exci~~s~~ting a storm of controversy.

Ironically, the highly politicized and unfocused tone of the demonstration was a great disservice to the interests of black Americans Such black social scientists and political theorists as William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago and Bayard Rustin, the organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, argue that race has been supplanted by structural features in the economy as the principal factor in black plight. Class rather than race, they ~~argue~~ assert, is at the root of the "American dilemma." Consequently, they believe there is a new opportunity to develop broadly based and broadly supported non-racial strategies for eliminating poverty and with it black poverty. As Rustin recently noted, "today there are twice as many white poor as black poor." In the view of these black theorists a national industrial policy combined with a strategy of education and vocational training must be at the center of any agenda which seeks to attain racial justice. Yet such concepts were rarely addressed in the nine hours of largely second-rate speechmaking last Saturday.

American blacks today constitute a cohesive political bloc. Some 90 percent of them vote for the Democratic Party, and black approval ratings for President Reagan are the lowest for any President in the post-war era. In 1984 black voters may prove to be a decisive force in American political life. The tens of thousands of blacks who marched on Washington last Saturday indicate how profound is the concern in the black community over its continued plight. Yet, sadly, from the evidence of the demonstration, many black leaders appear incapable of channeling this concern into a coherent message which will find resonance in the American public. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream has been replaced by Jesse Jackson's pipedreams.

*** *** ***

Adrian Karatnycky is Research Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a civil rights and trade union organization in the United States.

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DRAFT

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION
August 27-28, 1982 - Atlanta, Georgia

20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
August 27-28, 1983 - Washington, D.C.

"RECALLING THE DREAM"

Co-Chairpersons 1982
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Hon Walter E Fauntroy

National Coordinator
Barbara Williams-Skinner

Co-Chairpersons 1983
Coretta Scott King
Rev. Joseph Lowery

I HAVE A DREAM CELEBRATION 1982-83

A CONCEPT

August 28, 1963 was one of the most important days in the history of the United States of America and one of the most critical days in the history of the world. On that day more than 250,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C., the nation's capitol, to protest racism, violence and poverty and to fight for JOBS and FREEDOM.

The MARCH ON WASHINGTON, as it was later described, brought together what began to be known as the "Coalition of Conscience". It also broadened the alliance of various interest organizations. Civil rights, labor, religious, and student groups locked arms together to announce to the nation that segregation, Jim Crowism, violence, and racism must be brought to an end and that jobs, peace and freedom must be the priority of the nation.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. electrified the crowd with what later became known as the "I Have A Dream" speech. In that memorable speech, he called for the nation to live out its promises and commitments as written in the Constitution of the United States by the forefathers of this country. Three major pieces of legislation emerged as a result of that struggle and became the cornerstone which socially transformed American society over the ensuing twenty years. They were the Voters' Rights Act of 1965, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Open Housing Bill of 1968.

On that day in August 1963, the great Civil Rights Movement when far beyond projecting the plight of an overwhelming number of Black Americans who were disproportionately the object of racism, violence and segregation, and who were disproportionately unemployed. It also inspired Native Americans, the Hispanic community and women to use the "coalition of conscience" as a model to gain those rights that had been denied them by the practices and policies of the United States of America.

In 1963 the issues were clear and visible. Our nation could see on national television those people who were the victims of violence and racism. Dr. King was deeply concerned that unemployment was some 7% among Black people. At that time we were fighting and dying in the Vietnam war which had became an outrage to a great number of American people. Black people disproportionately outnumbered those in the front lines of that war. Yet black people could not vote in every state in the Union. Black people could not ride any section of the bus they chose to; they could not sleep overnight in any hotel or motel they desired. The issues were clear and we knew what we were up against.

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There were major pieces of legislation being argued on the floor of Congress that would decide the social and political outcome of the lives of American people and how they would interact with one another for years to come.

Nineteen years later, the issues of JOBS, PEACE and FREEDOM are still before us. The issue is not as visible and as clear cut to most Americans, and as a result many have been lured to sleep, assuming that all is well. In fact, in 1982 and 1983 we are watching a federal government administration, step-by-step, dismantle every piece of the cornerstone set in 1963. Each piece of this cornerstone put together to make possible the Dream that Dr. Martin Luther King spoke about on that day, had been slowly but surely dismantled. Just as the outcome of the March on Washington affected this nation for the following twenty years the outcome of this infringement, this violent dismantling of what thousands of people fought for and many died for leading up to that 1963 March,-- will determine the social outcome for America for the rest of this century.

It is therefore appropriate that nineteen years later a "new coalition of conscience" be assembled in this nation to protest an unemployment rate approaching 20% among Black people (and 10% in the nation as a whole); to protest the dismantling of those pieces of legislation that created federal agencies to enforce the law and to see that the rights and freedoms of Americans were not violated or taken away. We protested this dismantling, and it is appropriate that nineteen years later we now stand up and protest the fact that in the United States and Russia we have enough nuclear arms to destroy the earth twelve times over.

It is not necessary to attempt a duplication or replication of the 1963 March on Washington. That moment in 1963 should stand on its own because it stands as a unique event in history. As we begin the 1980's, not only do we not have Jim Crow laws or the use of Vietnam, but the issues have become more complex than ever in our history. Now we need to call upon all of our creativity to face these challenges of today.

The times have definitely changed the means by which we, the people, are assembled to petition the government and speak to the nation. If at least 250,000 people are not brought to Washington, it will be assumed that the issue is a dead issue among American people. There should be no attempt to make that event happen again. During the 1960's mobilizing people for mass demonstrations for peace and justice were creative and effective for the time. We must not forget, however, that we had laws calling discrimination legal and a war in Vietnam as easily identifiable targets for protest.

There should be a reassembling of a new coalition of conscience-- both the group that brought the Great March together in 1963 and those new groups that prick the conscience of American society which have emerged since then -- women's groups, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, the peace movement, the ERA movement, the handicapped, the elderly, environmentalists, consumer advocates, and others.

JOBS

The job situation is not the same as it was in 1963. This new coalition of conscience must address the job realities of the 1980's.

- We must call for a "social contract" among labor, industry, government, and education to provide the training in the jobs with a future for the poor and for the Black people who represent a disproportionate number of the poor.
- We must confront the fact that assembly line automation in the form of robots, telecommunications, commuter technology is going to displace some 50 million jobs in the next eight years. Who will do the massive re-training necessary to employ people put out of work by this tremendous technological and sociological change occurring in American society? Who will protect the poor, the greatest victims of this technological upheaval?

PEACE

The peace situation has drasticly changed in nineteen years. In 1963 it was the Vietnam war. Today it is the survival of the human race. This new coalition of conscience must move together to protect all of us against human destruction in unnecessary wars not only for today but for future generations. No one should die--not Blacks, not Whites, not Hispanics. Again, it is the poor who pay the greatest price.

- We must move to reverse the trend toward the total annihilation of the human race.
- We must move against record defense spending and move for the stoppage of this maddening arms race. Now!
- We must be a coalition that will rise up to resolve world conflict through nonviolent means.

FREEDOM

- The freedom situation is different today. The overt practices and policies of discrimation and bigotry have largely disappeared and protective laws and policies put into place. Yet changing public perception that civil rights is no longer an issue that lacks the protection of the law and the recent dismantling of cornerstone legislation are major threats to freedom today for many Americans. Despite the perception that the gains made in the 1960's and 1970's have been won for all time, there must be continued vigilance and enforcement of existing laws to protect hard-won freedoms.
- We must move to see that the freedoms gained over the last nineteen years are not stolen in the next nineteen.

- We must resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and the increased brutalities of the Klu Klux Klan and subtleties of laws by politicians who impose a cruelty and brutality more devastating than the KKK.
- We must work for equity and equal rights for women and minorities.
- We must develop a new coalition of conscience that will initiate a massive voter registration, education and motivation to arouse the millions of Americans who do not vote or participate in the political system to elect men and women who will see to it that hard-won freedoms will not be denied.

Last, but not least, this new coalition of conscience must hear itself. There is much reconciliation that must go on in the short days ahead of us because to a great extent there has been division among those of us who have a vision of what America ought to be. We must heal the relationships between Blacks and Hispanics; Blacks and Jews; Blacks and labor; Jews and Gentiles; women and the peace movement; women and Blacks; labor and management; the peace movement and the ERA people, people and their government, so that there is in America a new consciousness of people locked together by commitment to one another, never to allow small differences to rob us of our larger vision of what America ought to be.

The Nineteenth Anniversary Celebration of the March on Washington affords us an opportunity for reconcilation, for healing, for locking arms and struggling together until the battle is won and we all can stand together and shout, "Free at Last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we're free at last".

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Joseph Madison, Director NAACP Voter Education Project
Cora Tucker, Citizens for a Better America

PAGE THREE ADDITIONS

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Asia Bennett, Executive Secreatary American Friends Service Committee
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✓Ben Chavis, Co-Chair Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice
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Rabbi Donald Peterman, President Atlanta Rabbi Associat on

DC
Meeting
Monday

AFL-CIO PROPOSED CALL

JOBS

Millions of Americans are suffering from the disaster of double-digit unemployment. For minorities and youth, the tragedy is even more severe. The destruction of jobs in a shrinking industrial economy and the lack of training opportunities to learn new skills are undermining the moral and spiritual foundation of our communities and our families. This squandering of human resources is a national disgrace when so much work needs to be done in both the public and private sectors -- work that is socially useful and can provide dignified employment with a just wage. We call upon the Administration and the Congress to adopt new programs that will turn the economy around, create jobs for our people and move rapidly toward the full employment goals of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act.

PEACE

The stockpiling and proliferation of nuclear weapons casts a dark shadow over the future of humanity. Global military spending diverts vast resources needed to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the homeless. We call upon both superpowers and their allies to radically reduce and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals, and to act jointly to prevent the spread of such weapons to other nations. We call upon all nations to deny sanctuary or succor to terrorism and to disavow war as an instrument of national policy. We believe that ways must be found to resolve world conflicts through non-violent means.

FREEDOM

We call upon the American people to renew their commitment to the cause of human rights, to resist attempts to rollback or weaken enforcement of civil rights legislation, and to oppose every form of racial, religious, and class prejudice. The rise of extremism -- as exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan -- is a threat to all decent Americans. We call upon the nation to work for the full and equal rights of women. We urge American domestic and foreign policies that reflect the best values of the American people by promoting respect for human rights. We condemn the racist apartheid regime of South Africa, as we condemn all tyrannies, whether of the left or the right.